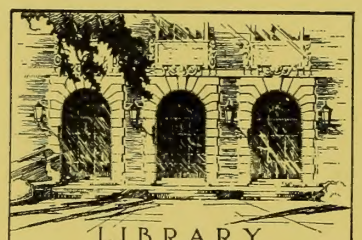

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July 4, 1949

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The Department of State bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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The South Pacific Commission Makes Progress

by Felix M. Keesing, U. S. High Commissioner on the Commission

The South Pacific Commission, the regional international organization created by agreement of the six governments administering non-self-governing territories in the South Pacific area, has now largely completed the initial organizational phases of its work. The first session was held at Sydney, Australia, from May 11–21, 1948, and the second session from October 25–November 2, 1948. At these meetings arrangements were made to establish the permanent headquarters at Nouméa, New Caledonia; the organization of the Secretariat was completed; the permanent officers of the Secretariat were chosen; the South Pacific Research Council was established; and a preliminary work program was launched.

The South Pacific Commission was established by the terms of an agreement worked out by representatives of the six powers concerned at the South Seas Conference which was held at Canberra, Australia, in January–February 1947.[1] The participating governments are Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Already a precedent existed for such a regional organization in the work of the Caribbean Commission, which was established in 1942 as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and was enlarged in 1945 to include France and the Netherlands.[2] To a large extent the South Pacific Commission has followed the organizational patterns of the Caribbean Commission, benefiting by its experience to date.

The agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission entered into force on July 29, 1948, when acceptances by all six governments concerned were received by the Government of Australia. For the United States the President signed the instrument of acceptance of the agreement as of January 28, 1948, after Congress had given its authorization for United States participation by enactment of Public Law 403 (80th Congress).[3] The terms of this agreement constitute the working charter of the Commission. Article IV, paragraph 6, defines its general purpose as follows:

> The Commission shall be a consultative and advisory body to the participating Governments in matters affecting the economic and social development of the non-self-governing territories within the scope of the Commission and the welfare and advancement of their peoples.

The 21 articles and 67 paragraphs comprising the agreement specify in considerable detail the scope, organization, powers, and functions of the Commission itself, its secretariat, and its auxiliary bodies, mainly comprising the South Pacific Research Council and the South Pacific Conference, a periodic meeting of representatives of the territories concerned.[4] While having no organic relations with the United Nations, the Commission is directed under article XV to cooperate as fully as possible with that body and with appropriate specialized agencies on matters of mutual concern.

The precise wording of the agreement, as providing the legal basis for the Commission's activities, necessarily underwent minute scrutiny at many points during the first two sessions. It says much for the wisdom and clarity of thought of those attending the 1947 South Seas Conference that al-

[1] For a report on the Conference, see BULLETIN of Mar. 16, 1947, p. 459.

[2] BULLETIN of Dec. 23, 1945, p. 1023.

[3] Public Law No. 403, 80th Congress 2d Sess. (62 Stat. 15).

[4] For the full text of the agreement, see South Seas Conference Papers, Doc. P/18, Feb. 6, 1947.

most no obscurities or ambiguities appeared to require further interpretation by the governments involved.

The South Pacific Commission itself consists of twelve commissioners, of whom each government has appointed two, with one designated as its senior commissioner. Alternate commissioners and advisers are also appointed as desired. Votes are cast by the senior commissioners only, and voting is in general on the basis of a two-thirds majority, though certain major budgetary and financial decisions require the concurrence of all senior commissioners. The chairmanship rotates alphabetically among governments from session to session. Two regular sessions are to be held each year, together with any further sessions the Commission may consider necessary. For the present the agreed cycle of regular sessions in late April–early May and late October–early November.

The first session of the Commission opened on May 11, 1948, with a personal welcome by the Australian Minister of External Affairs, Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt. The main agenda items were as follows:

(1) formulating rules of procedure to guide the Commission's work; (2) making preliminary arrangements for choosing a permanent seat; (3) defining procedures for filling the staff positions in the secretariat; (4) deciding the organization of the secretariat, including staff requirements and regulations, terms of appointment, and a classification and salary plan; (5) planning the specific organization of the Research Council; (6) preparing an initial budget, together with provisional financial regulations and an accounting system; (7) carrying forward from the South Seas Conference the formulation of a provisional work program consisting of a list of desirable projects, with attention to priorities; (8) liquidating the interim organization carried on to this time jointly by the Australian and New Zealand Governments; and (9) setting up a Working Committee consisting of representatives of all six governments to carry forward outstanding business between sessions.[5]

At the first session a plan evolved naturally of dividing the Commission personnel—in all some 30 persons—into two *ad hoc* committees. These committees, labeled A and B, each with a commissioner and an adviser or advisers from each participating government, met concurrently and were allotted those agenda items not yet ready to be handled directly in full Commission session. In this way almost every knotty problem was thrashed out in an informal committee setting and a recommendation to which representatives of all delegations had agreed could then be placed before the Commission in plenary session. This committee organization proved so successful that it was adopted without question at the outset of the second session. In general, Committee B dealt with organizational, budgetary, and legal problems, Committee A dealt with the site, choice of personnel, the work program, the Research Council, and the South Pacific Conference.

The second session convened on October 25, 1948. In the interim period a small provisional secretariat had carried on essential staff activities in Sydney, under the part-time direction of an Acting Secretary-General, John R. Kerr, an Australian barrister, who had previously headed the interim organization. The six governments and their commissioners had also advanced the task of selecting the permanent seat and the permanent personnel, by authorizing the Working Committee as their main agency for continuing inter-consultation. In early September 1948 the Working Committee visited the two sites proposed for the headquarters, Nouméa, New Caledonia, and Suva, Fiji Islands, and examined in detail the local situation as regards buildings, housing, and other relevant matters. The governments also gave wide publicity regarding the senior secretariat position available, so that by September the commissioners had before them the names of available candidates for the posts of Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General, and the full- and part-time members of the Research Council. Furthermore, unanimous agreement had been reached on selections for the two top administrative posts.

With this effective preparatory work in hand the Commission at its second session was able to proceed rapidly with the completion of its major organizational tasks. On the evening of the first day, the decision was made by a majority vote to establish the permanent seat of the Commission at Nouméa. The Commission then proceeded to other agenda items, mainly working in committee but holding periodic plenary sessions to pass upon committee resolutions and to check the accumulating summary record.

[5] See *Proceedings of the First Session* (mimeographed).

By resolution of the first session, meetings of the Commission are to be held in public when matters directly relating to the economic and social welfare of the South Pacific peoples are under discussion. Because the second session, like the first, was primarily concerned with establishing the internal organization of the Commission, the meetings were, in general, not open to the press, though press statements were issued periodically. An exception was made, however, on the fifth day of the session, when representatives of the press were invited to morning and afternoon plenary sessions dealing with the work program.

The local French authorities offered exceedingly generous terms looking toward effective establishment of the Commission and its personnel at Nouméa. Precise details as to financing the site will be worked out at the third session, but the costs of the initial development will be relatively small. The Commission has followed closely the system developed by the United Nations to cover "privileges and immunities," both at the headquarters site and as relating to the territories of the participating governments.

The Commission has been fortunate in securing highly competent personnel to fill its top administrative and research posts. The Secretary-General is William D. Forsyth, Australian historian and diplomatic officer, who was serving as Australian member on the Trusteeship Council at the time of his appointment. Mr. Forsyth was able to be present during the second session and was sworn into office at one of the Commission's plenary sessions. Chosen for Deputy Secretary-General was an experienced officer of the British Colonial Service in the Pacific, H. E. Maude, who was Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, and is known to many Americans for his anthropological expertness as well as his administrative capacities. Additional permanent secretariat posts will be made, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, from among residents of the South Pacific territories.

The personnel of the Research Council was also named at the second session. The deputy chairman, who is responsible for developing the research phases of the Commission's work, is Dr. L. G. M. Baas-Becking, Dutch botanist, with long experience in research administration in Indonesia and previously in the United States, at Stanford University. As the work of the Research Council will fall into three main categories, namely health, economic development, and social development (including education), full-time members will be appointed in each of these fields. At the second session, Maj. E. Massal, of the French Colonial Medical Service, who has had wide experience in the French Pacific territories, was chosen to head the program in health. For economic development, the full-time member is Dr. H. G. MacMillan, United States agricultural expert, who had a leading role in the military farm projects in Pacific islands during the war and in the postwar research program on the United States Commercial Company in the Micronesian Islands. The full-time member in the field of social development has not yet been named. In addition to the 4 full-time members, 13 part-time members have been named, as follows:

Health—Dr. J. T. Gunther (Australia), Dr. H. de Rook (Netherlands), Dr. J. C. Lopdell (New Zealand), Capt. W. P. Stephens, Medical Corps U.S.N. (United States)

Economic Development—The Director of the Insitut Français d'Océanie (France), B. E. V. Parham (United Kingdom), Dean K. A. Ryerson (United States), J. G. Crawford (Australia)

Social Development—Sir Peter Buck, Director of the Bishop Museum (Hawaii), Howard Hayden (United Kingdom), W. C. Groves (Australiea), Maurice Grangie (France), Rev. I. S. Kijne (Netherlands)

The Research Council held its first meeting at Nouméa on April 30, 1949. Meanwhile the full-time members have visited the main administrative centers in the islands in order to consult with the local administrative and technical specialists, and otherwise to lay a basis for developing the research program. It is expected that the full Research Council will meet usually once a year. Among its powers, as defined by the agreement, is the authority to appoint technical standing committees to deal with particular fields of research, and also (with Commission approval) *ad hoc* committees to handle special problems.[6] Special opportunity to advance the research work of the Commission was presented in February 1949 when observers from the Commission attended the seventh meeting of the Pacific Science Congress in New Zealand.

[6] For the powers and functions of the Research Council see articles VI to VIII of the agreement.

Articles IX–XII of the agreement provide for periodic meetings of representatives of the territories in a "South Pacific Conference." As with the West Indian Conference of the Caribbean Commission, this phase of the organization is designed to enable spokesmen for the resident populations to get together and discuss mutual problems. The following statements in the agreement define the functions of the Conference:

ARTICLE IX

In order to associate with the work of the Commission representatives of the local inhabitants of, and of official and non-official institutions directly concerned with, the territories within the scope of the Commission, there shall be established a South Pacific Conference with advisory powers as a body auxiliary to the Commission.

ARTICLE XII

The Conference may discuss such matters of common interest as fall within the competence of the Commission, and may make recommendations to the Commission on any such matters.

At the second session of the Commission the number of official delegates was fixed at 2 for each of 15 designated territories[7] except 2 very small ones, Nauru and the Tokelaus, which will have 1 each. If the Kingdom of Tonga accepts a proffered invitation to send 2 delegates this will make a total of 30 official delegates. In addition, alternates and advisers up to a total of 32 (or 34 with Tonga) have been authorized.

The first meeting of the South Pacific Conference, the Commission has decided, will be held in Suva during the last week in April 1950. Subsequently it will meet, according to the terms of the agreement, at intervals not exceeding three years, and in different localities "with due regard to the principle of rotation." The gathering will be unique in that it will be the first time in the history of the area that representatives of these scattered island peoples will come together in such a manner. Further planning of the agenda and other arrangements for the first Conference will be undertaken at the next session of the Commission.

One of the most complicated aspects of the Commission's early work has been to prepare a budget and otherwise arrange its financial procedures. According to the agreement, the expenses of the Commission and its related bodies are to be apportioned among the participating governments as follows: Australia 30 percent; the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom each 15 percent; France and the United States 12½ percent.

The first session worked out a provisional budget of 36,340 pounds sterling to cover fiscal operations from May 1948 to the end of the first year (Dec. 31, 1948). This included the settlement of certain financial obligations incurred previously by the interim organization. At this session it was also agreed to use an amount of 40,000 pounds sterling which had been already contributed proportionately by the participating governments as a revolving fund to meet such future obligations as may be incurred ahead of national contributions being received by the Commission. Because the Commission had merely a skeleton organization in the year 1948, the total expenditures have fallen far short of the provisional budget figures. The second session had the more difficult task of preparing a realistic budget for 1949, covering both administrative and research operations as they were expected to develop within that fiscal year. The budget, as passed with certain reservations, totaled 53,816 pounds sterling. Of this amount about 45 percent is for salaries and 25 percent for travel. A provisional amount of 6,000 pounds sterling has been allotted for research purposes, pending further clarification of the needs in this category. In Public Law 403, Congress set a maximum annual amount of $20,000 to meet the costs of United States participation in the Commission. Considering the United States share as 12½ percent, this would automatically put a maximum of approximately $160,000, or 40,000 pounds sterling at the present exchange rate, as the upper limit of the Commission's budget. The 1949 budget of 53,815 pounds sterling has already exceeded this amount, even though it was drawn up with the greatest stringency and economy, and represents little more

[7] The Commission drew up for this purpose a list of 15 territorial units, the size, population, and ethnic character of which justified representation at the South Pacific Conference. They are as follows: Papua, New Guinea (Australian Trust Territory), Nauru, New Caledonia, French Establishments, Dutch New Guinea, Western Samoa, Tokelau Islands, Cook Islands (including Niue), Fiji, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Gilbert Islands, Ellice Islands, American Samoa, New Hebrides Condominium. A possible sixteenth unit comprises the Kingdom of Tonga, which technically does not fall within the scope of the Commission, but which has been invited to participate in the Commission's activities. This list does not attribute the territorial units to specific countries and accordingly does not touch upon questions of sovereignty which in a few cases are still matters of international dispute.

than the regular administrative budget. Under present legislation, therefore, the United States faces the prospect of not being able to pay its full share of an increased budget.

In addition to all these organizational problems, the Commission at both sessions devoted considerable time to drafting a work program which would give preliminary definition to the tasks of welfare and development which the organization was established to handle. The South Seas Conference in 1947 had already drafted a list of possible projects, with some suggestions as to those deserving immediate attention. At the first session in May 1948, Committee A reviewed again the potential work program of the Commission. The commissioners and their advisers put on the committee table many suggestions offered by their governments and by themselves, and these were evaluated in terms of how far they were of common concern and deserved high priority. A draft for a provisional work program was then presented to the Commission as a whole and accepted. In general, this May formulation was based upon the idea that the Commission should carry out a relatively small number of carefully selected projects which represented the most crucial needs of the area as a whole.

At the second session this provisional work program was reviewed carefully, particularly to decide which projects could be initiated immediately by the full-time staff members as they assumed office and which might better be held over until the first meeting of the Research Council in April 1949. It was recognized that some projects could be carried forward rapidly by collecting and collating existing data. The Secretary-General was therefore directed to get these under way as rapidly as feasible. Included are measures looking toward improvement of air and sea transport services in the region; coordination of human quarantine measures and exchange of epidemiological information; coordination of information on fisheries research; pooling of information on expert assistance desired and available; liaison with public and private agencies doing experimental work in agriculture and industry with a view to disseminating information of their findings; collection and dissemination of information on technical training of islanders; development of a Commission library; preparation of a record file of scientists and of public and private agencies interested in the region; investigation of the possible use of radio and visual aids in education.

A number of other projects, the Commission felt, called for new research, so that it was decided to postpone these items pending advice from the full-time members of the Research Council and the Research Council itself. Among such matters are improvement of the copra industry, including mechanization; control of plant and animal pests and diseases; research into health problems, particularly infant and maternal welfare; improvement of nutrition; stimulation and coordination of studies in vulcanology and seismology; improvement of tropical pasture lands; problems of conservation; studies of the impact of modern civilization on the traditional societies; and studies of labor conditions.

The Commission itself has shown a considerable diffidence about carrying forward too specifically its formulation of research needs until it can receive adequate technical advice from the Research Council. The work program is therefore still considered to be highly flexible.

The general future scope of the South Pacific Commission's activities may best be visualized by reference to article IV of the agreement. This defines its main powers and functions as follows:

> (*a*) to study, formulate and recommend measures for the development of, and where necessary the co-ordination of services affecting, the economic and social rights and welfare of the inhabitants of the territories within the scope of the Commission, particularly in respect of agriculture (including animal husbandry), communications, transport, fisheries, forestry, industry, labor, marketing, production, trade and finance, public works, education, health, housing and social welfare;
>
> (*b*) to provide for and facilitate research in technical, scientific, economic and social fields . . .;
>
> (*c*) to make recommendations for the co-ordination of local projects . . . which have regional significance . . .;
>
> (*d*) to provide technical assistance, advice and information . . . for the participating Governments;
>
> (*e*) to promote co-operation with non-participating Governments and with non-governmental organisations of a public or quasi-public character having common interests in the area . . .;
>
> (*f*) to address inquiries to the participating Governments on matters within its competence; and to discharge such other functions as may be agreed upon by the participating Governments.

Genocide Convention Transmitted to the Senate

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris on December 9, 1948, and signed on behalf of the United States on December 11, 1948.

The character of the Convention is explained in the enclosed report of the Acting Secretary of State. I endorse the recommendations of the Acting Secretary of State in his report and urge that the Senate advise and consent to my ratification of this Convention.

In my letter of February 5, 1947, transmitting to the Congress my first annual report on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States therein, I pointed out that one of the important achievements of the General Assembly's First Session was the agreement of the Members of the United Nations that genocide constitutes a crime under international law. I also emphasized that America has long been a symbol of freedom and democratic progress to peoples less favored than we have been and that we must maintain their belief in us by our policies and our acts.

By the leading part the United States has taken in the United Nations in producing an effective international legal instrument outlawing the world-shocking crime of genocide, we have established before the world our firm and clear policy toward that crime. By giving its advice and consent to my ratification of this Convention, which I urge, the Senate of the United States will demonstrate that the United States is prepared to take effective action on its part to contribute to the establishment of principles of law and justice.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 16, 1949.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE[1]

The PRESIDENT,
The White House:

I have the honor to transmit to you a certified copy of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris on December 9, 1948, with the recommendation that it be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

The convention defines genocide to mean certain acts, enumerated in article II, committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such. These acts are discussed below.

The basic purpose of the convention is the prevention of the destruction of a human group as such. The first resolution of the General Assembly on this subject, 96 (I), adopted unanimously by the members of the United Nations on December 11, 1946, succinctly pointed out that—

> Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings.

The resolution also pointed out that genocide shocks the conscience of mankind, results in great losses to humanity and is contrary to moral law. Of course, homicide also is shocking, results in losses to humanity and is contrary to moral law. The distinction between those two crimes, therefore, is not a difference in underlying moral principles, because in the case of both crimes, moral principles are equally outraged. The distinction is that in homicide, the individual is the victim; in genocide, it is the group.

The General Assembly declared in this resolution that the physical extermination of human groups, as such, is of such grave and legitimate

[1] S. Exec. O, June 16, 1949.

international concern that civilized society is justified in branding genocide as a crime under international law. The extermination of entire human groups impairs the self-preservation of civilization itself. The recent genocidal acts committed by the Nazi Government have placed heavy burdens and responsibilities on other countries, including our own. The millions of dollars spent by the United States alone on refugees, many of them victims of genocide, and the special immigration laws designed to take care of such unfortunates illustrate how genocide can deeply affect other states. On September 23, 1948, Secretary of State Marshall stated that—

> Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously declaring that genocide is a matter of international concern.

Thus, the heart of the convention is its recognition of the principle that the prevention and punishment of genocide requires international cooperation. However, the convention does not substitute international responsibility for state responsibility. It leaves to states themselves the basic obligation to protect entire human groups in their right to live. On the other hand it is designed to insure international liability where state responsibility has not been properly discharged.

The convention was carefully drafted and, indeed, represents the culmination of more than 2 years of thoughtful consideration and treatment in the United Nations, as the following important steps in its formulation demonstrate:

The initial impetus came on November 2, 1946, when the delegations of Cuba, India, and Panama requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include in the agenda of the General Assembly an additional item: the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. The Assembly referred the item to its Sixth (Legal) Committee for study.

At its fifty-fifth plenary meeting on December 11, 1946, the Assembly adopted, without debate and unanimously, a draft resolution submitted by its Legal Committee. This resolution, referred to above, affirmed that "genocide is a crime under international law." It recommended international cooperation with a view to facilitating the prevention and punishment of genocide, and, to this end, it requested the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to undertake the necessary studies to draw up a draft convention on the crime.

Pursuant to this resolution a draft convention on genocide was prepared by the ad hoc Committee on Genocide in the spring of 1948, under the chairmanship of the United States representative on this committee. This draft was again discussed by the Economic and Social Council in July and August 1948 in Geneva, and then in the Legal Committee of the General Assembly at its third regular session in Paris, where again the United States delegation played an important role in the formulation of the draft convention.

On December 9, 1948, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the convention to outlaw genocide, which was signed by the United States 2 days later. When signing, the United States representative said, in part:

> I am privileged to sign this convention on behalf of my Government, which has been proud to take an active part in the effort of the United Nations to bring this convention into being.
>
> The Government of the United States considers this an event of great importance in the development of international law and of cooperation among states for the purpose of eliminating practices offensive to all civilized mankind.

Genocide is a crime which has been perpetrated by man against man throughout history. Although man has always expressed his horror of this heinous crime, little or no action had been taken to prevent and punish it. The years immediately preceding World War II witnessed the most diabolically planned and executed series of genocidal acts ever before committed. This time there was to be more than mere condemnation. A feeling of general repulsion swept over the world, and following the war manifested itself in the General Assembly's resolution of December 1946. It is this resolution to which the Legal Committee gave full content by providing the General Assembly with a legal instrument designed not only to prevent genocidal acts but also to punish the guilty.

The genocide convention contains 19 articles. Of these, the first 9 are of a substantive character, and the remaining 10 are procedural in nature.

The preamble is of a general and historical nature.

Article I carries into the convention the concept unanimously affirmed by the General Assembly in its 1946 resolution, that genocide is a crime under international law. In this article the parties undertake to prevent and to punish the crime.

Article II specifies that any of the following five acts, if accompanied by the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, constitutes the crime of genocide:

(*a*) Killing members of the group;

(*b*) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(*c*) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(*d*) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and

(*e*) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

This article, then, requires that there should be a specific intent to destroy a racial, religious, national, or ethnical group as such in whole or in part. With respect to this article the United States representative on the Legal Committee said:

> I am not aware that anyone contends that the crime of genocide and the crime of homicide are one and the same thing. If an individual is murdered by another individual, or indeed by a government official of a state, a crime of homicide has been committed and a civilized community will punish it as such. Such an act of homicide would not in itself be an international crime. To repeat the opening language of the resolution of the General Assembly of December 1946, "genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups." This remains the principle on which we are proceeding.
>
> However, if an individual is murdered by another individual, or by a group, whether composed of private citizens or government officials, as part of a plan or with the intent to destroy one of the groups enumerated in article 2, the international legal crime of genocide is committed as well as the municipal-law crime of homicide.

The destruction of a group may be caused not only by killing. Bodily mutilation or disintegration of the mind caused by the imposition of stupefying drugs may destroy a group. So may sterilization of a group, as may the dispersal of its children.

Article III of the convention specifies that five acts involving genocide shall be punishable. These five genocidal acts are—

(*a*) The crime of genocide itself;
(*b*) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
(*c*) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
(*d*) Attempt to commit genocide; and
(*e*) Complicity in genocide.

The parties agree, in article IV, to punish guilty persons, irrespective of their status.

In article V the parties undertake to enact, "in accordance with their respective constitutions", the legislation necessary to implement the provisions of the convention. The convention does not purport to require any party to enact such legislation otherwise than in accordance with the country's constitutional provisions.

Article VI makes it clear that any person charged with the commission of any of the five genocidal acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a court of the state in whose territory the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those states accepting such jurisdiction. Thus, the commission in American territory of genocidal acts would be tried only in American courts. No international tribunal is authorized to try anyone for the crime of genocide. Should such a tribunal be established, Senate advice and consent to United States ratification of any agreement establishing it would be necessary before such an agreement would be binding on the United States.

By article VII the parties agree to extradite, in accordance with their laws and treaties persons accused of committing genocidal acts; none of such acts is to be considered a political crime for the purpose of extradition. The United States representative on the Legal Committee, in voting in favor of the convention December 2, 1948, said:

> With respect to article VII regarding extradition, I desire to state that until the Congress of the United States shall have enacted the necessary legislation to implement the convention, it will not be possible for the Government of the United States to surrender a person accused of a crime not already extraditable under existing laws.

Existing United States law provides for extradition only when there is a treaty therefor in force between the United States and the demanding government. Only after Congress has defined, and provided for the punishment of, the crime of genocide, and authorized surrender therefor, will it be possible to give effect to the provisions of article VII.

Article VIII recognizes the right of any party to call upon the organs of the United Nations for such action as may be appropriate under the Charter for the prevention and suppression of any of the acts enumerated in article III. This article merely affirms the right of the United Nations to call upon an organ of the United Nations in matters within its jurisdiction.

Article IX provides that disputes between the parties relating to the intepretation, application, or fulfillment of the convention, including disputes relating to the responsibility of a state for any of the acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice, when any party to a dispute so requests.

On December 2, 1948, in voting in favor of the genocide convention, the representative of the United States made the following statement before the Legal Committee of the General Assembly:

> I wish that the following remarks be included in the record verbatim:
>
> Article IX provides that disputes between the contracting parties relating to the interpretation, application, or fulfillment of the present convention, "including those relating to the responsibility of a state for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III," shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice. If "responsibility of a state" is used in the traditional sense of responsibility to another state for injuries sustained by nationals of the complaining state in violation of principles of international law and similarly, if "fulfillment" refers to disputes where interests of nationals of the complaining state are involved, these words would not appear to be objectionable. If, however, "responsibility of a state" is not used in the traditional sense and if these words are intended to mean that a state can be held liable in damages for injury inflicted by it on its own nationals, this provision is objectionable and my Government makes a reservation with respect to such an interpretation.

In view of this statement, I recommend that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification of the convention—

with the understanding that article IX shall be understood in the traditional sense of responsibility to another state for injuries sustained by nationals of the complaining state in violation of principles of international law, and shall not be understood as meaning that a state can be held liable in damages for injuries inflicted by it on its own nationals.

The remaining articles are procedural in nature. By article XIV the convention is to be effective for an initial period of 10 years from the date it enters into force, and thereafter for successive periods of 5 years with respect to those Parties which have not denounced the convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations at least 6 months before the expiration of the current period.

Article XV provides that if there are less than 16 parties to the convention, as a result of denunciations, the convention shall cease to be in force from the effective date of the denunciation which reduces the number of parties to less than 16.

Article XVI authorizes any party to request revision of the convention, by notification in writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

It is my firm belief that the American people together with the other peoples of the world will hail United States ratification of this convention as another concrete example of our repeatedly affirmed determination to make the United Nations the cornerstone of our foreign policy and a workable institution for international peace and security.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES E. WEBB,
Acting Secretary.

(Enclosure: Certified copy of convention on the prevention and punishment of genocide.) [2]

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

Taxation Convention with Belgium. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the convention between the United States of America and Belgium for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, signed at Washington on October 28, 1948. S. Exec. I, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 15 pp.

Exchange of Notes with Canada Providing for Diversions of Water for Power Purposes from the Niagara River. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the texts of notes exchanged at Washington on December 23, 1948, between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, providing for temporary emergency diversions of water for power purposes from the Niagara River. S. Exec. J, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 4 pp.

Convention with Mexico for the Establishment of an International Commission for the Scientific Investigation of Tuna. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a convention between the United States of America and Mexico for the establishment of an international commission for the scientific investigation of tuna, signed at Mexico City, January 25, 1949. S. Exec. K, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 7 pp.

Study of Economic Concentration. S. Rept. 112, 81st Cong., 1st sess. Final Report pursuant to S. Res. 241, 80th Cong. 2 pp.

Noncitizens' Claims Against the United States. S. Rept. 117, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. 937. 6 pp.

Extending Time for Filing Claims Under the War Claims Act of 1948. S. Rept. 131, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. 326. 2 pp.

ECA and Strategic Materials. Report of the Joint Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation created pursuant to Section 124 of Public Law 472, Eightieth Congress. S. Rept. 140, 81st Cong., 1st sess. iii. 56 pp.

Reports to the Congress by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Reports of the Commission including appendixes and other supporting documents. S. Doc. 28, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 5 pp.

Certain Cases in Which the Attorney General had Suspended Deportation. S. Rept. 124, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. Con. Res. 22. 2 pp. S. Rept. 134, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. Con. Res. 23. 2 pp. S. Rept. 168, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. Con. Res. 24. 2 pp. S. Rept. 169, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany S. Con. Res. 25. 2 pp.

Copper Import-Tax Suspension. H. Rept. 312, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accomany H. R. 2313. 2 pp.

Continuation of Exemption from the Tax on Transportation of Persons of Foreign Travel Via Newfoundland. H. Rept. 322, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany H. J. Res. 203. 2 pp.

Extension of the European Recovery Program. Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on H. R. 3748, a bill to amend the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. H. Rept. 323, 81st Cong., 1st sess. iv, 77 pp. H. Rept. 323, Part 2, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany H. R. 3748. 7 pp.

Amending the China Aid Act of 1948. H. Rept. 329, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany H. R. 3830. 6 pp.

Amending Subsection (C) of Section 19 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as Amended, with Respect to Suspension of Deportable Aliens. H. Rept. 362, 81st Cong., 1st sess. to accompany H. R. 3875. 3 pp.

Reorganization Act of 1949. Hearings Before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress. First Session, on S. 526, a bill to provide for the reorganization of government agencies, and for other purposes. Feb. 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, and 15, 1949. iv, 230 pp.

Extension of European Recovery. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on S. 833, a bill to amend the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. Feb. 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 28, 1949. v, 584 pp.

[2] For text of the convention, see BULLETIN of Dec. 19, 1948, p. 756.

The United States in the United Nations

UN Guard

[June 25–July 1]

The United States announced full support for Secretary-General Lie's revised proposal for a United Nations Guard as presented to the 14-nation Special Committee established by the General Assembly resolution of April 29 to study the subject. The Secretary-General's present plan calls for a "United Nations Field Service" of 300 men recruited from national governments to carry out the day-to-day functions of security, transportation, and communications for United Nations missions in the field. In addition there would be a Field Reserve Panel of 2,000 persons, which would be called into service when needed on a temporary basis for such functions as observation of a truce, or supervision of plebiscites.

The United States spokesman emphasized the importance of the early establishment of an efficient standing field service of moderate size. He further stated that the proposal made clear that no substitute for the armed forces contemplated in article 43 of the Charter was intended. The United States felt as strongly as other member states, he said, that there should be a clear understanding that the proposed field service would be entirely distinct in nature and functions from the article 43 armed forces.

Korea

The Commission for Korea has reported to United Nations headquarters the departure of the last United States occupation forces from Korea on June 29. This withdrawal is in conformity with the General Assembly resolution of last December calling for withdrawal of such forces from all Korea "as early as practicable." Although the U. S. S. R. has announced withdrawal of its forces from North Korea, the Commission has not been allowed to enter that territory for verification.

Trusteeship Council

The fifth session of the Trusteeship Council opened on June 15. Ambassador Roger Garreau of France was elected president, and Ambassador Padillo Nervo of Mexico, vice president.

A suggestion submitted by Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, United States representative, that the rules provide for annual meetings of the Trusteeship Council in January, with a second meeting in June "or at such time as the President and the Secretary-General might designate," was adopted.

Plans were made by the Council for the departure on November 1 of its Visiting Mission to West Africa. The United States member on this 4-man mission will be Benjamin Gerig, it was announced by Ambassador Sayre. The Mission was directed to observe developing political, economic, social, and educational conditions in the Trusteeship Territories of West Africa, as well as progress toward self-government or independence, and administration efforts to achieve basic Trusteeship objectives. The Mission was also directed to consider petitions from the local populations.

The Trusteeship Council devoted several sessions to a study of the effect of Administrative Unions in Trusteeship Territories, prepared by an interim committee. Ambassador Sayre, in the discussion, characterized the problem as a continuing one which required the "watchful gaze" of the Trusteeship Council. Accordingly, a suggestion jointly submitted by the United States and Mexico, that the Trusteeship Council conduct a continuing study of the effects of existing or proposed Administrative Unions involving Trusteeship Territories, was accepted as a basis for discussion.

The Council then turned to consideration of Australia's annual report as administering authority of Nauru. Ambassador Sayre said that the report was "commendable" in both form and substance. Australia had conscientiously endeavored to act in the interest of the inhabitants, he remarked. In view of the almost complete literacy of the indigenous population, he believed the Trusteeship Council could look forward to a rapid increase in their participation in the administration.

Protection of Minorities

An extensive preliminary study of the problem of minorities and of measures designed to protect them, and the adoption of six resolutions on the subject were the principal tasks performed by the twelve experts who compose the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities which ended its second session at Lake Success June 27. The resolutions dealt with (1) cooperation of non-governmental organizations, (2) documentation, (3) national coordinating committees, (4) provision to be added to the Draft International Covenant of Human Rights, (5) information on the status of minorities and (6) facilities to be provided for minorities.

The Subcommission plans to hold its next session in January 1950 in Geneva just prior to the meeting of the Human Rights Commission.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings[1]

Adjourned during June		**1949**
United Nations:		
International Law Commission	Lake Success	Apr. 12–June 9
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Commission on Human Rights: Fourth Session	Lake Success	May 9–June 20
Economic Commission for Latin America: Second Session.	Habana	May 29–June14
Subcommission on Freedom of Information and the Press: Third Session.	Lake Success	May 31–June 14
Economic Commission for Europe: Inland Transport Committee.	Geneva	June 13–
Permanent Central Opium Board: 53rd Session	Geneva	June 13–
Diplomatic Conference for the Drawing up of a New Convention Intended to Protect War Victims.	Geneva	Apr. 21–June
Itu (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region II–Fourth Inter-American Radio Conference	Washington	Apr. 25–June
Icao (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
European Frequency Meeting: Second Session	Paris	Apr. 26–June
Council: Seventh Session	Montreal	May 17–June
Third Assembly	Montreal	June 7–
Legal Committee: Fourth Session	Montreal	June 7–
Four-Power Discussions Regarding Swiss-Allied Accord	Washington	May 10–June
Organizational Meetings of the Council of the International Authority for the Ruhr.	London	May 20–June
Inter-American Bar Association: Sixth Meeting	Detroit	May 22–June 1
Council of Foreign Ministers: Sixth Session	Paris	May 23–June 20
Ilo (International Labor Organization):		
Governing Body: 109th Session	Geneva	May 27–June
International Whaling Commission: First Meeting	London	May 30–June
The President's Highway Safety Conference	Washington	June 1–3
Unesco (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Interim Committee for the Permanent Bureau to Coordinate International Congresses of Medical Sciences.	Paris	June 9–
Executive Board: Fifteenth Session	Paris	June 9–
International Conference on Science Abstracting	Paris	June 20–25
Journées Médicales de Bruxelles (Medical Days of Brussels): Twenty-third Session.	Brussels	June 11–15
International Tin Study Group: Fourth Meeting	London	June 13–
Caribbean Commission: Eighth Meeting	Port-of-Spain, Trinidad	June 13–18
Fao (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Council: Sixth Session	Paris	June 13–25
Southeast Asia Conference on Rinderpest Control Problems.	Bangkok	June 20–24
Twelfth International Conference on Adult Education	Elsinore, Denmark	June 16–25
Fifth International Grassland Congress	Noordwijk, Netherlands	June 22–26
Iro (International Refugee Organization):		
General Council: Extraordinary Session	Geneva	June 22–
International Sugar Council	London	June 23–
In session as of July 1, 1949		
United Nations:		**1948**
Commission on Korea	Seoul	Dec. 12–
		1949
Commission on India and Pakistan	Lake Success	Jan. 3–
Security Council	Lake Success	Jan. 7–
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem, and Rhodes	Jan. 28–
Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: Second Session.	Lake Success	June 13–
Permanent Central Opium Board: 53rd Session	Geneva	June 13–
Trusteeship Council: Fifth Session	Lake Success	June 15–
Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body: 32nd Session	Geneva	June 20–

In Session as of July 1, 1949—Continued		
		1948
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Provisional Frequency Board	Geneva	Jan. 15–
		1949
Region I Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Meeting of the Technical Planning Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
GATT: Third Session of Contracting Parties	Annecy, France	Apr. 8–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
32nd International Labor Conference	Geneva	June 8–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Second General Assembly	Rome	June 13–
Second International Film and Fine Arts Festival	Brussels	June 18–
Second Inter-American Conference on Indian Life	Cuzco, Peru	June 24–
CFM Deputies for Austria	London	June 25–
IMO (International Meteorological Organization):		
Regional Commission VI (Europe): Fourth Session	London	June 27–
ICEF (International Children's Emergency Fund):		
Executive Board	Lake Success	June 27–
Scheduled July 1 to September 30, 1949		
International Philatelic Exhibition	Brussels	July 1–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Meeting of Experts on Copyright	Paris	July 4–
Conference to Establish an International Council on Arts in General Education.	Paris	July 18–
Meeting of Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio, and Films.	Paris	July 25–
Mass Illiteracy Seminar and Seminar for Teachers	Rio de Janeiro	July 27–
Committee of Experts on Engineering Sciences	Paris	Aug. 16–
Committee of Experts on Reproduction in Visual Art	Paris	Aug. 22–
International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature.	Lake Success	Aug. 22–
Executive Board: 16th Session	Paris	Sept. 3–16
Committee of Experts on Exchange of Persons Problems	Paris	Sept. 9–
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–
Twelfth International Conference on Public Education	Geneva	July 4–
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Ninth Session	Geneva	July 5–
Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources.	Lake Success	Aug. 17–
Conference on Road and Motor Transport	Geneva	Aug. 23–
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–
Permanent Central Opium Board: 54th Session	Geneva	Sept. 26–
Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements.	Lake Success	September
International Wheat Council: First Session	Washington	July 5–
IMO (International Meteorological Organization):		
Annual Session	Lausanne	July 6–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Executive Board: Fourth Session	Geneva	July 8–
First Pan American Congress of Engineering	São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro	July 8–
Second Pan American Congress of Social Service	Rio de Janeiro	July 10–17
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Third World Forestry Conference	Helsinki	July 10–20
Meeting of Farm Machinery Supply Countries	Washington	July 25–[2]
Meeting of Specialists on Control of Pests and Diseases of Field Crops.	London	July
Meeting of Specialists on Agricultural Extension	Europe	Aug. 1–
Meeting of Specialists on Foot-and-Mouth-Disease Control.	London	Aug. 14–
Fourth Meeting of Technical Committee on Wood Chemistry.	Brussels	August
Conference on Locust Control	Central America	September
Meeting of Technical Committee on Food Composition	Washington	September
Meeting on Mechanical Wood Technology	Geneva	September
European Forestry and Forest Products Commission	Undetermined	September

Scheduled July 1 to September 30, 1949—Continued

		1949
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Meeting of Executive Representatives of Governments and Specialized Agencies on Migration.	Geneva	July 18–
Industrial Committee on Metal Trades: Third Session	The Hague	Aug. 22–
Permanent Agricultural Committee: Third Session	Geneva	August or September
Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Coal Mines	Geneva	Sept. 12–
Conference for the Revision of the 1945 Bermuda Telecommunications Agreement.	London	July 21–
International Penal and Penitentiary Commission:		
Meeting of the Executive Committee	Bern	July 30–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Second Session	Paris	Aug. 1–
Fourth Meeting of the Administrative Council	Geneva	Aug. 15–
Meeting of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.	Bern	Aug. 1–
XIV International Veterinary Congress	London	Aug. 8–
Venice International Film Festival	Venice	Aug. 11–
Twelfth International Dairy Congress	Stockholm	Aug. 15–
Izmir International Fair	Izmir, Turkey	Aug. 20–
International Seed Testing Association: Meeting of the Constitutional Committee.	Belfast	Aug. 24–
Tenth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art	Venice	August
Pan American Institute of Geography and History:		
First Pan American Consultation on Geography	Santiago	August
Diplomatic Conference on the Revision of the Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.	Switzerland	August or September
Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	Sept. 2–
29th International Congress of Americanists	New York	Sept. 5–12
International Statistical Institute: 26th Session	Bern	Sept. 3–10
Budapest International Fair	Budapest	Sept. 3–18
Vienna International Fair	Vienna	Sept. 11–
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors	Washington	Sept. 12–
International Monetary Fund: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 12–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement Conference.	Ottawa	Sept. 13–
Royal Netherlands Industry Fair	Utrecht	September
XVII International Navigation Congress	Lisbon	September
IRO General Council: Third Session	Geneva	September
International Commission for Uniform Methods of Sugar Analysis.	Prague	September
First Session of the Inter-American Council of Jurists	Rio de Janeiro	September

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.
[2] Tentative.

ADDRESS BY WILLARD L. THORP

On June 23 Assistant Secretary Thorp delivered an address on the subject of The Church and International Relations at the Sixth International Congregational Council, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., June 23. Text was issued as press release 476.

CORRECTIONS

In the BULLETIN of June 19, 1949, left column, 4th line, the third word, "path" should be "task". The sentence should read "The task is difficult and requires firm determination and steadfast effort." In the same column, the 32d line "peace. The task is difficult and requires firm de-" should be deleted.

This correction applies also to the BULLETIN *Reprint* of "Essential Elements of Lasting Peace", publication 3553.

The Lisbon Conference on Central and South African Transportation Problems

by Maxwell Harway

European colonial powers of Central Africa and the Union of South Africa have taken the first step toward the organization of a permanent regional council for the coordination of transport for Africa, south of the Equator. The formation of this permanent council [1] may result in expanding the Congo Basin treaty [2] to include a larger geographic area.

This was the outstanding achievement of the Conference on Central African Transportation which met at Lisbon, Portugal, May 24 to May 31, 1949, at the invitation of the Portuguese Government. Participating in the work of this Conference were the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Portugal, and the Union of South Africa.[3] The United States of America was represented by observers.[4]

The Conference, which had been convened primarily to fix a time and place and prepare an agenda for a subsequent meeting in Africa to promote the development of adequate transportation resources in the region, was expanded during the course of its proceedings. The enlargement of the scope of the Conference took the form of recommendations to the participating governments for immediate action and other recommendations for consideration by the Plenary Conference, which was designated to meet in Johannesburg, South Africa, in October 1950.

The recommendations of the Lisbon Conference were incorporated in a Final Act [5] which recognizes the regional character of the transportation problems to be solved. This Final Act contains nine appendices, each covering a different aspect of the Conference deliberations. While the Final Act consists of recommendations for consideration by the governments and for action by the Johannesburg Conference, it was adopted by unanimous agreement and, consequently, has a moral standing beyond the preliminary legal character of the document.

The Lisbon Conference considered and referred for final action a series of general principles governing international traffic which were drawn from the Congo Basin treaty.[6] The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Caeiro da Mata, in opening the Conference, and the British Ambassador, in response to the Foreign Minister, both referred to the Congress of Berlin of 1885 and expressed their belief that this Conference was a continuation and an extension of the work of the Berlin Congress.[7] On another occasion, the presiding officer of the Conference, Dr. Ulrich, indicated that the general principles being referred to the Johannesburg Conference would extend the principles of the Congo Basin treaty to a larger geographic area.

The Johannesburg Plenary Conference will have representatives from all the governments at the Lisbon Conference, plus Southern Rhodesia, East African High Commission, High Commission Territories in South Africa, Northern Rhodesia,

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[1] For the functions and structure of this permanent council see appendix VIII to Final Act, p. 856.

[2] Revision of the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels of July 2, 1890; convention between United States of America and other powers—signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919 (generally called the Congo Basin treaty). Treaty Series 877.

[3] Chiefs of Delegation:

United Kingdom: Sir Nigel Ronald, British Ambassador at Lisbon.

Portugal: Dr. Ruy Ulrich, President of the Faculty of Law at University of Lisbon and Former Ambassador at London.

France: M. Jean du Sault, French Ambassador at Lisbon.

Belgium: M. Debacker, Royal Inspector of colonies.

Union of South Africa: Dr. P. R. Botha, South African Minister at Lisbon.

[4] The United States was represented by three observers: Abbot Low Moffat, Chief of Trade, Finance and Development Section, ECA Mission to London; John E. Orchard, Special Adviser on Development of Overseas Territories, OSR, Paris; Maxwell Harway, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State.

[5] See p. 854.

[6] Appendix VII to Final Act, p. 856.

Nyasaland, General Government of Angola, General Government of Mozambique, the Administration of the Belgian Congo, and the Administration of French Equatorial Africa. The United States has again been invited to send observers.

During the period between the Lisbon and the Johannesburg Conferences, an interim organization will be established at Pretoria, South Africa, to act as a clearing house on transport questions and to prepare for the Plenary Conference.[8]

The participating governments agreed to keep each other informed through the interim organization of all changes and developments in inland transport facilities and operations and to take no action which might affect the transportation systems of neighboring territories without prior consultation with the affected countries. The problem of railway tariff structures received examination by the delegations and the participating governments were requested to "examine their railway rating systems with a view to establishing whether the development of the territories was being retarded or likely to be retarded by the railway tariff structure in operation." Furthermore, the governments will consider placing on the agenda of the Johannesburg Conference the question of interterritorial and international railway tariffs.[9] A number of long-term port and railway projects were referred for subsequent consideration by the Plenary Conference.[10]

As an immediate measure for improving transport facilities in the region,[11] the Lisbon Conference recommended "that the Government of Portugal should be urged to proceed immediately with the extension and improvement of the Port of Beira in Mozambique." It was further recommended that the Government of Southern Rhodesia should be urged to proceed immediately with the construction of a rail connection with Lourenço Marques. The establishment of a direct rail line between the Rhodesias and Lourenço Marques will provide an additional outlet for the important minerals being extracted in the interior and now dependent mainly on the overcrowded port of Beira. As a further improvement in transport from the interior to coastal points the Conference recommended consideration of increased use of the Benguela Railway and the port of Lobito, Portuguese Angola, on the Atlantic.

Incorporating the work of a highway subcommittee, the Final Act recommends development of standard vehicle-use regulations and traffic codes and agreement on construction and maintenance standards for international road traffic for final consideration at the Plenary Conference.[12]

The Lisbon Conference followed earlier conferences among European colonial powers in Africa on tropical medicine and agriculture. Consequently, it emphasized once again the willingness of these countries to cooperate in the common interest. In recommending to their governments the permanent coordination of transport, the delegates were aware of the historical importance of such cooperation and all the final speeches took notice of the importance of joint action in Africa for European recovery, world trade, and the potentialities of African economic development.

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[7] From the opening remarks of the Portuguese Foreign Minister, May 24, 1949:

"Africa is a prolongation of Europe: the Mediterranean does not separate them; on the contrary, it is the link between the two continents. Africa is the integration of Europe. The possibilities of Africa require a survey for the benefit of humankind . . . . . .

"It has been the aim of Europe and America to cooperate in Africa on a large scale. The Conference of Berlin in 1885 was one of the first attempts to this effect. Great changes have taken place since then and many years will probably have to lapse before this ideal is carried out. It is in order to remove as far as possible the obstacles to the free circulation of goods that the Conference meets in Lisbon today, and I feel sure that you will find a solution to the problem facing you. In the first international treaties relative to Africa or zones of Africa the principle of freedom of commerce, of establishment, and of communications has been recognized as essential."

From the remarks of the British Ambassador, May 24, 1949:

"Your Excellency alluded to the Conference of Berlin. That Conference took place in 1885. For more than 60 years we have been fiddling with the problem of how to bring some sort of order into the transport system of Africa. Up to now, too many fine schemes have come to grief owing to the obtrusion of sectional interests of the shareholders; the interests of the territorial authorities; the interests of national price. Far too many people have thought first and foremost of the axes they themselves wished to grind. Indeed, there have grown up a series of agreements, which could almost be classed as agreements for restraint of trade. Agreements have been entered into to deflect the passage of goods away from obvious and natural economic channels. It has even been alleged that there have been failures to observe the spirit of international treaties. We cannot hope to go on, each of us regarding only his own interests. We find ourselves now under an impulsion which never previously existed. We have got to pull together if we are to hope to survive at all. We have got to see to it that Africa makes a really worth-while contribution to world recovery.

"We cannot, of course, hope to build up over-night a new world center of heavy industry in Africa south of the Equator. Whatever else Africa has to give in the next ten or fifteen years, we can be sure that disappointment will figure fairly prominently on the list of her exports. But we can at least hope to attain the more limited objective of building up in Africa those local centres of industry which will lessen the strains and stresses of having to import every manufactured article from overseas and of providing those auxiliary forward bases of heavy industry which are essential for quick development . . . But, one thing is quite certain, that is that none of those plans will come to fruition without a rational transport system."

[8] Appendix I to Final Act p. 855.

[9] Appendix IX to Final Act p. 856.

[10] Appendix IV to Final Act p. 856.

[11] Appendix II to Final Act p. 855.

[12] Appendix V to Final Act p. 856.

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Final Act Conference on Central African Transportation Problems

LISBON, *31st May, 1949.*

WHEREAS the Governments of Belgium, France, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom recognise that the development of the economic resources of Central Africa is essential to the social and economic advancement of the peoples of this region, that this advancement is the constant preoccupation of the Governments concerned, who have already for several years cooperated successfully in technical matters concerning the territories for which they are responsible;

WHEREAS the development of the resources of Central Africa should normally lead to an increased interchange with Europe, America and the other Continents and will therefore be in the interest of the entire world;

WHEREAS, they recognise that a sound and coordinated development of port and transport facilities in Central Africa is basic to such development; that such development must be directed to the benefit of the region as a whole; and that decisions regarding such development must be taken with that consideration in mind;

AND WHEREAS they have caused their delegates to assemble at a preliminary conference in Lisbon at the invitation of the Portuguese Government to consider these problems within the framework of the following terms of reference:

(*a*) To examine the present conditions of land and water transport in Africa in the areas referred to in (e) below, and their present state of efficiency and development;

(*b*) To exchange information on the plans of the various territories concerned in relation to railway and port construction, development of inland waterways and extension of trunk roads serving inter-territorial functions;

(*c*) To examine the possibility of inter-relating these plans in the best interests of the territories concerned as a whole;

(*d*) To draft an agenda for a full-scale conference of governments with technical assistance to be held in Africa at a later date; to fix an approximate date for such a Conference and to decide its venue;

(*e*) To define the area within the scope of the Conference as comprising Angola, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, Belgian Congo, British East Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Swaziland and the Union of South Africa.

Be it Resolved by those assembled delegates to recommend to their respective Governments:—

1. That the Governments should co-operate in the development of Central African port and transport facilities on a regional basis and work together to that end.

2. That to carry out this policy of co-operation, a Plenary Conference should be convened at Johannesburg in October, 1950 to consider fully the matters outlined in the agenda set forth in paragraph 9.

3. That the following Governments and Administrations not represented at the Lisbon Conference should be invited to send representatives, including technical experts, to the Plenary Conference; Southern Rhodesia, East Africa High Commission, High Commission Territories in South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Government General of Angola, Government General of Mozambique, the Administration of the Belgian Congo and the Administration of French Equatorial Africa, and also that the United States of America be invited to send an observer or observers to such Plenary Conference.

4. That an interim organisation should be established as soon as possible at Pretoria to deal with matters arising prior to the Plenary Conference and to ensure that when the Plenary Conference meets it shall have before it all pertinent data. Detailed recommendations regarding the constitution and functions of such interim organisation are set forth in Appendix 1.

5. That each Government should keep the interim organisation fully and currently informed, for prompt transmission to the other Governments, of all changes, improvements and developments in inter-territorial or international port and transport facilities and operations within its territories.

6. That each Government should take no action relating to inter-territorial or international port or transport facilities or operations which might affect inter-territorial or international transportation or the intra-territorial transportation of other territories without prior consultation with the country or countries affected thereby.

7. That the Governments, between now and the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg examine their railway rating systems with a view to establishing whether the development of the territories served is being retarded or likely to be retarded by the railway tariff structure in operation.

8. That each Government should proceed, without awaiting the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg, with developments which will promote Central African inter-territorial and international port and transport facilities and operations. In particular the Governments concerned should proceed with the specific developments referred to in Appendix II.

9. That the following agenda should be adopted by the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg:

AGENDA

(i) To receive and consider plans for the development of inter-territorial and international port and transport facilities. (Conference resolutions on this point will be found in appendices III, IV, V and VI.)

(ii) To make recommendations for the correlation and co-ordination of the plans submitted to it.

(iii) To consider and recommend the priorities to be allocated to the developments, in respect of their urgency from a regional viewpoint and of the availability of supplies and finance.

(iv) To receive a report on the improvements effected in port and transport facilities and operations since the Lisbon Conference was held.

(v) To examine proposals designed to facilitate the

movement of inter-territorial and international traffic. (Conference resolution on this point will be found in Appendix VII.)

(vi) To consider the setting up of a permanent organisation for co-ordinating and advising on the development and operation of inter-territorial and international transport in the area within the purview of the Conference. (Conference resolution on this point will be found in Appendix VIII.)

(vii) Other business. (A Conference resolution pertinent to this point will be found in Appendix IX.)

10. That the Governments represented at Lisbon should signify through the usual diplomatic channels their approval of this Final Act to the other Governments concerned as soon as may be.

APPENDIX I

(To Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That there should be immediately established at Pretoria[1] a small interim organisation on the following basis and with the following functions—

(i) The interim organisation should be composed in the first instance of a secretary who would be provided with such clerical assistance as may be necessary;

(ii) The cost of the interim organisation should fall equally upon the participating Governments and Administrations;

(iii) The functions of the interim organisation should be:—To receive and collate the information called for in items (i) and (iv) of the recommended Agenda for the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg; To seek such further information as appears to the Secretary to be necessary for the deliberations of the Plenary Conference; To circulate such information to the member Governments and Administrations;

(iv) If it appears to the Secretary that a decision requires to be taken on any matter before the meeting of the Plenary Conference, he should, with the consent of the participating Governments and Administrations, convene a meeting of suitable experts to be appointed by Governments and Administrations to advise on that question;

(v) When a decision has been taken as to the headquarters of the permanent organisation, the interim organisation should, if this proves to be necessary, be transferred to the permanent venue and thus compose the nucleus of the permanent organisation.

APPENDIX II

(To Final Act)

WHEREAS the Conference has considered the import and export traffic requirements of the Central African territories in relation to available port capacity, and has found:

(1) That the total traffic requirements of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are estimated to amount by 1952 to 2,950,000 short tons per annum (it being understood that in view of the Portuguese Delegation it is unnecessary to provide in the estimate of traffic offering for local traffic requirements or the output from the Tete coalfield other than coal for ship bunkering purposes);

(2) That the port of Beira has a capacity at present of 1,600,000 tons, which can be raised within a short period by 400,000 tons by extension of berthing, and by a further 400,000 tons by the installation of mechanical loading facilities for minerals, as recommended by the Joint Mission of Survey in their report dated 10th October, 1947;

(3) That there will thus remain a short-fall of port capacity below traffic offering of the order of 550,000 tons and that adequate facilities for handling this traffic exist at Lourenço Marques;

Be It Resolved: That it is urgently necessary to provide additional facilities for the export and import traffic of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to this end:

(1) The Government of Portugal should be urged to proceed immediately with the extension and improvements of the Port of Beira to the capacity indicated above;

(2) The Government of Southern Rhodesia should be urged to proceed immediately with the construction of a rail connection with Lourenço Marques. The line that can be built with the least delay is that linking West Nicholson with Beitbridge;

(3) The improvements of capacity at Beira and the construction of the new railway link with Lourenço Marques should be put in hand concurrently, and at the same time the Government of the Union of South Africa should make the improvements to the railway from Zoekmekaar to Komatipoort for the additional traffic which will have to be carried by this line;

(4) The possibility should be examined of making more use of the Benguela Railway and the Port of Lobito for traffic arising which it may be impracticable to convey by the other routes.

APPENDIX III

(Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That each Government and Administration should prepare and submit to the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg for its consideration information on the following matters:

Railways

(i) Full statistics relating to existing systems and capacity;
(ii) Plans for the further development of existing routes;
(iii) Proposed routes showing gauge to be used;
(iv) Connections with other systems;
(v) Estimates of capacity of proposed routes;
(vi) Economic conditions and prospects in the country to be traversed;
(vii) Forecasts of tonnages of exports and imports and types of commodities;
(viii) Internal traffic;
(ix) Diversion of traffic, if any, from other routes;
(x) Internal effect of construction of new lines, e. g. change of gauge, braking systems, etc.

Ports

(i) Full statistics relating to existing ports including details of existing capacity;
(ii) Proposals for new construction and equipment, including details of potential capacity;
(iii) Forecasts of tonnages of exports and imports;
(iv) Diversion of traffic, if any, from other routes.

Roads

(i) Full statistics relating to mileage and standards of existing international road systems;
(ii) Diversion of traffic, if any, from other transport systems.

Inland Waterways

(i) Full statistics relating to existing systems;
(ii) Proposals for development;
(iii) Diversion of traffic, if any, from other transport systems.

Maps

All Statements should be accompanied by suitable maps and, where feasible, by suitable photographs.

[1] Pursuant to a resolution of the Conference that "the question of the venue at which the provisional organisation should be set up should be decided by the Government or Administration of the territory in which it is agreed that the Conference in Africa should be held."

APPENDIX IV

(Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That the following long-term port and railway projects should be considered by the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg—

(1) The suggested connection from the Rhodesia Railway system to the East African system and the port of Mtwara. In this connection the Government of the United Kingdom is invited to conclude the necessary surveys and reconnaissances before the Plenary Conference;

(2) The suggested connection from the Rhodesian system to Lourenço Marques via Parfuri;

(3) The suggested connection from the port of Nacala to the Rhodesian Railway system at Broken Hill;

(4) The suggested construction of an additional port on the west coast together with a rail connection with the hinterland.

APPENDIX V

(Final Act)

WHEREAS the Conference recognises that to cater adequately for road traffic, international as well as local, suitable construction and maintenance standards as well as vehicle use regulations and traffic codes are necessary;

Be It Resolved: That the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg should consider:

1. The introduction of a system of designation by the Governments concerned of "international highways" in accordance with plans co-ordinated on an international basis;

2. The setting up of minimum standards of construction and maintenance. as may be dictated by varying degrees of road and vehicle use, which should be applied by Governments along international highways;

3. The preparation of uniform traffic regulations and traffic codes (including traffic signs appropriate to the African territories) and standards of highway amenities, to be commended to the Governments for general adoption;

4. Measures for ensuring the full and free interchange of the results of research, experimentation and experience in highway and road transport matters.

5. The fiscal regime to be applied to the international highways in respect to the circulation of vehicles, the supply of petrol and fuel oil, the facilities to be granted for the establishment of repair workshops along the roads, and telephone communications—as well as the taxes and charges for such services as may be available.

APPENDIX VI

(To Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That the possibility of further utilization of the Zambesi River for transport should be considered by the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg.

APPENDIX VII

(To Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg should examine the following proposals designed to facilitate the movement of inter-territorial and international traffic;

(a) That goods in transit should not be subjected to undue delay or to the payment of special taxes except those normally imposed for the maintenance of roads railways or inland waterways, or to any form of discrimination;

(b) That existing customs facilities should be simplified;

(c) That steps should be taken to avoid unnecessary delay in the transit of passengers and that they should be free from the necessity to obtain visas for the purpose of crossing a country;

(d) That the right to pass through a country under a different sovereignty in respect of persons, luggage and goods shall be freely afforded by Governments and Administrations. Governments, in adopting measures for the proper enforcement of police customs and health regulations should take into consideration the necessity of facilitating and expediting the transit of inter-territorial traffic;

(e) That carriages, wagons and rolling stock generally may be permitted to pass freely from one transport system to another by agreement between the Governments or Administrations concerned;

(f) That reasonable facilities should be given to the nationals of one country who by reason of their duties in connection with inter-territorial transport systems are obliged to reside in a neighbouring country.

APPENDIX VIII

(To Final Act)

WHEREAS consideration of the statements and information submitted to the Lisbon Conference by the delegations has led the Conference to the conclusion that, if the transport problems of the territories with which the Conference is concerned are to receive adequate and co-ordinated consideration, an inter-territorial transport council on a permanent basis should be established;

Be It Resolved: That the Lisbon Conference recommends that the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg should consider the establishment of a permanent inter-territorial council on the following basis and with the following functions:—

(i) The Council should be composed of one delegate from each country or administration who should be an expert in transport matters;

(ii) The Council should have the power to co-opt further experts for the consideration of particular problems as required;

(iii) The Council should meet from time to time as may be required;

(iv) The Council should have a permanent secretariat financed jointly by member Governments and Administrations; it should be housed at some convenient central point;

(v) The Council should—

(*a*) consult upon any problems of transport brought to its notice by member Governments and Administrations and advise upon their solution. The member Governments and Administrations would be empowered to bring to notice any problem affecting transport within, or to or from their own territories, whether of a short term nature such as the congestion of a particular port or railway line, or of a long term nature involving, for example, expected future transport requirements; in any question in dispute preference should be given to the claims of the land-locked territories;

(*b*) consider the systematic preparation and tabulation of information concerning inter-territorial transport facilities in Africa, and to prepare estimates of future requirements for the information of member Governments;

(*c*) advise, as requested by member Governments and Administrations, upon the *prima facie* practicability of any designated inter-territorial route.

APPENDIX IX

(To Final Act)

Be It Resolved: That the Governments represented at the Lisbon Conference should consider adding to the Agenda of the Plenary Conference to be convened in Johannesburg the question of inter-territorial and international railway tariffs.

THE RECORD OF THE WEEK

The Paris Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers

COMMUNIQUÉ

[*Released to the Press June 21*]

The sixth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers attended by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of France, Robert Schuman; of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, A. Y. Vyshinsky; of the United Kingdom, Ernest Bevin; and of the United States of America, Dean Acheson, took place in Paris from May 23 to June 20, 1949. During this meeting the German question and the Austrian treaty were discussed. The Council of Foreign Ministers took the following decisions.

I. The German Question

Despite the inability at this session of the Council of Foreign Ministers to reach agreement on the restoration of the economic and political unity of Germany, the Foreign Ministers of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States will continue their efforts to achieve this result and in particular now agree as follows:

1. During the course of the fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be convened next September, the four governments, through representatives at the Assembly, will exchange views regarding the date and other arrangements for the next session of the Council of Foreign Ministers on the German question.

2. The occupation authorities, in the light of the intention of the Ministers to continue their efforts to achieve the restoration of the economic and political unity of Germany, shall consult together in Berlin on a quadripartite basis.

3. These consultations will have as their purpose, among others, to mitigate the effects of the present administrative division of Germany and of Berlin, notably in the matters listed below:

(A) Expansion of trade and development of the financial and economic relations between the Western zones and the Eastern zone and between Berlin and the zones.

(B) Facilitation of the movement of persons and goods and the exchange of information between the Western zones and the Eastern zone and between Berlin and the zones.

(C) Consideration of questions of common interest relating to the administration of the four sectors in Berlin with a view to normalizing as far as possible the life of the city.

4. In order to assist in the work envisaged in paragraph 3, the respective occupation authorities may call upon German experts and appropriate German organizations in their respective jurisdictions for assistance. The Germans so called upon should exchange pertinent data, prepare reports and, if agreed between them, submit proposals to the occupation authorities.

5. The Governments of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States agree that the New York agreement of May 4, 1949, shall be maintained.[1] Moreover, in order to promote further the aims set forth in the preceding paragraphs and in order to improve and supplement this and other arrangements and agreements as regards the movement of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern zone and the Western zones and between the zones and Berlin and also in regard to transit, the occupation authorities, each in his own zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to insure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water, and road transport for such movement of persons and goods and such communications by post, telephone, and telegraph.

6. The occupation authorities will recommend to the leading German economic bodies of the Eastern and Western zones to facilitate the establishment of closer economic ties between the zones and more

[1] BULLETIN of May 15, 1949, p. 631.

effective implementation of trade and other economic agreements.

II. The Austrian Treaty

The Foreign Ministers have agreed:

(A) That Austria's frontiers shall be those of January 1, 1938;

(B) That the treaty for Austria shall provide that Austria shall guarantee to protect the rights of the Slovene and Croatian minorities in Austria;

(C) That reparations shall not be exacted from Austria, but that Yugoslavia shall have the right to seize, retain, or liquidate Austrian property, rights and interests within Yugoslav territory;

(D) That the Soviet Union shall receive from Austria $150,000,000 in freely convertible currency to be paid in six years;

(E) That the definitive settlement shall include:

(1) The relinquishment to Austria of all property, rights or interests held or claimed as German assets and of war industrial enterprises, houses, and similar immovable property in Austria held or claimed as war booty, on the understanding that the deputies will be instructed to define more accurately the categories of war booty transferred to Austria (with the exception of those oil assets and DDSG—Danube Shipping Company—properties transferred to the Soviet Union under other paragraphs of article 35 of the treaty indicated in the U.S.S.R. proposals of January 24, 1948, as revised, and retained in general under Austrian jurisdiction). Accordingly the assets of the DDSG in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania as well as 100 percent of the assets of the company in eastern Austria in accordance with a list to be agreed upon by the deputies will be transferred to the U.S.S.R.

(2) That the rights, properties, and interests transferred to the U.S.S.R. as well as the rights, properties, and interests which the U.S.S.R. cedes to Austria shall be transferred without any charges or claims on the part of the U.S.S.R. or on the part of Austria. At the same time it is understood that the words "charges or claims" mean not only creditor claims as arising out of the exercise of the Allied control of these rights, properties, and interests after May 8, 1945, but also all other claims including claims in respect of taxes. It is also understood that the reciprocal waivers by the U.S.S.R. and Austria of charges and claims apply to all such charges and claims as exist on the date when Austria formalizes the rights of the U.S.S.R. to the German assets transferred to it and on the date of the actual transfer to Austria of the assets ceded by the U.S.S.R.

(F) That all former German assets which have become the property of the U.S.S.R. shall not be subject to alienation without the consent of the U.S.S.R.

(G) That the deputies shall resume their work promptly for the purpose of reaching agreement not later than September 1, 1949, on the draft treaty as a whole.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN

[*Released to the Press by the White House June 21*]

The Secretary of State has given me daily reports, and now a final report, on the recently concluded session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris.

Genuine progress was made at this session toward the conclusion of the treaty with Austria. This is a development which I know will be most welcome to the people of Austria, who for 4 years since the end of hostilities have lived under a regime of occupation. Almost 6 years ago, at the first Moscow conference in 1943, it was solemnly declared that Austria was to be regarded not as an enemy country but as a liberated country, the first victim of Nazi aggression, and it has been the consistent effort of the United States Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom and France to honor the pledge made at that time. Yet previous meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers and their deputies failed to remove the obstacles which certain Soviet claims concerning Austria placed in the way of a speedy conclusion of a treaty with the Austrian Republic.

At the Paris session the more important of these obstacles were finally removed by a freely negotiated agreement among the Four Powers, and we have reason to hope that before the end of the year the treaty may be signed. Such a positive achievement would be very gratifying. The Austrian people will acclaim this progress, and they in turn should be commended for their attitude of patient understanding throughout the protracted negotiations. The Austrian Government has been currently consulted during the negotiations in Paris, and the agreement reached preserves intact the vital interests of Austria. It can be said that the goal so important for Austria and her people is at last in sight. The United States Government wholeheartedly welcomes the results of the conference on Austria.

The same cannot be said regarding Germany. It must be frankly admitted that despite the forward-looking program sponsored by the Western powers as a basis for unification, little progress was made. The American delegatioon went to Paris with the serious intention of developing a constructive program which would meet the requirements for all of Germany and would safeguard the interests of all Four Powers in insuring that Germany would achieve its reconstruction along peaceful and democratic lines. At the same time, the Western powers were determined not to compromise the democratic principles and the conditions which must be established throughout

Germany before an economically sound and workable solution can be found for German unity. They were equally determined not to jeopardize the basic freedoms as they now exist in Western Germany merely to obtain a nominal political unity. In these objectives they knew they had the support of the freely elected representatives of the majority of the German people.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, sought a return to Potsdam and its system, which the Russians had rendered unworkable by their misuse of the unlimited veto. They refused to recognize the important progress which has been made in Western Germany since 1945.

In these circumstances, real progress for the unification of Germany and its people was impossible. The most that could be achieved was a working arrangement designed to mitigate the abnormal situation of a still divided Germany. This arrangement is no more nor less than what it professes to be—a means of dealing with what actually exists. It reaffirms the lifting of the Berlin blockade and contains the recognition by the occupation authorities of their obligation to insure the movement of persons and goods between the Eastern and Western zones and between Berlin and the zones.

In an effort to mitigate the economic consequences of the existing division of Germany, the arrangement provides for consultation among the Occupation authorities of the four Occupying Powers on practicable and useful measures which may be taken from time to time, particularly to facilitate and increase the flow of balanced trade between the different zones and the zones and sectors of Berlin in a manner advantageous to the Germans of the respective areas. To this end we are also prepared to call upon the expert assistance of the Germans in the Western zones and sectors. Since it proved impossible to establish a unified administration for Germany or even for Berlin, the present dual currency system must remain for the time being.

We are hopeful that such consultations and efforts may be fruitful. We shall endeavor to make them so.

Finally, our working arrangement calls for an exchange of views in the fall. Thus the door is left open to future efforts for a solution of the German problem and the achievement of peace in Europe.

The Secretary of State has informed me of the close cooperation and understanding which characterized the relations of the three Western powers throughout the conference. I take much satisfaction in this. It is a demonstration of the progress made possible by the identity of ideals and values which are the common heritage of the peoples of the Atlantic community.

I am convinced that the results of the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers reveal the correctness of the policies this government has been following in our foreign affairs. The results again underline the necessity of pursuing these policies with calmness and determination, as the only sure road to the establishment of conditions in the world where peace and freedom can live and endure. I am confident that the American people see this as clearly as I do and that there will be no slackening of our efforts to achieve the great task which history has placed upon our country.

REPORTS TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON RESULTS OF CONFERENCE

Statements by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the Press June 22*]

Following his meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in executive session, on June 22, Secretary of State Dean Acheson issued the following statement:

Prior to my departure for Paris to attend the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, I met with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in executive session, outlining the problems we expected to face and discussing our plans. I have just met again with the members of the Committee. I reported upon the Conference and discussed with the Committee the possible effect of developments at the Conference on our plans for the future.

I have taken this opportunity to express to the Committee my conviction that although some worthwhile progress was made at Paris in reaching agreement on a *modus vivendi* for Germany and on the principal points of difference on the Austrian treaty, the failure of the Conference to obtain satisfactory and firm agreement on the economic and political unification of Germany illustrates the still widely divergent views on basic issues between the Soviet Union and the Western powers and reemphasizes the utmost importance of ratification of the North Atlantic pact and passage of the Military Assistance Program at this session of Congress. This is necessary in order that we may continue our firm policy in Europe and maintain the momentum which has been stimulated by that policy. This momentum, in my opinion, was responsible for the lifting of the blockade, the convening of the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting, and the accomplishments at that meeting.

I have expressed to the Committee my conviction that further progress toward our objective over the months ahead will depend on the action we take to maintain this momentum.

[*Released to the Press June 23*]

Following his meeting with the House Foreign Affairs Committee in executive session on June 23, Secretary of State Dean Acheson issued the following statement:

I have just met with the Foreign Affairs Committee to report to them on the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. I expressed to them, as I did to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, my conviction that the developments at the Conference reemphasize the utmost importance of ratification of the North Atlantic pact and passage of the Military Assistance Program at this session of Congress.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY SECRETARY ACHESON CONCERNING HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

[*Released to the press June 23*]

You have had a great deal of excellent reporting from day to day as to what has been happening at Paris with a good deal of interpretation as we went along. The President has made a very full summary of the ultimate conclusions from it. I thought that perhaps the most helpful thing I could do today is to give you an impression which was made on my mind as to what happened and why it happened and where we go from here.

In the first place, I think it is important that everybody understands, and I am sure you do, although I doubt whether people throughout the country do, that these meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers are not battles of individual champions where particularly bright ideas are whet or sharp maneuvers count for very much. It is not the personalities involved, it is not the ability of the individuals who represent countries, which makes a great deal of difference. I think the heart of the matter is somewhere else.

You will recall that General Marshall, following his return from the London Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in December 1947, said that he did not think that the Council of Foreign Ministers would get much further until there was some resolution of the great problem of Europe, which was: Is Western Europe going to recover and regain its strength, or is it not?

General Marshall at that time expressed his confidence that this would come about and that we were going to help. He mentioned the Soviet prediction that it would not occur.

It is in the progress that has been achieved in the restoration of Western Europe that you should look for the explanation of what happened at Paris. It has been the success of the cooperative efforts in Western Europe to which the United States has so greatly contributed in the last two years that made this meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers different from its predecessors. It was those programs, plus the magnificent success, courage, and performance of the airlift which, in the first place, brought about the lifting of the blockade, and in the second place, brought about the situation which emerged from Paris. In other words, these conferences from now on seem to me to be like the steam gauge on a boiler, the indicator on the steam boiler. They indicate the pressure which has been built up. They indicate the various gains or losses in position which have taken place between the meetings, and I think that the recording of this Conference is that the position of the West has grown greatly in strength, and that the position of the Soviet Union in regard to the struggle for the soul of Europe has changed from the offensive to the defensive.

The significance of this is very important in explaining why no agreement was possible about Germany. Being on the defensive, the Soviet Union was forced to take, or did take at any rate, the attitude that it would not relax its hold in any way whatever upon any area which it controlled in Germany. It would not relax its hold on the Eastern zone of Germany or on the Eastern sectors of Berlin. That fact, in and of itself, made any agreement impossible because the whole essence of the Western program was to relax this iron grip of military government from the Western zones of Germany. The whole program of the Western powers has been to return as quickly as was safe responsibility to the Germans, responsibility for conducting their own affairs and for conducting their own affairs under a system which guaranteed the basic human freedoms and contained the safeguards necessary for the security of Europe and of the world.

That was a program from which we could not retreat one single solitary inch. We did not. We never could consider it, and no agreement was possible on the basis of our retreating from that position.

The Soviet Union was totally unable to accept that position because that meant relaxing their hold upon what they had. It meant that they could no longer carry on this Sovietization, this domination of the life of Germany which they controlled. To do so they would have to give, as we have given, the Germans a large voice in the conduct of their own affairs. That the Soviets were apparently afraid to do. They knew that if they did that, they would no longer be able to control what they now hold in Germany.

That, I think, is the heart of the whole conference so far as Germany is concerned and it is a very significant fact. It indicated that in the West we are not on the defensive. We feel that strength is returning, that recovery is coming. We are willing to say to the Germans, "You must take responsibility in your own country, and we want to bring you into the life of free Europe, we hope before long, as equals." The Russians can not say that. They dare not say that, because if they relax their hold upon the Eastern Germans, they know that they will be no longer able to control that area.

That is one of the central things which I wanted to bring up, so that, as I say, as a result of that, we refused to make any concessions of fundamental principles. We are going forward with our pro-

gram without any hestitation of any sort. Not the slightest delay has been introduced into our program in any way whatever, and the program is in better shape today than it ever was before. Now, that is a negative result from Paris but it is an important one.

So far as the *modus vivendi* regarding Germany is concerned, that is a very modest document. The importance of the Conference is not in that document. It is in what I have been talking about. It is in what did not happen rather than in what did happen. The *modus vivendi* relaxes the tension in Germany. It establishes very clearly that the blockade is not to be reimposed. Now, don't think that I am naive enough to believe that simply because it has been agreed in the *modus vivendi* that it would not be reimposed; that it, in fact, would not be reimposed if conditions seemed to warrant that action as a successful operation to the Russians. The point is that having considered all the matters which in the past have been given as reasons for imposing the blockade, the currency reform, the London agreement, the formation of the West German Government—all those things—have been talked about. At the end of four weeks of talks, it is agreed that the blockade shall not be reimposed. That is something, not much, but it is something.

The other part of the communiqué on Germany provides for dealing with matters at administrative levels, so that ordinary difficulties and disputes may not rise to the levels of governmental crises. The High Commissioners, at their level, will deal with trade questions between East and West Germany if the desire is expressed to expand those trade relations. Those trade relations will have to be expanded on a balancing and equal basis. No one is going to extend credit to anyone else, therefore, exports must balance, and they must balance not only in terms of amount but in terms of essentiality. All those matters will be worked out if they can be worked out by the High Commissioners. But a forum is established, a place where meetings can take place between East and West so that these matters do not rise to the point of creating great issues between the governments. Similarly, in Berlin, arrangements have been made so that the Commandants can meet and discuss the thousand and one problems of the split city. No power is given. No veto resides in anybody, but a forum again is created where people can meet and talk about the intensely irritating situation which would exist here in Washington if this city were split at Fourteenth Street and you had one government on one side with one currency and another government on the other side with another currency, with troops on both sides, preventing the intercourse between the two parts of the city which was once bound completely together. There are thousands of questions which might be eased by meetings of that sort. Here again, that is not much. It is simply a way of dealing sensibly with the established fact that the city is split and the country is split and they can not be put together at this time.

So much for what happened on Germany.

In regard to Austria, a substantial step forward was taken. There the principal problems which have been preventing the writing of a treaty were not completely solved, but the avenue toward solution was found. The matter of the Yugoslav claims as to territory and reparations is disposed of. That has been finished. That, of course, has been a great impediment. That is out of the way.

The terribly complex and harassing problem of German property claimed by the Soviet Union has been solved in its major outlines. The Soviet Government will get 60 percent of the oil properties as a concession for some 30 years, and 150 million dollars over 6 years, and in return for that, it will release all other properties.

There are a great many perplexing and technical questions involved in carrying that out but once you reach that solution, I think these other questions can be worked out, and this arrangement is not a victory for anybody. It was a sharply bargained arrangement in which I think it is perfectly fair to both sides and under which—when the treaty is written—a viable and independent Austria, which will have to scratch hard for its living but which will still be viable and independent, can emerge and rejoin the community of free nations.

To me, the main great lesson of the Paris meeting is that what has been done has been brought about largely by the efforts of the American people, by their will and by their determination. If that ground is to be held and if the advance is to be continued, those efforts must be continued. There is no such thing as standing still in this operation. You either move forward or you move back. If we are going to move forward, we must move forward with new effort, with renewed determination. We must ratify the Atlantic pact. We must get on with the Military Assistance Program. We must do these other essential things which are now before the Congress. It is my conviction that the people of Europe are prepared to move forward with great courage and great determination. They hope and expect that we will do likewise. If we do, then I think the power and influence of the West will continue to grow. This will result in a greater possibility of solving the questions we did not solve at Paris. If we don't, I think we are going to slip back.

The President's Recommendations for Technical Assistance Program for Underdeveloped Areas Sent to the Congress [1]

To the Congress of the United States:

In order to enable the United States, in cooperation with other countries, to assist the peoples of economically underdeveloped areas to raise their standards of living, I recommend the enactment of legislation to authorize an expanded program of technical assistance for such areas, and an experimental program for encouraging the outflow of private investment beneficial to their economic development. These measures are the essential first steps in an undertaking which will call upon private enterprise and voluntary organizations in the United States, as well as the government, to take part in a constantly growing effort to improve economic conditions in the less developed regions of the world.

The grinding poverty and the lack of economic opportunity for many millions of people in the economically underdeveloped parts of Africa, the Near and Far East, and certain regions of Central and South America, constitute one of the greatest challenges of the world today. In spite of their age-old economic and social handicaps, the peoples in these areas have, in recent decades, been stirred and awakened. The spread of industrial civilization, the growing understanding of modern concepts of government, and the impact of two World Wars have changed their lives and their outlook. They are eager to play a greater part in the community of nations.

All these areas have a common problem. They must create a firm economic base for the democratic aspirations of their citizens. Without such an economic base, they will be unable to meet the expectations which the modern world has aroused in their peoples. If they are frustrated and disappointed, they may turn to false doctrines which hold that the way of progress lies through tyranny.

For the United States the great awakening of these peoples holds tremendous promise. It is not only a promise that new and stronger nations will be associated with us in the cause of human freedom, it is also a promise of new economic strength and growth for ourselves.

With many of the economically underdeveloped areas of the world, we have long had ties of trade and commerce. In many instances today we greatly need the products of their labor and their resources. If the productivity and the purchasing power of these countries are expanded, our own industry and agriculture will benefit. Our experience shows that the volume of our foreign trade is far greater with highly developed countries than it is with countries having a low standard of living and inadequate industry. To increase the output and the national income of the less developed regions is to increase our own economic stability.

In addition, the development of these areas is of utmost importance to our efforts to restore the economies of the free European nations. As the economies of the underdeveloped areas expand, they will provide needed products for Europe and will offer a better market for European goods. Such expansion is an essential part of the growing system of world trade which is necessary for European recovery.

Furthermore, the development of these areas will strengthen the United Nations and the fabric of world peace. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations states that the economic and social advancement of all people is an essential bulwark of peace. Under article 56 of the Charter, we have promised to take separate action and to act jointly with other nations "to promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."

For these various reasons, assistance in the development of the economically underdeveloped areas has become one of the major elements of our foreign policy. In my inaugural address, I outlined a program to help the peoples of these areas to attain greater production as a way to prosperity and peace.

The major effort in such a program must be local in character; it must be made by the people of the underdeveloped areas themselves. It is essential, however, to the success of their effort that there be help from abroad. In some cases, the peoples of these areas will be unable to begin their part of this great enterprise without initial aid from other countries.

[1] H. Doc. 240, 81st Cong., 1st sess.

The aid that is needed falls roughly into two categories. The first is the technical, scientific, and managerial knowledge necessary to economic development. This category includes not only medical and educational knowledge, and assistance and advice in such basic fields as sanitation, communications, road building, and governmental services, but also, and perhaps most important, assistance in the survey of resources and in planning for long-range economic development.

The second category is production goods—machinery and equipment—and financial assistance in the creation of productive enterprises. The underdeveloped areas need capital for port and harbor development, roads and communications, irrigation and drainage projects, as well as for public utilities and the whole range of extractive, processing, and manufacturing industries. Much of the capital required can be provided by these areas themselves, in spite of their low standards of living. But much must come from abroad.

The two categories of aid are closely related. Technical assistance is necessary to lay the groundwork for productive investment. Investment, in turn, brings with it technical assistance. In general, however, technical surveys of resources and of the possibilities of economic development must precede substantial capital investment. Furthermore, in many of the areas concerned, technical assistance in improving sanitation, communications, or education is required to create conditions in which capital investment can be fruitful.

This country, in recent years, has conducted relatively modest programs of technical cooperation with other countries. In the field of education, channels of exchange and communication have been opened between our citizens and those of other countries. To some extent, the expert assistance of a number of Federal agencies, such as the Public Health Service and the Department of Agriculture, has been made available to other countries. We have also participated in the activities of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other international organizations to disseminate useful techniques among nations.

Through these various activities, we have gained considerable experience in rendering technical assistance to other countries. What is needed now is to expand and integrate these activities and to concentrate them particularly on the economic development of underdeveloped areas.

Much of the aid that is needed can be provided most effectively through the United Nations. Shortly after my inaugural address, this government asked the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to consider what the United Nations and the specialized international agencies could do in this program.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations thereupon asked the United Nations Secretariat and the Secretariats of the specialized international agencies to draw up cooperative plans for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. As a result, a survey was made of technical projects suitable for these agencies in such fields as industry, labor, agriculture, scientific research with respect to natural resources, and fiscal management. The total cost of the program submitted as a result of this survey was estimated to be about 35 million dollars for the first year. It is expected that the United Nations and the specialized international agencies will shortly adopt programs for carrying out projects of the type included in this survey.

In addition to our participation in this work of the United Nations, much of the technical assistance required can be provided directly by the United States to countries needing it. A careful examination of the existing information concerning the underdeveloped countries shows particular need for technicians and experts with United States training in plant and animal diseases, malaria and typhus control, water supply and sewer systems, metallurgy and mining, and nearly all phases of industry.

It has already been shown that experts in these fields can bring about tremendous improvements. For example, the health of the people of many foreign communities has been greatly improved by the work of United States sanitary engineers in setting up modern water supply systems. The food supply of many areas has been increased as the result of the advice of United States agricultural experts in the control of animal diseases and the improvement of crops. These are only examples of the wide range of benefits resulting from the careful application of modern techniques to local problems. The benefits which a comprehensive program of expert assistance will make possible can only be revealed by studies and surveys undertaken as a part of the program itself.

To inaugurate the program, I recommend a first year appropriation of not to exceed 45 million dollars. This includes 10 million dollars already requested in the 1950 Budget for activities of this character. The sum recommended will cover both our participation in the programs of the international agencies and the assistance to be provided directly by the United States.

In every case, whether the operation is conducted through the United Nations, the other international agencies, or directly by the United States, the country receiving the benefit of the aid will be required to bear a substantial portion of the expense.

The activities necessary to carry out our program of technical aid will be diverse in character and will have to be performed by a number of different government agencies and private instrumentalities. It will be necessary to utilize not only the resources of international agencies and the United States Government, but also the facili-

ties and the experience of the private business and nonprofit organizations that have long been active in this work.

Since a number of Federal agencies will be involved in the program, I recommend that the administration of the program be vested in the President, with authority to delegate to the Secretary of State and to other government officers, as may be appropriate. With such administrative flexibility, it will be possible to modify the management of the program as it expands and to meet the practical problems that will arise in its administration in the future.

The second category of outside aid needed by the underdeveloped areas is the provision of capital for the creation of productive enterprises. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Export-Import Bank have provided some capital for underdeveloped areas, and, as the economic growth of these areas progresses, should be expected to provide a great deal more. In addition, private sources of funds must be encouraged to provide a major part of the capital required.

In view of the present troubled condition of the world—the distortion of world trade, the shortage of dollars, and other aftereffects of the war—the problem of substantially increasing the flow of American capital abroad presents serious difficulties. In all probability novel devices will have to be employed if the investment from this country is to reach proportions sufficient to carry out the objectives of our program.

All countries concerned with the program should work together to bring about conditions favorable to the flow of private capital. To this end we are negotiating agreements with other countries to protect the American investor from unwarranted or discriminatory treatment under the laws of the country in which he makes his investment.

In negotiating such treaties we do not, of course, ask privileges for American capital greater than those granted to other investors in underdeveloped countries or greater than we ourselves grant in this country. We believe that American enterprise should not waste local resources, should provide adequate wages and working conditions for local labor, and should bear an equitable share of the burden of local taxes. At the same time, we believe that investors will send their capital abroad on an increasing scale only if they are given assurance against risk of loss through expropriation without compensation, unfair or discriminatory treatment, destruction through war or rebellion, or the inability to convert their earnings into dollars.

Although our investment treaties will be directed at mitigating such risks, they cannot eliminate them entirely. With the best will in the world a foreign country, particularly an underdeveloped country, may not be able to obtain the dollar exchange necessary for the prompt remittance of earnings on dollar capital. Damage or loss resulting from internal and international violence may be beyond the power of our treaty signatories to control.

Many of these conditions of instability in underdeveloped areas which deter foreign investment are themselves a consequence of the lack of economic development which only foreign investment can cure. Therefore, to wait until stable conditions are assured before encouraging the outflow of capital to underdeveloped areas would defer the attainment of our objectives indefinitely. It is necessary to take vigorous action now to break out of this vicious circle.

Since the development of underdeveloped economic areas is of major importance in our foreign policy, it is appropriate to use the resources of the government to accelerate private efforts toward that end. I recommend, therefore, that the Export-Import Bank be authorized to guarantee United States private capital, invested in productive enterprises abroad which contribute to economic development in underdeveloped areas, against the risks peculiar to those investments.

This guarantee activity will at the outset be largely experimental. Some investments may require only a guarantee against the danger of inconvertibility, others may need protection against the danger of expropriation and other dangers as well. It is impossible at this time to write a standard guarantee. The Bank will, of course, be able to require the payment of premiums for such protection, but there is no way now to determine what premium rates will be most appropriate in the long run. Only experience can provide answers to these questions.

The Bank has sufficient resources at the present time to begin the guarantee program and to carry on its lending activities as well without any increase in its authorized funds. If the demand for guarantees should prove large, and lending activities continue on the scale expected, it will be necessary to request the Congress at a later date to increase the authorized funds of the Bank.

The enactment of these two legislative proposals, the first pertaining to technical assistance and the second to the encouragement of foreign investment, will constitute a national endorsement of a program of major importance in our efforts for world peace and economic stability. Nevertheless, these measures are only the first steps. We are here embarking on a venture that extends far into the future. We are at the beginning of a rising curve of activity, private, governmental, and international, that will continue for many years to come. It is all the more important, therefore, that we start promptly.

In the economically underdeveloped areas of the world today there are new creative energies. We look forward to the time when these countries will be stronger and more independent than they are now, and yet more closely bound to us and to other

nations by ties of friendship and commerce, and by kindred ideals. On the other hand, unless we aid the newly awakened spirit in these peoples to find the course of fruitful development, they may fall under the control of those whose philosophy is hostile to human freedom, thereby prolonging the unsettled state of the world and postponing the achievement of permanent peace.

Before the peoples of these areas we hold out the promise of a better future through the democratic way of life. It is vital that we move quickly to bring the meaning of that promise home to them in their daily lives.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 24, 1949.

Where Do We Stand on Point Four?

by George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs[1]

President Truman, you will recall, launched the planning of a world technical cooperation program, on a cooperative basis, with his declaration of policy at his inauguration last January 20.

He said that the United States, in cooperation with the United Nations, and with other governments, would attempt to pool the technical knowledge and skills of the more advanced countries to stimulate the progress of the underdeveloped countries.

There was obviously both selfishness and altruism in Mr. Truman's proposal. It was selfish because the United States does its greatest trade with the countries that are economically prosperous. It was selfish because an economy of private enterprise can remain most healthy in a world-wide expanding economy. It was selfish because the peace of the world and the security of the United States depends upon the well-being of the underdeveloped nations.

On the other hand, this plan was altruistic because the United States was not seeking any political favors. It was asking no privileges for American business greater than those accorded to businessmen from any other country. And the United States was willing to contribute more than its proportionate share in this program.

The President called his plan "bold and new". It is bold because for the first time a major nation has made it a national concern to facilitate the development of lesser developed countries, which contain well over half the population of the world, and because the plan looks beyond the immediate political alarms and crises to a long-range program, extending over many decades. This proposal is a demonstration of confidence in the possibility of achieving world peace.

The program is new in its world-wide scope. On a small scale, our government has had experience with this type of program in Latin America.

Now what has been happening on the plans for Point 4 since last January 20?

The United Nations Organization has given active leadership. The Secretariats of the United Nations specialized agencies have had numerous meetings to discuss the work which their organizations might undertake in the fields of agriculture, education, health, and general economic development. The Secretariats have now submitted their proposals to their various governing bodies. You may have seen a news story recently from New York, indicating that the total of these proposals would cost 84 million dollars for the first two years. Next month at Geneva, the Economic and Social Council will review these proposals. Thereafter, the combined United Nations program will be examined by the United States and other members of the United Nations who are willing to contribute to the Point-4 program. As you know, the Point-4 program is a wholly voluntary contribution, over and above our membership assessment in the United Nations.

Within the United States Government itself the Department of State has been given responsibility for drafting the necessary legislation and recommending a first year program. This work is now completed, and the President will probably be sending to Congress this week a message requesting consideration of Point-4 legislation at this session.

It is not possible to discuss the contents of the first year's program, because each project will have to be negotiated with another government, and part of the expense will be borne by the other government.

[1] An address delivered before the American Society of Engineering Education at Troy, N. Y. on June 23, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

However, I can assure you that engineering will play a prominent part in that program, and subject to approval by the United States Congress, and by other countries which may contribute to this cooperative venture, hundreds of American and other engineers will be going annually to assist the governments of underdeveloped areas of the world.

I do not mean to overemphasize the role of government in this program, for it is likely that United States engineering firms and contractors will contribute a major share to the Point-4 program.

I am unable to give you details of the proposed program, but let me review some of our recent experiences in working with other governments on engineering matters.

The government now has two programs of technical assistance in Latin America.

First, there is an Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, which draws upon the technical skills and personnel of all the federal agencies to supply technical assistance to other governments. I am chairman of that Committee, which has about 180 technicians working in Latin America today.

Second, there is a government corporation, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, which is conducting programs for the improvement of the basic economy of Latin America. It works primarily in the fields of food supply, health, and education. I sit on the Board of Directors of that corporation.

These two programs utilize engineering skills of many sorts in assisting other governments. Here are some examples:

1. *Mining.* If you go to Mexico City today, you will find in the laboratories of the Mexican Government two mining engineers supplied by the United States Bureau of Mines. These are shirt-sleeves men who are helping the Mexicans work out processes for extracting or reducing ores, so as to make mining less expensive. The United States supplied these men primarily because of our interest in lead, zinc, and other strategic minerals. However, they are available to work on any mining or metallurgical process requested by the Mexican Government.

Since 1942, the United States has sent to Brazil a number of geologists to assist that government in locating and mapping its strategic minerals. These American geologists and their Brazilian colleagues have uncovered the largest deposits of manganese in the Western Hemisphere. The United States, since its earliest development of iron and steel, has been forced to import manganese from the other side of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Now, for the first time, we may become self-sufficient within this hemisphere. United States Steel has entered into a contract with the Brazilian Government for development of one of these manganese deposits.

2. *Irrigation.* In Haiti, an engineering field party of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs has just completed a small concrete aqueduct carrying water out of the mountains into the arid coastal plain about 25 miles behind the capital of Port-au-Prince. This aqueduct is irrigating approximately 1,500 acres of land that have been largely abandoned since French colonial days over a hundred years ago, and the irrigated area is now being expanded. Haiti, as you may know, has a severe food shortage.

3. *Drainage for Malaria Control.* Engineers of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs were asked to tackle the malaria problem of the Santa River Valley in Peru where 25 percent of the population were infected. The mosquitoes were breeding in marshes along the river. In one year the Institute engineers drained the area surrounding the mouth of the river, and the incidence of malaria dropped from 25 percent to 2 percent. The cost of this project was supplied largely by the Peruvian Government, and the labor was Peruvian. The United States supplied the technical knowledge.

4. *Aviation.* The Civil Aeronautics Administration has field parties in five Latin American countries today, advising other governments on the location and construction of their airfields and the maintenance of their airways communications. Many of the United States personnel are engineers.

5. *Brazilian Air Mission.* In Brazil the United States has facilitated an entirely different kind of aviation mission. The Brazilian Government itself has recruited 20 of the outstanding aviation technicians of the United States, employed directly by the Brazilian Government to develop a national aviation program. The staff is headed by Dr. C. I. Stanton, former deputy administrator of the United States Civil Aeronautics Administration, and Professor Richard H. Smith, former dean of Aeronautical Engineering at M.I.T. These men have organized a complete engineering school for the Brazilian Government.

6. *Mechanical Engineers.* The Department of Agriculture has sent to Cuba several mechanical engineers who are helping to develop the necessary machinery for extracting fiber from the kenaf plant. Kenaf is an agricultural product developed by United States and Cuban scientists to replace jute. The agricultural phase of the work has been completed, but the machinery for processing the fiber is not yet satisfactory. When this project is completed, the United States will no longer be dependent entirely on the Far East for this important type of fiber.

7. *Water Supply Engineers in the Amazon.* The Institute of Inter-American Affairs engineers have supervised the construction of about 20 municipal

water supply plants in Brazilian towns along the Amazon. The Amazon Valley was completely lacking in pure water systems, and water-borne parasites had become the principal national health problem. I recently heard an interesting anecdote about the first of these water systems in the Amazon, which was constructed in 1943. It was built in a town of 2,500 people, which served as a county capital. The engineers, in order to allow for population expansion, built the system to supply 4,000 people. Within 2 years after the water system was constructed, people had moved from miles around into this town, and its population had grown to 6,000 people—50 percent greater than the water supply capacity. The plant had since been enlarged. Moreover, this town had been located for centuries on the bank of the Amazon, because everyone had to carry water in buckets from the river bank. Within 1 year after the water system was constructed, the population began moving inland from the river and the center of town now is almost 2 miles from the river, on higher and more healthful ground. That is what one American engineer can contribute to one foreign community.

8. *Training Engineers in the United States.* Many of our federal agencies are conducting classes and individual training courses for technicians from Latin America. More than 2,000 technicians and scientists have been brought to the United States under this program during the past 10 years. Approximately 400 of these were in various fields of engineering. Right now in Washington there are training courses going on for Latin American engineers in the Public Roads Administration, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Bureau of Reclamation, the National Bureau of Standards, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service. This last agency is training sanitary engineers.

9. *London Science Staff.* An entirely different kind of engineering activity is represented by the science staff in the United States Embassy at London.

The Department of State has maintained a science staff in the London Embassy for almost 2 years. This staff both acquires and gives information of a scientific and technical nature.

Last year, from April 1948 to April 1949, an engineer was the Chief Scientific Officer—Dean W. R. Woolrich, Dean of the College of Engineering, University of Texas. His contribution to the work of the staff was considerable and is illustrative of the kind of assistance engineers will be giving to the Point-4 program, as well as other U.S. foreign programs. He made a study of government sponsored research in the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in Great Britain. He surveyed and appraised the whole system of engineering education, government and private, talking with officials in engineering schools and assessing the kinds of courses, methods of teaching, requirements for degrees, selection of students, and organization and management of engineering colleges. While in London, Dean Woolrich was a member of the U.S. Educational Commission in the U.K. administering the Fulbright program in Great Britain.

Dean Woolrich also worked on a plan to promote Western European interchange of unclassified industrial and agricultural technology now in possession of the governments participating in ERP. He cooperated with ECA and OEEC and with British and French government officials in developing the plan which has been accepted by the OEEC. Arrangements are now underway to put the plan into effect. Exchange arrangements are to be carried out by the countries among themselves. If successful, the project is likely to aid significantly in European economic recovery and to place the cooperating countries in a much stronger position to participate in the Point-4 program than they otherwise would be.

The best example I can recall of how the government and private enterprise work together in this field of technical cooperation is a story that came out of Afghanistan. In 1935, the Afghanistan Government sent to the United States a student of engineering. After he had graduated from an American engineering school, the Bureau of Reclamation took him into its laboratories at Denver for 9 months of training. Shortly after this student returned to Afghanistan, he was appointed Minister of Public Works. When consideration arose in 1942 for the construction of a major dam in Afghanistan, this former student asked the United States Government if it could send a survey engineer. The State Department arranged for a trip by Jack Savage of the Bureau of Reclamation, whom many of you know as the designer of Boulder Dam. Jack Savage spent only a month in Afghanistan, advising on the feasibility of the project. The Afghanistan Government then issued a series of contracts to United States engineering and construction firms, now aggregating many millions of dollars.

Here in one sequence you can see the relationship of our program for foreign students, our training of foreign technicians in United States Government agencies, our sending of technical advisers to other governments, and the role played by private American companies.

As soon as these professional schools are established, it is found that the scientific training and particularly the laboratory work in the high schools is inadequate, and it is necessary to revise the high school curriculum.

In many underdeveloped countries we find that education has been restricted to the wealthy families who have a social repugnance for hand labor. They lack what Harold Lasswell calls "the dignity of overalls."

One of the methods which the United States has attempted to use in overcoming this attitude is to

recommend handicrafts and shop work in the primary schools of a country. We have tried to break down the social attitude towards manual labor at the youngest possible age.

These educational problems are fundamental in any improvement to engineering services in most backward countries.

This year the United States has had over 25,000 foreign students enrolled in its universities. Approximately 5,100 of these students were studying engineering. That is over 20 percent. Nearly all of these students have been assisted at one time or another by our cultural officers in the American missions abroad or by our reception centers in the United States for assisting foreign visitors. The State Department is doing its best, within the limits of our university capacity to stimulate both the quantity and quality of the foreign students. The most important contribution to this program, however, has been the excellent fellowship program and counseling services of the various universities, including our engineering schools.

I believe we have been more successful in aiding foreign students to come to the United States than we have been in supplying visiting professors to institutions abroad. Under the Point-4 program there will undoubtedly be a greater demand than at present for the sending of United States visiting professors of engineering to other countries.

And this brings me to a subject of particular interest to members of your organization.

I believe that the Point-4 program will put strain upon the available pool of skilled personnel in this country, including the engineering profession. The government will be looking to its own staff, to private engineering companies and to universities to determine what outstanding engineers are available for foreign assignment, and those who can be spared will be the first assigned. But I foresee in the second and third and ensuing years a demand for personnel which will compel the United States to turn to its young college graduates to undertake assignments abroad. Many of our technicians in Latin America today are under 30 years of age. I believe this is true of a majority of our sanitary engineers.

This is a problem which should be of concern to all of our professional schools. It means that some of our engineering students, to be properly prepared for their work, should have foreign languages and some "area studies." It means that the counseling services of our universities must become more familiar with the overseas opportunities for college graduates.

Such foreign assignments will be an all-round benefit to the United States and to the individual. The individual will be given experience far beyond his years and beyond any opportunities he would have in the United States to exercise such broad authority at so young a period in his life. This in turn enriches the pool of trained manpower which the United States possesses and gives our nation a richer experience in world affairs, which will enable us better to fill our new role in world leadership.

I have heard it said that engineers contributed more to the winning of the war than any other profession.

I foresee that the role of engineers in the program for peace, as laid down by President Truman, will be equally important.

Settlement of Claims Against Foreign Governments: Yugoslavia [1]

I. THE SETTLEMENT WITH YUGOSLAVIA

The United States in its own right has two claims against Yugoslavia. The first is for alleged misappropriation of a jeep during the war period; the second is for the destruction by Yugoslav fire of a United States Air Force transport plane during flight between Austria and Italy on August 19, 1946. Yugoslavia paid $150,000 indemnity on October 7, 1946, for loss of lives in connection with the incident, but the loss of the plane remains unsettled.

Although various claims for the taking of property arose after September 1, 1939, the claims of the United States against Yugoslavia on behalf of American nationals grow primarily out of policies and actions of the postwar government of that country. The first of these was the so-called agrarian reform of August 1945, involving the nationalization and distribution of excess farm holdings. The second was the nationalization of basic industries under an enactment of the Yugoslav Parliament of December 6, 1946. The third was the nationalization of small business enterprises under an amendment of May 20, 1948, to the above-mentioned enactment. The fourth was the nationalization of virtually all remaining prop-

[1] Excerpts from H. Rept. 770, 81st Cong., 1st sess., June 9, 1949.

erty in Yugoslavia under a further amendment of June 23, 1948, to the basic nationalization enactment.

Concurrently with the above, the United States Government reserved American rights by diplomatic action, formally insisting on prompt, adequate, and effective compensation for divested American owners.

Settlement negotiations began soon thereafter. Negotiations embraced a general economic settlement between the two governments. This involved compensation for nationalization of property, settlement of the lend-lease obligation of the Yugoslav Government to this government, the unblocking of Yugoslav Government assets in this country, recognition of dollar bond obligations, and similar issues.

Two executive agreements embodying the substance of the settlements were signed on July 19, 1948. As explained in a Department of State press release of that date:

[Here appeared portions of that release which was printed together with the two agreements in the BULLETIN of August 1, 1948, page 137.]

Though the claims agreement alone is material to this bill, the substance of the concurrent agreement and the action of the Treasury Department in unfreezing Yugoslav assets are relevant. For it should be emphasized that the United States Government approached the question of settlement with Yugoslavia on a broad basis. The American claims were weighed not as an isolated issue but as a part of the whole range of financial relationships between the two governments.

Interposition by the government in behalf of claimant Americans is obviously necessary. If such interposition were not made, the American whose position and interest are prejudiced by the acquisitive action of a foreign government would have recourse to local courts as his only opportunity for relief. Obviously this would amount to no relief at all in an iron-curtain country. Even if a settlement in local currency were made, the money would be of no use to an American recipient.

Since governmental interposition is necessary, the next question is what means is to be followed. To resort to the traditional procedure of establishing a claims tribunal and arguing the issues before it would be inadequate in such a situation as the instant one.

The realistic course is the one followed by the United States in reaching the settlement with Yugoslavia—the consideration of issues on a broad enough basis to enable this government to press claims by economic or financial action on related issues. The government should be commended and encouraged in following a course which protects the interests of nationals abroad with something more substantial than the shield of reason and rhetoric.

II. TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT

The settlement with Yugoslavia is the first of its kind in the postwar situation. Others may be expected. Negotiations are now in progress for a settlement with Czechoslovakia of claims totaling about $80,000,000 growing out of the nationalization and other taking of American property interests. Negotiations are expected to be opened with Poland concerning similar claims totaling $175,000,000. The agreement with Yugoslavia therefore is of particular interest as a possible pattern for other settlements.

Article 1 of the agreement pledges Yugoslavia within 45 days after signature to pay the United States $17,000,000 in settlement of the claims. Any money left over after all awards have been made and the expenses of adjudication paid will be returned to Yugoslavia.

Article 2 confines the claims affected to those involving property, rights, and interests which at the time of nationalization or other taking were directly or indirectly owned by a United States national, or an American corporation whose outstanding securities were at least one-fifth of American ownership.

Article 3 excludes from the settlement the claims of those who acquired United States nationality after deprivation. These persons must settle their claims with Yugoslavia directly.

Article 4 specifies that Yugoslavia does not waive any possible claims against United States nationals. It says that claimants compensated in pursuance of the agreement will be foreclosed from other claims growing out of the same circumstances. It recognizes the obligation of nationalized industries as successors to the debts of the businesses nationalized, but debts which are the basis of claims settled in pursuance of the agreement will be regarded as settled.

Article 5 obliges Yugoslavia to continue to grant most-favored-nation treatment to Americans in ownership and acquisition of assets in Yugoslavia.

Article 6 obliges Yugoslavia to avoid and ban the use within Yugoslavia of trade-marks, company names, and trade names of nationalized American-owned companies when such trade-marks, company names, and trade names are used in other countries.

Article 7 provides that claims of United States nationals for war damage to property not nationalized will be treated no less favorably than such claims of Yugoslav or other nationals.

Article 8 makes the distribution among claimants of the funds paid by Yugoslavia a concern of the United States alone and makes final the findings of the agency to be set up for that purpose.

Article 9 obliges Yugoslavia to furnish to the United States, on request, information and documents necessary to settle the individual claims. It obliges the United States to furnish Yugoslavia

certified copies of papers related to the adjudication of claims. It authorizes Yugoslavia to file briefs as friend of the court on consent of the agency to be established by the United States to make awards.

Article 10 obliges Yugoslavia to authorize persons in Yugoslavia to pay debts to United States nationals, firms, or agencies, and, so far as feasible, to permit dollar transfers for such purpose.

Article 11 contains Yugoslavia's agreement to give "sympathetic consideration" to applications for transfer from Yugoslavia to the United States of small bank deposits which in the circumstances are important to the person requesting the transfer.

Article 12 provides for the agreement to take effect upon signature.

III. THE MAKING AND PAYMENT OF AWARDS

No final estimate of the number of claimants against Yugoslavia is available. The number is believed to be about 1,500. Included, in addition to the United States Government itself, are American corporations whose claims, while small in number, bulk largest in value, and recently naturalized United States citizens of former Yugoslav nationality. Virtually all types of ownership are represented. The intent of the agreement and the bill is to provide compensation for eligible American property interests nationalized or otherwise taken by the Yugoslav Government, including interests in which American individuals or entities possessed direct ownership, or in which they possessed indirect ownership through entities organized in foreign countries.

The United States has the money on hand. The problem is to get it to the deserving claimants. This requires the establishment of an agency and a procedure so that claims can be weighed consistently with a uniform standard.

The instant bill will set up the agency and the procedure.

The agency is to be an International Claims Commission within the Department of State. It should be noted that this will not be an independent establishment. In this respect the bill is in keeping with the views of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in its Report on General Management (pp. 335–336), generally criticizing the independent status of numerous agencies now existing. It is consistent also with that Commission's final report, which makes various recommendations to reduce further the number of agencies reporting to the President. As to the War Claims Commission, for example, its recommendation is that it be placed in the position of reporting to the Secretary of State. Regarding the Indian Claims Commission, it recommends that it be attached to the Indian Service of the Department of the Interior. The report does not recommend that any claims commission be maintained as an independent agency.

In keeping with the Commission's status as a part of the Department of State, its three members are made subject to appointment by the Secretary of State rather than subject to Presidential appointment with Senatorial confirmation. In this respect, the proposed Commission will contrast with the War Claims Commission provided for in the War Claims Act of 1948 (Public Law 896, 80th Cong.) and with the American Mexican Claims Commission established under the Settlement of Mexican Claims Act of 1942 (Public Law 814, 77th Cong.). The difference is believed to be justified by the desirability of establishing this agency as a part of a regular executive department with a responsibility to specific authority. The need of insuring independent adjudication, however, is recognized in the provision that the Secretary of State may remove a member only for neglect or malfeasance and upon notice and hearing.

The technical character of the Commission's duties is recognized in a requirement that the Commissioners must be members of the bar. The need of attracting talent of a high order so as to insure proper performance is recognized in the provision of $15,000 as the annual salary of the Commissioners.

Since the time necessary to complete the work is unpredictable, the bill does not set a terminal date for the Commission. This is to be determined in the discretion of the Secretary of State and in the light of the circumstances. Termination of the Commission, however, will not affect the basic authority of the act. This will remain intact so that the mechanism may be reestablished in event that similar claims settlements in the future make it necessary to resume such adjudications.

The committee, however, has written into the bill a provision (sec. 6) directing the completion within 4 years of the Commission's tasks under the Yugoslav claims agreement. This will allow ample time for the work; the provision is desirable as a stimulus to efficient performance and as an indication of the purpose of this legislation to bring about a settlement and to avoid any unnecessary deferment of the time when claimants will receive the measure of redress to which they are entitled.

The Commission will settle claims of the United States Government and United States nationals (the latter defined as in the Nationality Act of 1940) under the Yugoslav claims agreement and other possible claims agreements of the same character. The possibility of other claims agreements whose terms would come within the Commission's jurisdiction should be understood to include possible supplementary agreements with Yugoslavia. It should be noted that the Commission will have no jurisdiction over any war claims against former enemy countries. These come within the jurisdiction of the War Claims Com-

mission set up under the War Claims Act of 1948.

The Commission will apply, in the order indicated, (*a*) the provisions of the applicable claims agreement (in the immediate instance, the Yugoslav claims agreement), and (*b*) the applicable principles of international law, justice, and equity.

The Commission's decision "shall constitute a full and final disposition of the case in which the decision is rendered." The bill states also that such decisions—

> shall be final and conclusive on all questions of law and fact and not subject to review by the Secretary of State or any other department, agency, or establishment of the United States or by any court by mandamus or otherwise.

In its procedures the Commission will operate generally under the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act (Public Law 404, 79th Cong.). This would presumably be true under the terms of the Administrative Procedure Act itself, but the committee has amended the bill so as to make this explicit. Internal procedure will be along judicial lines. Each claim will be adjudicated on an adversary basis. Awards will be made on the basis of a record.

The Commission is to be staffed with attorneys, clerks, economic analysts, and investigators. A small field staff to gather evidence and proof will operate in Yugoslavia or in any other country with whose Government the United States may reach a similar agreement to settle claims. Such a staff will be necessary in order to insure proper adjudication in many cases where documentary or other proof would not be otherwise obtainable. It should be noted in this connection that the agreement with Yugoslavia obligates that country, insofar as possible, to assist by making available information and documents necessary to proper adjudication.

The hiring of such personnel and other costs involved in the Commission's activities should not be a factor in the financial position of the Government. Appropriations authorized under this bill should be amply covered by money gathered into the Treasury in pursuance of a provision for a deduction of 3 percent from each award. The bill also provides, with respect to the money on hand for settlement of claims against Yugoslavia, that to the extent the 3-percent deductions may not cover all costs, additional deductions may be made from the residual funds left after all awards have been made. The balance, if any, will then be returned to Yugoslavia as required by the agreement.

The bill recognizes that many of the claimants are in immediate need of compensation for deprivation of property. An amendment written into the bill by the committee allows the Commission to make awards on parts of individual claims when final action on other portions of the claims must be deferred. The bill also provides that awards of $1,000 or less in principal amount may be paid immediately. Immediate payment of $1,000 on awards of larger amount is authorized. Additional payments of 25 percent of unpaid principal of awards of more than $1,000 are also permitted. Beyond this, awards will be satisfied only when all cases have been adjudicated. Interest, insofar as allowed, will be paid on a pro rata basis only after all principal awards have been paid.

The provisions of the bill relating to payment of awards after they have been entered follow generally the practice of the United States Government in settling claims against itself and are modeled closely upon the Mexican Claims Act of 1942. The amendments approved by the committee make changes in detail rather than in substance.

One amendment lowers from $1,000 to $500 the maximum limit on payments in which the Comptroller General is to have discretion in deciding who is entitled to receive payment on an award to a deceased claimant.

Another amendment eliminates as unnecessary a provision related to payments to the estate of a deceased claimant; it was the committee's view that the procedure for payment to persons entitled to receive awards made to a deceased claimant would suffice with respect to payments to such estates.

A third amendment gives the Secretary of the Treasury rather than the Comptroller General the discretion to make payments to the assignee in event of the assignment of an award. The committee was informed that such an amendment was desirable in the view of the Treasury Department and was concurred in by the General Accounting Office.

Another amendment eliminates as unnecessary a provision that failure to give or receive notice of the opportunity to file a claim should not give rise to a cause of action against the United States or against members of the Commission and their subordinates.

Europe as a Bulwark of Peace

by Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, Former Ambassador to the Soviet Union[1]

I appreciate the honor of being invited to address the governors of the United States at their annual conference. I consider it especially significant that our governors, preoccupied as they are with the special problems and interests of the respective states, should turn their attention to a consideration of foreign affairs, which in our time have come to affect the lives of all Americans in the most personal and intimate way.

The turn of events since the end of the war has placed upon the United States, as the citadel of freedom and the strongest of the free nations, the major responsibility for world recovery, world peace, and world progress, and at the same time has confronted this nation with potentially the gravest challenge ever offered to our principles and our way of life. This situation results from the decision of the leaders of Soviet Russia to turn away from the cooperation which we hoped would prevail after the war, and instead to seek to impose Communism upon the world. The consequent resistance of the free peoples of the world to subjugation and enslavement has brought about the world-wide struggle in which we are now engaged.

ELEMENTS OF SOVIET COMMUNISM

In any such conflict, the first requirement is to understand the nature of the opposing force. In analyzing Soviet Communism, we can distinguish certain basic characteristics or elements. The first element is a group of ruthless and ambitious men, animated by a lust for power and bound by a fanatical doctrine which holds that the end justifies the means, no matter how brutal or unjust. The second element is the seizure by this group of absolute control of a large and powerful nation, whose strength and resources are used by the arbitrary rulers to carry out their aggressive and expansive policies. The third element is the control and manipulation by these rulers of subservient groups in other countries so as to subject those countries to the will of the dominant power, as has been done throughout Eastern Europe, as is being done in China, and as will be done wherever freedom and democracy do not prove themselves strong enough to resist.

STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRACIES

This combination of unrestrained power, based in a vast and lusty country and reaching out in all directions through the mechanism of international Communism, makes Soviet Russia a formidable opponent. Yet the democracies, aroused to common action and dedicated to the preservation of their liberties, are substantially stronger.

I am convinced that the Soviets, although exasperatingly difficult to deal with, do not want to risk war and will modify their aggressive policies when confronted with firm resistance, backed by recognizable force. This opinion was not hastily arrived at but is based in large part on my experience as ambassador to Moscow.

It is extremely important for the democracies, and especially the United States, never to lose sight of the fundamental fact that we are engaged in a constant, continuing, gruelling struggle for freedom and the American way of life that may extend over a period of many years. We must not be thrown off balance by temporary ups and downs, indecisive triumphs and failures. We must anticipate that the Soviet tactic will be to attempt to wear us down, to exasperate us beyond endurance, to keep probing for weak spots they can exploit. Obviously the Russians believe they are playing a game of patience, in which they can outlast us.

We need to keep reminding ourselves to take the long view, particularly at the conclusion of some dramatic or frustrating experience, whether it be

[1] An address delivered at the Conference of Governors in Colorado Springs, Colo., on June 20, 1949, and released to the press on the same date by the National Military Establishment. General Smith is Commanding General of the First Army.

the end of a blockade or the termination of a Conference of Foreign Ministers. We cannot allow ourselves to be swerved from our long-term purpose by the elations or the disappointments of the moment.

Regardless of from what direction one approaches the problem, he must inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the best assurance of peace is our determination and strength to support our convictions. It is not sufficient only to have strength to defend ourselves by military means if necessary. The potential must exist and by its very existence it serves its highest purpose, which is in preventing war. We all know now that while victory in war saves us from the imposition of solutions we are determined to reject, victory itself raises grave new problems in turn. As one who has seen war, I am earnestly concerned with the creation of conditions that will assure peace.

This is the object of this nation's policies in foreign affairs. As a member of the United Nations, we are pledged to the settlement of international disputes by pacific means. We are conscientiously trying to strengthen the United Nations as an effective instrument for preserving the peace. We are energetically working, both inside and outside the United Nations, to promote the economic and social conditions throughout the world that will minimize conflicts and remove the causes of wars. If we continue to pursue these policies vigorously and steadfastly we will succeed in throwing back the challenge of Communism and at the same time preserving the peace.

EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM

One of the fundamental measures for achieving that purpose is the European Recovery Program, an essential and effective means of assuring peace. No one who has been in Europe for any length of time since the war can help but be profoundly impressed by the great change that has taken place since the Marshall Plan has been in operation. Little more than a year ago, Western Europe was disorganized economically, depleted physically, and depressed spiritually. The position of its free nations was precarious. It was a situation of crisis in which anything might happen. The prospects for peace were anything but promising.

The contrast between conditions in Europe then and today is remarkable. The free nations of Western Europe have literally taken a new lease on life. They are working together as never before. The people have been given more than new hope, as important as that is. They have been given something to work with, and their production record proves that they not only are eager to work but that they also have the skill and the determination to reestablish themselves in the world. The Marshall Plan has not been the only factor in effecting this transformation, but it has been the major force in the stabilization of Europe. I am certain that history will confirm President Truman's judgment that the Marshall Plan marked the turning point.

In the marked increase of production achieved in Europe during the last year, the contributions of farm and labor groups both in this country and in Europe have been notable. The organized labor movement in this country and the non-Communist labor movements in the participating countries of Europe have strongly supported the Marshall Plan. These movements on both sides of the Atlantic joined in establishing a trade-union advisory committee to assist in carrying out the recovery program. The support of the labor groups is essential to success, since the workers hold the key to industrial production. Similarly, the representatives of farm organizations in this country have testified for the Marshall Plan in Congressional hearings and likewise have been active in an advisory committee to assist the ECA. The farmers of Europe, favored by the weather, have substantially increased the production of food crops. Such interest and support is of great importance because it demonstrates that the Marshall Plan is not just an arrangement among governments but basically a cooperative effort among the peoples of the countries concerned.

But we must not forget that the essence of the Marshall Plan is that it is not a relief program but a recovery program and that it is based on calculations of the minimum requirements for recovery over a 4-year period. We knew this when we accepted the plan in the first place. This means that we must be prepared to follow this program through to its logical conclusion if it is to accomplish its purpose. If we turn back from the course we set ourselves little more than a year ago, or if we slacken our efforts, we not only risk losing the momentum achieved thus far, but we also run the danger of wasting what we have already invested in the program. Aside from the material factors involved, any sign of vacillation or indecision on our part will profoundly discourage our friends and strengthen the belief of the Communists that they have only to keep up the pressure until we grow tired and give up the struggle. We must understand that we are engaged in a contest of indefinite duration and that we must decide our course and stick to it through thick and thin.

The recovery of Europe is a primary requisite for the maintenance of the free way of life and the preservation of peace. But even European recovery is only part of a larger design. The economic revival of Western Europe is necessary to make the peoples of that continent self-supporting and to enable them to resume their proper place in world affairs. Economic recovery also will provide them in time with the strength to assume their own security. But they do not have that strength at present.

All the nations of Western Europe that engaged in the recent war, with the exception of

Great Britain, emerged from that conflict practically defenseless. Since VE-day they have begun rebuilding their defenses, but it is a slow, laborious process, particularly since economic recovery has priority. The knowledge of their inadequate defenses, in the face of the aggressive and expansive tendencies of the Soviet Union, has contributed to a pervading sense of insecurity that weighs heavily on Western Europe. Even while putting forth their utmost effort for recovery, the people have been haunted by the fear that they might be rebuilding only to have the fruits of their labor again usurped by an occupying army.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

The sense of insecurity arising from these circumstances is in itself a serious detriment to recovery, stability, and peace. In order to achieve our objectives in Europe, the United States must use its own strength to shield the free nations of Europe from aggression while they rebuild their defenses, just as we are using our material resources to enable the people of Western Europe to revive their economies. This is the purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty, which the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has unanimously recommended for ratification, and the legislation for military assistance, which the Administration is now preparing to submit to the Congress.

The treaty, which is a pact for the mutual defense of the North Atlantic area against armed attack from any source, commits the 12 signatory countries to help each other to maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist aggression. It is in partial fulfillment of that obligation that the Administration proposes to provide 1 billion, 130 million dollars of military assistance to the European members of the treaty during the next fiscal year.

The purpose of this measure is to accelerate the rebuilding of the defenses of Western Europe, both to increase the faith of the free peoples of Europe in their own ability to resist aggression and to make more effective their pledge to contribute to the mutual defense of the North Atlantic area. The promise that all of the 12 nations signing the treaty naturally including the United States will come promptly to the aid of any one of them which is attacked is in itself a strong deterrent to aggression. From what we know of the nature of Soviet Communism, it is obvious that the effectiveness of that deterrent will be increased in proportion to the known ability of all 12 nations to resist and defeat an aggressor.

The great, the priceless benefit we expect to gain from this treaty is peace. We seek that benefit by making clear in advance our determination and that of our partners in the treaty resolutely to resist armed attack with all the strength available to us all. Determination is not enough; it must be backed by strength.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

If war should nevertheless come, the advantages of this arrangement would not by any means accrue solely to the European members of the treaty. With the experience of two World Wars in mind, I think it is clearly apparent that there are tremendous advantages to the United States in having strong and loyal friends on the continent of Europe. In the event of war, these advantages are greatly increased if our associates in Europe are able to maintain their position until we are able to join our forces with theirs on the continent. Therefore, our assistance in strengthening the ability of our Atlantic pact associates successfully to resist aggression in Europe is equivalent to strengthening the defenses of the United States.

The conclusive reason for military assistance to the free nations of Europe is that it materially enhances the prospects for peace. The greatest single achievement leading to the creation of conditions that would assure lasting peace in the world would be the reestablishment in Europe of a group of strong, free, virile and progressive states, living together in harmony and cooperating closely in political, economic, and social matters for the good of their own people and the people of the world. This kind of Europe, no longer dependent on the United States or fearful of attack from the East, would be a stabilizing force with great influence in world affairs.

EUROPE AS A BULWARK OF PEACE

This kind of Europe would contain a population greater than that of Russia, much further advanced in science and technology, with resources much better developed and an industrial organization much more efficient and productive. Such a Europe would be able effectively to resist the encroachments of Communism. By providing a living, dynamic demonstration of the superior values of the free way of life over totalitarian, such a Europe would inevitably exert a profound attraction for the repressed and impoverished peoples under the Communist yoke.

Above all, the kind of Europe envisioned as resulting from our present policies would be a great constructive force for peace. The free nations of Europe share our aversion for war. That aversion has been intensified by the tragic experiences of recent years. Strength in the hands of the free peoples of Europe will be strength dedicated to the defense of peace. We can make no better investment for peace than the restoration of the strength of the free nations of Europe.

We can help make Europe a bulwark of peace by doing three things: First, continuing the European Recovery Program in full force until we have finished the job and attained the objective we set ourselves in the beginning. Second, entering fully and wholeheartedly into the North Atlantic Treaty for the mutual defense of the vital centers of Western civilization. Third, providing

military assistance as an effective step toward reconstituting the strength of Western Europe as a positive force for peace.

BIPARTISAN NATURE OF UNITED STATES POLICIES TOWARD EUROPE

I should like to emphasize the bipartisan nature of these policies. The legislation providing aid for Greece and Turkey and for economic assistance to Europe and the Senate resolution which guided this government in negotiation of the treaty were all passed by a Republican Congress with a Democratic administration and by overwhelmingly bipartisan votes. To me this is clear proof that these measures far transcend partisan politics and are recognized as representing the true basic interests of the American people.

In advocating these measures, I fully recognize that they are undertakings not to be lightly assumed. The continuance of the European Recovery Program and the initiation of the Military Assistance Program require large public expenditures at a time when our commitments are already heavy and economic adjustments apparently are in progress. I support these measures out of a deep conviction that they are essential in the national interest. What is involved here is nothing less than the preservation of our way of life—the continued assertion of our right as free men to govern ourselves as we see fit and to live according to the dictates of our own conscience.

SACRIFICES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE

This being true, we should not hesitate to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to defend our free institutions. The American people have repeatedly shown that they will willingly make great sacrifices for that purpose. Public opinion clearly favored the inauguration of the Marshall Plan at a time when it appeared that the shipment of the necessary foodstuffs and other materials to Europe might cut drastically into our own supplies. That danger no longer exists. In fact, the procurement program for European recovery might become a valuable stabilizing influence in our domestic economy when production is declining. Certainly it is true that our foreign aid programs and our domestic economy must be kept in balance as component parts of an integrated national policy.

The time has passed when foreign affairs and domestic affairs could be regarded as separate and distinct. The borderline between the two has practically ceased to exist. Henry L. Stimson, who has served both as Secretary of State and as Secretary of War, has summed it up this way: "No private program and no public policy, in any sector of our national life, can now escape from the compelling fact that if it is not framed with reference to the world, it is framed with perfect futility."

UNITED STATES RESPONSIBILITIES IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Our great responsibilities in world affairs inevitably have their effect on every aspect of our national life, and every element of our national life enters into our actions with respect to the rest of the world. The strength which we must have to overcome the dangers that threaten and to accomplish the great task of achieving a just and decent peace is not military strength or economic strength alone, but the total strength of the nation. It is a strength that encompasses such things as education, public health, family life, and opportunity and incentive for individual achievement. And basic to that strength is the passionate devotion of our people to the free way of life. We can maintain the material, moral, and spiritual strength of America if our democratic faith remains strong.

We in this country know that we can draw from this wellspring of faith the strength necessary to carry out the tremendous responsibilities of world leadership. We must express that strength in purposeful and resolute action. We must never give others cause to doubt our purpose and our resolution. The stakes are too high to afford even a suspicion of irresolution.

In this critical period of history, the United States cannot have a "fair weather" foreign policy formulated under favorable conditions only to be abandoned or watered down when the going gets rough. We cannot embark on a certain course of action, advertised to the world, and then back down before the job is finished.

We have made a good start on a policy that has achieved a considerable measure of success. We need to keep at it. Hesitancy or delay at this time would only hearten the enemies of democracy and weaken the confidence of the free peoples in the leadership of the United States which has brought the world thus far along the road to recovery and peace. We can't march up the hill one day and down again the next. We must go forward, step by step, to world peace and security. Only in such a world can our own peace and security be assured.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Documents and State Papers **was discontinued with the June issue and has been combined with the Department of State BULLETIN, beginning with the issue of July 4.**

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Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

HUMAN RIGHTS: DRAFT COVENANT REVISED AT FIFTH SESSION OF COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

by James Simsarian

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights revised the draft International Covenant on Human Rights, which sets forth basic civil and political rights, at its fifth session at Lake Success from May 9 to June 20, 1949. It also considered briefly questions of principle relating to the establishment of international machinery for the implementation of the Covenant. The draft Covenant and proposals for its implementation will now be transmitted to member governments of the United Nations for their comments, the Commission having fixed January 1, 1950, as the final date on which all proposals concerning these drafts should be received by the Secretariat. The Commission will reconvene for its sixth session early in 1950 to revise the documents in the light of comments received from governments, which when completed at the 1950 session will be forwarded to the Economic and Social Council and then to the General Assembly for its consideration in the fall of 1950.

The Commission at its fifth session drastically streamlined the draft Covenant forwarded to it by the Drafting Committee, which had met at Lake Success the previous year. The draft Covenant now proposes safeguards with respect to some 15 basic civil and political rights. The Drafting Committee of the Commission had rejected the inclusion of economic, social, and cultural rights in the Covenant last year, and the Commission this year decided to postpone the further consideration of these additional rights until the 1950 meeting.

The basic civil and political rights provided in the draft Covenant relate to the right to life, protection against torture, slavery, forced labor, arbitrary arrest or detention, protection against imprisonment for inability to fulfill a contractual obligation, freedom of movement and residence, freedom to leave a country, freedom to return to one's country, right to a fair and public hearing before an independent and impartial tribunal, protection against *ex post facto* laws, right to recognition as a person before the law, freedom of religion, assembly and association, and equal protection of the law.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948, was not drafted in the form of a treaty and accordingly is not a legally binding document. It enumerates civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. In contrast to the Declaration, the Covenant is being drafted in the form of a treaty and, after its approval by the General Assembly, will be submitted to governments for their ratification. The Covenant will be binding only on countries which ratify it through their regular constitutional procedure. In the United States, it would be submitted to the Senate for the approval of two thirds of that body.

ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 2, paragraph 1

Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Covenant was revised to provide that each state party to the

Covenant "undertakes to ensure to all individuals within its jurisdiction the rights defined in this Covenant." The article further provides that where the rights defined in the Covenant have not already been "provided by legislative or other measures, each state undertakes, in accordance with its constitutional processes and in accordance with the provisions of this Covenant, to adopt within a reasonable time such legislative or other measures (which are necessary) to give effect to the rights defined in this Covenant."

The representative of the United States, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, indicated that if the Covenant is signed and ratified by the United States the obligations of the Covenant should be carried out through legislative or other measures, existing or to be enacted, giving effect to the provisions of the Covenant, particularly with regard to articles 5 to 22. She pointed out that under this procedure, these articles of the Covenant should not themselves become operative as domestic law.

The United States representative pointed out that the Constitution of the United States provides—

> This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the land;

Constitutions of other countries have similar provisions; for example, Paraguay, Argentina, and Mexico. In many other countries, however, a treaty does not become the supreme law of the land automatically, that is, it is necessary to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to the provisions of the treaty. The provisions of the treaty themselves do not become operative as domestic law.

The United States representative accordingly proposed that it should be made clear that the substantive articles of the Covenant would not themselves become effective as domestic law, and that each party to the Covenant should be placed on the same footing to take the necessary steps to carry out the provisions of the Covenant through appropriate legislative or other measures to the extend to which such measures have not already been enacted.

Article 4

Article 4 was approved to provide that "In time of war or other public emergency threatening the interests of the people, a State may take measures derogating from its obligations under Part II of the Covenant to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation." The United Kingdom pressed for the inclusion of this provision in the Covenant. Upon the approval of this article, the French representative on the Commission argued that this exception should be applicable only to paragraph 5 of article 9 (relating to habeas corpus), paragraph 1 of article 11 (relating to freedom of movement and residence and freedom to leave one's country), and articles 16 (religion), 18 (assembly) and 19 (association). The application of this exception to article 17 on freedom of speech and the press was not considered since the approval of this article was postponed. The British representative urged the application of this exception to additional articles of the Covenant. The Commission decided to postpone until its next session the decision as to which of the articles of the Covenant the exception provided in article 4 should apply.

Article 5

The Commission considered the possibility of providing in the Covenant that "No one shall be deprived of his life," and then enumerated the various exceptions to this right as proposed by the Drafting Committee last year. It decided, however, that it was doubtful that all possible exceptions to this right could be enumerated in detail. Even if it could do so, the Commission felt that such an article would be far too complex. The United States representative agreed with this view. Considerable sentiment developed in the Commission for the article to provide that "No one shall be deprived of his life arbitrarily." When this sentence was voted in parts, a majority of the members of the Commission voted for the first part of the sentence, "No one shall be deprived of his life," but a majority did not vote for the word "arbitrarily." Accordingly this article now provides "No one shall be deprived of his life," it being generally understood in the Commission, however, that it will have to be considered further at the next session of the Commission. The United States representative supported the addition of the word "arbitrarily."

Some of the rights in the Covenant presumably provide for protection against state action only, as in the case of protection against *ex post facto*

laws in article 14. It was agreed in the Commission that such provisions as in article 8 relating to slavery and servitude should provide protection against individual as well as state action. The United States representative expressed the view, however, that some of the rights enumerated in the Covenant, such as the right to life in article 5 and freedom of movement and residence in article 11, should provide protection against state action only, but the overwhelming sentiment in the Commission was that these articles should also provide for protection against individual as well as state action. For example, the Commission felt that in the case of the right to life in article 5, the Covenant should provide protection against violence by individuals or groups as well as the state. Members of the Commission referred to the acts of mob violence by private groups in Germany during the Nazi regime where individuals had no protection with respect to many of the rights now proposed to be safeguarded by the Covenant.

In urging protection against individual as well as state action, members of the Commission did not, however, propose or contemplate any international machinery for action against any individual who deprives another individual of any right being safeguarded by the Covenant. All international machinery for the implementation of the Covenant calls only for action against the country which fails to carry out its obligations under the Covenant. The proposed provisions of the Covenant leave the responsibility for enforcement with respect to the individual or group action derogating from the rights set forth in the Covenant, to the state itself. Under article 2 of the draft Covenant each state party to the Covenant undertakes the obligation to insure to all individuals within its jurisdiction the rights provided in the Covenant. The state agrees to adopt legislative or other measures in accordance with its constitutional processes to give effect to the rights defined in the Covenant, to the extent to which such measures have not aready been enacted.

Article 7

The Drafting Committee forwarded the following text for this article: "No one shall be subjected to any form of physical mutilation or medical or scientific experimentation against his will." The Commission decided to request the views of the World Health Organization with respect to this article before proceeding to its consideration.

Article 8

Paragraph 2 of article 8 provides "No one shall be held in servitude." The Commission in its discussion of the word "servitude" defined the term narrowly as practically synonymous with "serfdom" and accordingly felt that there should be no exception to this provision. The Commission did not consider the term "servitude" as synonymous with the phrase "forced or compulsory labor."

The Commission decided that the provisions in article 8 relating to forced or compulsory labor should be reviewed carefully at its next session after the completion of the present survey of forced labor by the International Labor Office and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 9

As in the case of article 5, the Drafting Committee had prepared a draft of article 9 last year which listed 40 detailed illustrative exceptions to the provision "No one shall be deprived of his liberty." The Commission decided to omit this general statement with its many exceptions and to rely instead on the provision that "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention." The United States representative strongly supported this decision.

Paragraph 6 of article 9 provides that "Every person who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty shall have an enforceable right to compensation." The United States representative urged the omission of this paragraph from the Covenant.

Article 11

Liberty of movement and freedom to choose one's residence were carefully defined to provide these freedoms within the borders of each state only.

In including the provision in paragraph 2 of this article that anyone is free to return to the country of which he is a national, it was made clear that this article does not limit the right of a country to terminate the nationality of its citizens for specified reasons, as for example in the case of persons who swear allegiance to another country. This provision is limited to persons who do not lose their nationality after they leave their country.

Article 13

Article 13 was revised to make it clear that the obligation to provide a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law relates only to the determination of a criminal charge and to the determination of rights and obligations in "a suit at law." By this phraseology administrative hearings are not covered by the article.

The representative of the United States urged that paragraph 3 of article 13 concerning compensation should not be included in the Covenant.

Article 15

The text proposed for article 15 by the Drafting Committee was "No one shall be deprived of his juridical personality." The revised article provides that "Every one has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law." Members of the Commission thought that this article was needed to provide protection against the Nazi practice of depriving members of certain groups of their legal personality so that their rights could be completely ignored.

Article 16

The Commission agreed that freedom to manifest one's religion or belief should be subject to certain limitations but that the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion itself and freedom to change one's religion or belief should not be subject to any restrictions.

Article 17

Consideration of article 17 of the Covenant relating to freedom of information was postponed since the next session of the General Assembly will consider a draft Convention on Freedom of Information. The Commission decided to request the views of governments as to whether an article on freedom of information should be included in the Covenant even though there may also be a Convention on Freedom of Information.

Article 21

The representative of the United States pointed out that the proposals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France concerning propaganda for article 21 should not be included in the Covenant, since the language proposed would encourage the enactment of legislation limiting freedom of speech and the press.

Article 22

Paragraph 1 of article 22 undertakes to make it clear that the rights and freedoms defined in the Covenant should not be limited to a greater extent than already provided in the Covenant. Paragraph 2 of this article expressly provides that nothing in the Covenant "may be construed as limiting or derogating from any of the rights and freedoms which may be guaranteed to all under the laws of any contracting State or any conventions to which it is a party."

Article 23

The representative of the United States proposed that the Covenant should come into force when 15 states have deposited their instruments of ratification or accession to the Covenant, pointing out, however, that she had no objection to any other substantial number. No decision, however, was reached by the Commission as to the number of states which should become party to the Covenant before it comes into force.

Article 24

The United States representative recommended that the Drafting Committee text for article 24 should be retained in the Covenant with the inclusion of a reference to "under its constitutional system" in paragraph (a).

The representative of the United States stressed the importance of including such an article in the Covenant to make it possible for federal states to adhere to the Covenant. She stated that the obligations to be undertaken by the United States Federal Government under the Covenant should be limited to the areas of federal law and federal law enforcement which it regards as appropriate for federal action under our constitutional system. She stressed the extreme difficulty of spelling out in the Covenant what matters are appropriate for federal action and what are appropriate for state action under our constitutional system, and that in general, Congress and the courts have determined the line between federal and state jurisdiction on a case-by-case basis.

The Commission decided to postpone the drafting of this article.

Economic and Social Articles

The representatives of Australia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed that the

Covenant on Human Rights should include articles on economic and social rights as well as on civil and political rights. A number of other delegations, however, expressed their view that the initial Covenant on Human Rights should be limited to civil and political matters, and, in fact, should not include any rights in addition to those already included in the draft Covenant. The Commission decided not to take a final decision on this question at its fifth session. It instead approved a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to prepare, before the next session of the Commission, a survey of the activities of bodies of the United Nations and specialized agencies in the economic and social field for the purpose of enabling the Commission to determine what action it should take in these fields, in particular with reference to the inclusion of these subjects either in the Covenant on Human Rights or in later conventions. The Commission thus left open the question of whether provisions on economic and social matters should be included in the Covenant on Human Rights or in later conventions.

IMPLEMENTATION OF COVENANT

Three views relating to international machinery for the implementation of the draft Covenant on Human Rights developed in the fifth session. One view was that provision should be made at this time to provide the right to individuals and organizations to file petitions relating to violations by states under the Covenant on Human Rights. This view was supported by Australia, France, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Philippines, and Uruguay.

The second view—supported by China, Egypt, Iran, the United Kingdom, and the United States—was that provision should not be made at this time for individuals and organizations to file petitions with respect to violations of the Covenant but that instead provision should only be made initially for states to file complaints against other states with respect to violations under the Covenant. This group felt that further experience was needed before developing provisions for individual petitions.

The third position, which was supported by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia, was that no provision should be made for implementation whatsoever, mainly on the ground that to do so would interfere with national sovereignty.

The Commission did not have sufficient time to complete both the Covenant and the measures of implementation at the past session and accordingly decided to complete its preliminary revision of the Covenant rather than the measures of implementation. It did, however, take several votes as to matters of principle relating to implementation. The first vote was on a negative proposal, that is, the provisions for individual and group petitions should not be included in measures of implementation at this time. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 8 to 8. The Commission then voted on the proposal that provisions for individual and group petitions should be included in measures of implementation at this time. This proposal was also rejected by a vote of 8 to 8. The 8 countries favoring individual and group petitions were Australia, Denmark, France, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Philippines, and Uruguay. The 8 countries which did not favor individual and group petitions were China, Egypt, Iran, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States, and Yugoslavia. The representatives of Belgium and Chile were not present.

Following these two votes, the Commission voted on whether the Covenant on Human Rights should at this time include provisions for individual and group petitions. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 7 to 8, with Denmark abstaining. The stress in this proposal was whether the Covenant itself should include provisions for individual and group petitions.

The Commission decided in principle, by a vote of 10 to 2, that in any event states parties to the Covenant should have the right to enter complaints against other states with respect to violations under the Covenant. Only the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukraine voted against this decision. Yugoslavia was not present.

Five draft texts on implementation before the Commission were those of India, Guatemala, France, and Australia and a joint proposal by the United Kingdom and the United States. These texts, together with a statement by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against all measures of implementation, are being referred to governments for their comments.

United Kingdom-United States Proposal for Implementation

The joint proposal of the United Kingdom and the United States proposes that an article on implementation be included in the Covenant to provide as follows:

A panel would be established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of persons of high moral character and of suitable ability and qualifications to be designated by states parties to the Covenant from among their nationals, to serve on Human Rights Committees in their personal capacity. In the event one state party to the Covenant considers another state party to the Covenant is not giving effect to the provisions of the Covenant, and the matter is not adjusted between them within 6 months, either state would have the right to refer it to a Human Rights Committee to be selected from the panel. Five members would be selected from the panel to serve on a Human Rights Committee to consider a dispute between two or more states relating to the observance of the provisions of the Covenant. One member of the Committee would be selected by one party and another member by the other party and three members by agreement between them, or in the event there is no agreement between them, by the Secretary-General. The Committee would hold hearings, and the states concerned would have the right to be represented at these hearings and to make submissions to it orally and in writing. Each state would be under an obligation to supply such relevant information as is requested of it by the Committee. The Committee would be authorized to ask the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to request the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on legal questions. To include this provision it would be necessary for the General Assembly to authorize the Commission on Human Rights to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice in accordance with article 96 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee would report its findings of fact within 6 months of its first meeting to the states concerned and to the Secretary-General for publication. It is expressly provided that nothing in the proposal would preclude the reference of a dispute to the International Court of Justice for decision if the states concerned agreed to do so.

Other Proposals Concerning Implementation

The proposals of Guatemala, France, and India provide for an International Committee or Commission to consider petitions filed by individuals and organizations as well as by states with reference to violations by states of provisions of the Covenant. The proposal of Australia calls for the establishment of an International Court of Human Rights to consider the petitions of individuals and organizations as well as states with respect to violations of the Covenant.

The Soviet representative on the Commission opposed all the proposals for implementation submitted to the Commission. He felt that the implementation proposed "may become a means of interfering in the internal affairs of a state party to the Convention, and of undermining the sovereignty and independence of particular states."

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ACTION

The Soviet representative, A. P. Pavlov, on the Commission, who abstained when the Commission voted to approve the report of its work, participated actively throughout its fifth session in the redrafting of the Covenant on Human Rights. He repeatedly sought to include provisions in the Covenant which would weaken the effectiveness of the rights and freedoms being safeguarded. The other members of the Commission, however, rejected his amendments to the Covenant just as they had rejected similar amendments he had proposed to the Declaration of Human Rights last year. Mr. Pavlov was also the representative of the Soviet Union in the Commission and the General Assembly in 1948. He abstained both in the Commission and the General Assembly last year when the Declaration of Human Rights was approved.

The non-Slav members of the Commission refused to compromise with the effective provisions they were undertaking to draft for the Covenant merely to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the phraseology of the particular articles. The representative of the Ukraine voted with the Soviet representative in every instance in the fifth session of the Commission. The representative of Yugoslavia voted with the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics except in a

few instances. The following proposals which the Soviet representative submitted to the fifth session are illustrative of his efforts to weaken the articles of the Covenant.

With respect to article 11 concerning freedom of movement and residence and freedom to leave a country, he proposed that these freedoms be subject to the laws of the country. It was pointed out by the other members of the Commission that to include such a limitation on these rights would obviously negate them. Only the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukraine voted for the amendment.

He proposed that the freedom of religion article read "Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and freedom to practice religious observances in accordance with the laws of the country and the dictates of public morality." This amendment was also rejected by the Commission.

The proposal to limit freedom of assembly in article 18 by inserting "in the interest of democracy" was rejected by the Commission.

He also proposed that the following be included in the article on freedom of assembly, "All societies, unions, and other organizations of a Fascist or anti-democratic nature and their activity in whatever form shall be forbidden by law on pain of punishment." This language was rejected by the Commission.

With respect to article 19 concerning freedom of association, he sought to limit this freedom to only such associations as are permitted by the laws of the country, but he was unsuccessful in this move.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMISSION

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the representative of the United States on the Commission, was elected chairman of the fifth session. She has been elected chairman of each session of the Commission on Human Rights since its establishment early in 1947. She was also elected chairman of the two sessions of the Drafting Committee in 1947 and 1948. On her insistence, the practice has developed in this Commission that representatives on the Commission are not to attack other countries in their remarks, since the drafting of the Covenant would be seriously jeopardized if time is wasted in unnecessary propaganda attacks and counter-attacks. When any representative begins to attack another country or is critical of the internal conditions of another country, he is interrupted and ruled out of order by the chairman.

At the close of the fifth session, members of the Commission paid tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt's leadership in the Commission and to the effective and able manner in which she had conducted its meetings.

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

[As revised by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its fifth session at Lake Success from May 9 to June 20, 1949—The Commission is expected to reconvene for its sixth session early in 1950 to complete its revision of the Draft Covenant]

Preamble

[Consideration of the Preamble was postponed—the United States proposed that the Preamble read as follows: "The States parties hereto, bearing in mind the general principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948, agree upon the following articles with respect to certain human rights and fundamental freedoms:"]

Article 1

[Consideration of Article 1 was postponed. It provides: "The States parties hereto declare that they recognize the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II hereof as being among the human rights and fundamental freedoms founded on the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations."]

Article 2

1. Each State party hereto undertakes to ensure to all individuals within its jurisdiction the rights defined in this Covenant. Where not already provided by legislative or other measures, each State undertakes, in accordance with its constitutional processes and in accordance with the provisions of this Covenant, to adopt within a reasonable time such legislative or other measures to give effect to the rights defined in this Covenant.

2. Each State party hereto undertakes to ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein defined are violated shall have an effective remedy before the competent national tribunals notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.

Article 3

[Consideration of Article 3 was postponed for consideration with implementation at the next session of the Com-

mission. Article 3 provides: "On receipt of a request to this effect from the Secretary-General of the United Nations made under the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, the Government of any party to this Covenant shall supply an explanation as to the manner in which the law of that State gives effect to any of the provisions of this Covenant."]

Article 4

1. In time of war or other public emergency, threatening the interests of the people, a State may take measures derogating from its obligations under Part II of the Covenant to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation.

2. No derogation from Articles . . . . . can be made under this provision.

3. Any State party hereto availing itself of this right of derogation shall inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations fully of the measures which it has thus enacted and the reasons therefor. It shall also inform him as and when such measures cease to operate and the provisions of Part II of the Covenant are being fully executed.

Article 5

1. No one shall be deprived of his life. (United States proposed the addition of the word "arbitrarily" at the end of this sentence—the Commission will undertake to complete this sentence at its next session.)

2. In countries where capital punishment exists, sentence of death may be imposed only as a penalty for the most serious crimes.

3. No one may be executed save in virtue of the sentence of a competent court and in accordance with a law in force and not contrary to the principles expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

4. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.

Article 6

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 7

[Consideration of Article 7 was postponed. The views of the World Health Organization concerning this Article were requested by the Commission. It provides: "No one shall be subjected to any form of physical mutilation or medical or scientific experimentation against his will."]

Article 8

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

2. No one shall be held in servitude.

3. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour except pursuant to a sentence to such punishment for a crime by a competent court.

4. For the purposes of this Article, the term "forced or compulsory labour" shall not include:

(a) any work, not amounting to hard labour, required to be done in the ordinary course of prison routine by a person undergoing detention imposed by the lawful order of a court;

(b) any service of a military character or, in the case of conscientious objectors, in countries where they are recognized, exacted in virtue of laws requiring compulsory national service;

(c) any service exacted in cases of emergencies or calamities threatening the life or well-being of the community;

(d) any work or service which forms part of the normal civil obligations.

Article 9

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

2. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as established by law.

3. Any one who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the reasons for his arrest and of any charges against him.

4. Any one arrested or detained on the charge of having committed a crime or of preparing to commit a crime shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. Pending trial, release may be conditioned by guarantees to appear for trial.

5. Every one who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided speedily by a court and his release ordered if the detention is not lawful.

6. Every person who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the grounds of inability to fulfill a contractual obligation.

Article 11

1. Subject to any general law, adopted for specific reasons of national security, public safety or health:

(a) everyone has the right to liberty of movement and is free to choose his residence within the borders of each State;

(b) any one shall be free to leave any country including his own.

2. Any one is free to return to the country of which he is a national.

Article 12

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State shall be expelled therefrom except on such grounds and according to such procedure and safeguards as are provided by law.

Article 13

1. In the determination of any criminal charge against

him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, every one is entitled to a fair and public hearing, by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law. Judgment shall be pronounced publicly but the press and public may be excluded from all or part of the trial in the interest of morals, public order or national security, or where the interest of juveniles or incapacitated persons so require.

2. Every one charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent, until proved guilty according to law. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, every one is entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) to be informed promptly of the nature and cause of the accusation against him;

(b) to defend himself in person or through legal assistance which shall include the right to legal assistance of his own choosing, or if he does not have such, to be informed of his right and, if unobtainable by him, to have legal assistance assigned;

(c) to examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain compulsory attendance of witnesses in his behalf;

(d) to have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court.

3. Every one who has undergone punishment as a result of an erroneous conviction of crime shall have an enforceable right to compensation. This right shall accrue to the heirs of a person executed by virtue of an erroneous sentence.

Article 14

No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 15

Every one has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 16

1. Every one has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

2. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to law and are reasonable and necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

Article 17

[Freedom of speech and the press—the consideration of this Article was postponed since the General Assembly in the fall of 1949 is scheduled to consider a separate convention on freedom of information.]

Article 18

Every one has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and which are necessary to ensure national security, public order, the protection of health or morals, or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 19

1. Every one has the right to freedom of association with others.

2. This freedom shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to law and which are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, public safety, health or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

3. National legislation shall neither prejudice, nor be applied in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in the International Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, in so far as States parties to that Convention are concerned.

Article 20

1. All are equal before the law and shall be accorded equal protection of the law.

2. Every one shall be accorded all the rights and freedoms defined in this Covenant without discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

3. Every one shall be accorded equal protection against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 21

[Propaganda—the consideration of this Article was postponed until Article 17 on freedom of speech and the press is considered by the Commission at its next session.]

Article 22

1. Nothing in this Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms defined herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is already provided for in this Covenant.

2. Nothing in this Covenant may be construed as limiting or derogating from any of the rights and freedoms which may be guaranteed to all under the laws of any contracting State or any conventions to which it is a party.

Article 23

1. This Covenant shall be open for signature or accession on behalf of any State Member of the United Nations or of any non-Member State to which an invitation has been extended by the General Assembly.

2. Ratification of or accession to this Covenant shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of ratification

or accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as soon as . . . . States have deposited such instruments, the Covenant shall come into force between them. As regards any State which ratifies or accedes thereafter, the Covenant shall come into force on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification or accession.

3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all Members of the United Nations and other States which have ratified or acceded, of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 24

[Federal state—consideration of this Article was postponed. The United States proposed that this Article read as follows:

"In the case of a Federal State, the following provisions shall apply:

(a) With respect to any Articles of this Covenant which the Federal Government regards as appropriate under its constitutional system, in whole or in part, for federal action, the obligations of the Federal Government shall to this extent, be the same as those of parties which are not Federal States;

(b) In respect of Articles which the Federal Government regards as appropriate under its constitutional system, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent states, provinces, or cantons, the Federal Government shall bring such provisions, with favourable recommendation, to the notice of the appropriate authorities of the states, provinces or cantons at the earliest possible moment."]

Article 25

[Extension of the provisions of the Covenant to non-self-governing territories—consideration of this Article was postponed.]

Article 26

[Amendments to the Covenant—consideration of this Article was postponed.]

Article on Implementation

[The consideration of proposals for an article on implementation was postponed—the United Kingdom and the United States proposed the following article for inclusion in the Covenant for the implementation of the Covenant:

"1. If a State Party to the Covenant considers that another State Party is not giving effect to a provision of the Covenant, it may bring the matter to the attention of that State. If the matter is not adjusted between them within six months, either State shall have the right to refer it, by notice to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the other State, to a Human Rights Committee to be established in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall establish a panel of persons of high moral character and of suitable ability and qualifications, designated by States Parties to the Covenant from among their nationals, to serve on Human Rights Committees in their personal capacity. Each State Party to the Covenant may designate two persons for periods of five years.

3. Upon notice being given to the Secretary-General, a Human Rights Committee shall be established of five members selected from the panel, one member by the State or States referring the matter, one member by the other States and three by agreement between them. If any place on the Committee has not been filled within three months, the Secretary-General shall select a person from the panel to fill it.

4. The Committee shall meet at the Headquarters of the United Nations in the absence of agreement to the contrary between the Parties to the dispute and the Secretary-General, and shall establish its own rules of procedure provided that:

(a) the States concerned shall have the right to be represented at the hearings of the Committee and to make submissions to it orally and in writing; and

(b) the Committee shall hold its hearings and other meetings in closed session.

5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary services and facilities for the Committee and its members.

6. The Committee may call for relevant information from any State concerned and such State shall supply the information requested.

7. The Committee may ask the United Nations Commission on Human Rights[1] to request the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on legal questions.

8. The Committee shall within six months of its first meeting report its findings of fact to the States concerned, and to the Secretary-General for publication.

The record of the Committee shall be deposited with the Secretary-General.

9. Nothing in this Article shall preclude reference of the matter to the International Court of Justice for decision if the States referred to in paragraph 1 so agree."]

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[1] [It will be necessary for the General Assembly to authorize the Commission on Human Rights to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter of the United Nations.]

U.S. Will Not Support Membership of States Unwilling To Fulfill Charter Obligations

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

We have now heard the views of most of the members of the Council on the various applications which are before us, as well as on the various resolutions which have been submitted. It seems quite clear that the positions of the members of the Security Council have for the most part not changed, and that none of the applications before us will receive a favorable recommendation from the Security Council if we proceed to a vote at the present time. It would seem to me wiser for us to accept this position. If we follow the suggestion of our chairman, made at the beginning of the consideration of this matter, we shall avoid further lengthy discussions.

The United States supported the Swedish resolution in the General Assembly after it was clarified to indicate that the Assembly favored admission only of those states eligible under article 4 of the Charter; that is what the General Assembly intended when it noted the general sentiment in favor of the universality of the United Nations. The United States continues to strive toward the objective of universality of membership in the United Nations. The moral force and effectiveness of the United Nations depend upon the actions of its members in the spirit of the Charter. Member states have the obligation to welcome to their ranks every eligible candidate. If this were done the organization would eventually achieve substantial universality. We shall continue in our efforts toward insuring the admission of every qualified state to this organization.

As I stated the other day, my government does not believe that the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolian Peoples' Republic, and Rumania have given proof that they are peace-loving states, able and willing to fulfill the obligations of the Charter. Certain policies which these states are now following, and to which I have already referred, render them in our view ineligible for membership. We should be very pleased to support the admission of these applicants if they would change their policies in question and give evidence of their willingness to abide by the Charter.

I am glad to see from the statement and resolution of my colleague from the Soviet Union that his government has apparently revised its opinion as to the qualifications of the admission of several states, which the General Assembly and the majority of the Council have long supported for admission and now considers them fully qualified for membership. We should like to believe that this signifies that the Soviet Union is now prepared to settle membership questions on the basis of the Charter, but we cannot overlook the fact that the Soviet resolution calls for the admission of 5 applicants which the General Assembly and the majority of the Council have consistently found to be not qualified for membership. From the statement of my Soviet Union colleague, it would appear that he is making his support for the admission of the 7 states whose applications his government has previously vetoed conditional upon Security Council approval of the 5 states which he desires to see admitted. As the Inter-

[1] Made before the Security Council on June 24, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

national Court has held, such a course of action is illegal and inconsistent with the Charter.

The Soviet Union, if it wishes to settle the membership problem on the basis of the Charter, is in a position to encourage some applicants to take steps to qualify themselves. The Soviet Union is not without influence with respect to the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. The Soviet Union could use this influence to the end that Albania and Bulgaria cease rendering assistance to the guerrillas in Greece and comply with the terms of the General Assembly resolution on the Greek question. It could also use its influence to the end that Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria should take steps to comply with the provisions of the recent treaties of peace, particularly with regard to the maintenance of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

In this connection, the Soviet Union is at the present moment in a position to contribute to the solution of this question. The proceedings under the peace treaties have been brought by certain nations in an effort to insure the proper implementation of the peace treaties by these three States. Under the treaty provisions, the heads of the missions of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States in the three countries in question are required to consider a dispute. The Soviet Union, which has so far declined to let its chiefs of mission participate in this conciliation machinery could very easily contribute to a solution of this question by loyally carrying out its obligation under the treaty in this respect.

While the present actions and policies of these states are in our view a bar to their eligibility to membership in the United Nations, it is entirely within their power to take the necessary steps to change that situation. We hope that they will see the advantages of such a course of action.

At the present moment, however, we cannot support their applications. I gather from their statements that the majority of the members of the Council will be unable to support their applications. The delegate of the Soviet Union has indicated that under these circumstances he would again veto the applications of the 7 states which the General Assembly has recommended to us for admission. I should be glad to be corrected if I have misunderstood his intentions. Otherwise, I wish to support the recommendations of the chairman that we should, at this time, simply take note of our inability at the present time to make a favorable recommendation on any of the applications before us.

My government, and I assume the Security Council also, would be prepared to reconsider this question at any time if it should appear that further developments cast new light on the qualifications for membership, under article 4, of Albania, Bulgaria, The Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Hungary, and Rumania, or if as a result of changes in the positions of any members of the Security Council there appears any likelihood of the Council taking affirmative action on any of these applications.

The Question of Membership in the United Nations

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

The distinguished representative of Argentina last Thursday [June 16] again put before the Security Council his view regarding admission to membership in the United Nations.

The United States sees the underlying purpose of the representative of Argentina as expressing his dissatisfaction with Soviet obstruction to the admission of qualified applicants. My government, of course, shares that dissatisfaction. It has attempted to reach agreement with all the permanent members of the Security Council on procedures which would bring an end to the deadlock on this question, and it is continuing its efforts to reach such a result. The United States has stated at the second regular session and at the third regular session of the Assembly that it would not exer-

[1] Made before the Security Council on June 21, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

cise its right of veto in the Security Council to exclude from the United Nations any applicant then under consideration which the Assembly determined to be qualified for membership. I may amplify that statement of policy now and say that we have no intention in the future of permitting our vote to prevent the admission to membership of any applicant receiving 7 affirmative votes in this Council. Furthermore, I would recall that our privileged vote has not in any instance excluded an applicant from United Nations membership. I shall return later to this point.

Therefore, we seek a purpose identical with that of the representative of Argentina. The last two Assemblies have heard learned discussions in the Political Committee by the distinguished representative of Argentina on the constitutional history of the process of the admission of new members to the United Nations. Upon such occasion, we have carefully considered the position which he has presented. However, we have not been able to accept the method of procedure for which he has so long been an advocate.

The willingness of my government to refrain from blocking by its veto the decision of any 7 members of the Security Council that an applicant is qualified for membership does not mean the United States thinks that the Council or its members should ignore the requirements of article 4. To be admitted into the organized community of nations, states should by their conduct prior to admission give proof of their readiness and willingness not to use force as an instrument of national policy, to respect the laws of nations, and to assist in their development and enforcement. Any political entity which possesses the essential attributes of statehood can easily conform its policies to the requirements of article 4, but while these requirements are simple, they are serious and basic. They may not be fulfilled by paper assurances that as of the date of admission an applicant will accept the obligations of the Charter. The organization is entitled to reasonable proof of a desire for membership based on a full understanding and respect for article 4.

I take it that this discussion will be limited to the 12 nations whose applications were considered in the Security Council and did not obtain the Council's recommendation in the autumn session of the Third General Assembly in Paris. Otherwise I should not fail to manifest again the warm support my government gives to the application of Korea.

The applications of Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Jordan have consistently received the support of my government. We continued to support fully the admission of these states. Everyone received in the Council at least 8 and some of them 9 favorable votes, and in each case it was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that cast the negative vote which excluded the aspiring state from membership. It is not forgotten that the Soviet representative said of Italy that his government considered that country qualified to become a member of the United Nations but voted against its admission in consideration of the fact that Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary had not been recommended for admission. I need not recall that the Third General Assembly meeting in Paris last autumn, by large majorities reaffirmed its view that the opposition of the Soviet Union to their applications was based on grounds not included in article 4 of the Charter and determined again that in its judgment they were peace-loving states within the meaning of article 4 of the Charter and should therefore be admitted to membership in the United Nations. The Security Council has been requested to reconsider these applications in the light of the General Assembly's determination and the court's opinion. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice dated May 28, 1948, held that the conditions for membership described in article 4 of the Charter are "exhaustive", that a member of the United Nations is not juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission of a state to membership dependent on conditions not expressly provided for by paragraph 1 of that article, and that in particular a member cannot, while it recognizes the conditions set forth in article 4 to be fulfilled by the applicant state, subject its affirmative vote to the additional condition that other states be admitted to membership in the United Nations together with that state. The General Assembly has also recommended that every member of the Security Council should act in accordance with the court's opinion in exercising its vote on the admission of new members.

We are meeting here today in compliance with the various requests of the General Assembly on this subject. We hope that all the members of the Security Council will give full weight to the recommendations and determinations of the General Assembly as well as to the opinion of the International Court of Justice.

The position of my government with respect to the applications of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolian People's Republic, and Rumania remains the same as before. We are unable to support these applications. We could not vote for the admission of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in 1947 and 1948 and cannot do so now when the three governments stand charged with systematic suppression of human rights and the violation of their peace treaties with the Allied nations. Furthermore, both Bulgaria and Albania continue to give material assistance and comfort to the rebels seeking to overthrow the constituted government of a member of the United Nations, Greece.

Finally, I agree with you, Mr. President, that if the present views of the members of the Security Council indicate that there will be no change in the

results of voting on these twelve applications, no useful purpose would be served by bringing the present matter to a vote.

If votes should be taken on the resolutions by Dr. Arce, I characterize the vote of the United States as free from commitment to the understanding, stated by Dr. Arce, of the procedure which should be followed in arriving at a recommendation by the Security Council or a decision by the General Assembly.

Terms of Reference for the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa

U.N. doc. T/348, June 23, 1949
Adopted June 20, 1949

The Trusteeship Council,

HAVING APPOINTED a visiting mission composed of Mr. Pierre Ryckmans of Belgium, Mr. Awni Khalidy of Iraq, Mr. Abelardo Ponce Sotelo of Mexico and Mr. Benjamin Gerig of the United States of America, assisted by members of the Secretariat and by such representatives of the local administrations as the mission may determine necessary,

HAVING DECIDED that the visiting mission should depart on 1 November 1949 and visit the Trust Territories of the Cameroons under French administration, the Cameroons under British administration, Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration in accordance with rules 84, 89, 94, 96, and 98 of the rules of procedure for the Trusteeship Council,

Directs the visiting mission to observe the developing political, economic, social and educational conditions in the four above-mentioned Trust Territories, their progress towards self-government or independence, and the efforts of their respective Administering Authorities to achieve this and other basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System;

Directs the visiting mission to give attention, as may be appropriate in the light of discussions in the Trusteeship Council and resolutions adopted by the Council, to issues raised in connection with the annual reports on the administration of the four Trust Territories concerned and in petitions received by the Trusteeship Council relating to those Trust Territories, and in particular the petitions relating to the Ewe problem in Togoland under French and Togoland under British administration and the petition from the Bakweri Land Committee relating to the Cameroons under British administration;

Directs the visiting mission to accept or receive petitions and, without prejudice to its acting in accordance with rules 84 and 89 of the rules of procedure, to investigate on the spot, after consultation with the local representative of the Administering Authority concerned, such petitions dealing with the conditions of the indigenous inhabitants as are in its opinion, sufficiently important to warrant special investigation;

Requests the visiting mission to transmit to the Trusteeship Council as soon as possible in accordance with rule 99 of the rules of procedure for the Trusteeship Council a report, on the findings of the mission with such observations and conclusions as the mission may wish to make.

Conciliation Commission Seeks Basis for Settlement Between Arab and Israeli Representatives

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the Press June 23*]

The Palestine Conciliation Commission in Lausanne is now trying to develop in as much detail as possible the position of Arab and Israeli representatives on the principal questions which remain unsolved. This effort is designed to discover whether there is at present any basis for agreement and, if not, exactly what the points of difference are.

It may become necessary for the Commission to adjourn its work for a brief period in order to permit the several delegations to consult their governments and to give an opportunity for further informal discussions. In any event, the work of the Commission itself would continue through its general political committee, its technical committee on refugees, and its Jerusalem committee.

Since these discussions are now going on with the Palestine Conciliation Commission, I do not wish to try to deal with the merits of particular issues. As a member of the Commission, the United States will do everything it can to find a basis for a settlement.

Documents and State Papers for June 1949

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International Protection of Works of Art and Historic Monuments
U.S. Delegation Report on FAO: November 1948
Calendar of International Meetings, with Annotations
Cumulative Contents: April 1948–May 1949

Copies of this publication are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at 30¢ a copy.

The United States in the United Nations

[July 2–8]

Economic and Social Council

The 18-nation Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) convened at Geneva on July 5 for its ninth session and in less than 4 hours adopted a 47-item agenda. James Thorn, of New Zealand, President of Ecosoc, in his opening speech said he hoped the Council would be able to complete its heavy agenda in 6 weeks.

One of the priority items on the agenda, the United Nations program for technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, was delayed until after July 21 at the request of the United States representative. He explained that the United States delegation could not yet state its views since the subject is pending before Congress.

Other items on the agenda are measures to increase the availability of food and to protect stateless persons; a study of the problem of forced labor, possible means and methods of enforcing trade-union rights; and resolutions from the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information.

The first item considered by the plenary was the report of the Narcotics Commission. The United States representative called attention to the statement in the report on the volume of illicit traffic. The Economic Commitee considered the reports of the Fiscal Commission and of the Food and Agriculture Organization. The United States representative protested a U.S.S.R. proposal to abolish the Fiscal Commission as a measure of economy, and stated that the Commission is useful, though unglamorous, and should not be abolished. A United States resolution noting measures of the FAO to increase food availability was adopted.

World Health Assembly

The Second World Health Assembly concluded its three-week session in Rome on July 2, during which experts from almost 80 countries and territories examined a short- and long-term program designed to improve the health of peoples all over the world. Plans for a dozen expanded health programs in 1950 were approved.

There will be expansion in the fight against malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal disease. Promotion of maternal and child health will get increased attention, as well as environmental sanitation and nutrition. A new program will be started in mental health. A series of epidemiological studies will be conducted, including work on poliomyelitis, trachoma, rabies, smallpox and yellow fever. A campaign to control disease in the food-producing areas where the production of food can be increased greatly by dealing effectively with such diseases as malaria will be carried out with the Food and Agriculture Organization. Six areas will be chosen for development under the plan.

The United States delegate, in supporting the plan for work in the field of environmental sanitation, called attention to a World Health Organization (WHO) estimate that "more than three-quarters of the world's population, covering vast areas in all regions, are still the victims of diseases resulting from poor excreta disposal, unsafe water supplies, uncontrolled insects and inadequate protection of milk and food." The United States delegate also stressed the vital importance of work by WHO in mental health and said that all other WHO programs would benefit from the proposed mental health activities.

The Assembly approved a supplemental budget of 10 million dollars for 1950 to be used for a United Nations cooperative program of technical assistance for economic development of underdeveloped areas. Nations will be invited to contribute voluntarily to this program. This special budget for technical assistance supplements a regular budget of 7.5 million dollars, 36 percent of which is to be contributed by the United States. The United States delegate requested a revision of the assessment plan whereby the United States was expected to pay 38.8 percent of the total budget. Agreement was reached that the WHO would work toward a gradual modification of the scale of assessments with the aim that no member state would contribute more than one third of the regular budget of any year.

The Assembly agreed to ask the U.S.S.R., Byelorussian S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. to reconsider their decisions to withdraw from WHO and renew their participation in the work of the organization. The Assembly also agreed to accept Korea's application for membership, over a strong protest from delegates of Eastern European countries.

International Children's Emergency Fund

Congress has extended the time allowed for matching the United States contribution to the International Children's Emergency Fund (ICEF). The Senate and the House of Representatives agreed to extend for another year, through June 1950, the period in which a total of 100 million dollars can be used to match the contribution of other governments under the matching formula by which the United States contributes $2.57 for every $1 received from other governments.

Declaration of Death of Missing Persons

The special committee established by the Economic and Social Council to deal with the declarations of death of missing persons who disappeared during the war as a result of national, religious, political, and racial persecutions, completed its session in Geneva on June 21. The Committee adopted a draft convention aimed at facilitating the pronouncement of the declaration of death of missing persons, and to obtain recognition of these declarations by all states parties to the convention. The final vote for the convention was 5 in favor, including the United States, and 2 opposed (Poland and the U.S.S.R.).

Atomic Energy Commission Working Committee Resolutions

U.N. doc. AEC/C.1/85
Adopted June 15, 1949

The Working Committee has considered, at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, the proposal of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (AEC/37) that the Atomic Energy Commission begin immediately to prepare a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and a draft convention for the control of atomic energy proceeding from the principle that both conventions must be concluded and put into effect simultaneously,

Has noted the statement of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at its 45th meeting on Wednesday, 1 June 1949, that the proposals submitted by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on atomic energy in June 1946 and June 1947, should be taken as a basis for the elaboration of these draft conventions,

Recalls that these same proposals, particularly those of 11 June 1947, have already been analysed in detail and rejected in April 1948 on the grounds that "they ignore the existing technical knowledge of the problem of atomic energy control, do not provide an adequate basis for the effective international control of atomic energy and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and therefore, do not conform to the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission";

And recalls that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposal for the preparation of a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and a draft convention for the control of atomic energy to be concluded and brought into effect simultaneously was rejected by the General Assembly at the 157th plenary meeting in its third session on 4 November 1948, by a vote of 40 votes to 6 with 5 abstentions,

And recalls also that at the same time the General Assembly approved the General Findings (Part II C) and Recommendations (Part III) of the First Report and the Specific Proposals of Part II of the Second Report of the Commission, as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission,

The Working Committee observes that no material has been presented additional to that previously submitted to the General Assembly, the Commission or the Working Committee,

The Working Committee therefore concludes that no useful purpose can be served by further discussions in the Working Committee of those proposals which have already been considered and rejected by the appropriate organs of the United Nations. The Working Committee reports to the Atomic Energy Commission accordingly.

U.N. doc. AEC/C.1/86
Adopted June 15, 1949

HAVING OBSERVED the nature of the discussions that have taken place in the Working Committee and

CONSIDERING paragraph 3 of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November 1948 (document AEC/33),

The Working Committee resolves:

That further study in the Working Committee is not useful until such time as the six sponsors of the resolution of the General Assembly have met and reported that there exists basis for agreement.

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the BULLETIN of June 19, 1949, page 780, the first sentence under "Atomic Energy" should read as follows: "The Atomic Energy Commission's working committee resolved that further study by the working committee of its program of work is useless until the Big Five and Canada report that some basis for agreement exists."

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Council of Foreign Ministers Deputies for Austria

The Department of State announced on June 25 the United States Delegation to the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers Deputies for Austria, scheduled to open at London, June 30, 1949. The Delegation is as follows:

United States Deputy for Austria

Samuel Reber, United States Deputy for Austria, Department of State

Advisers

Michael R. Gannett, Foreign Service Officer, American Legation, Vienna
Col. Charles E. Hixon, Assistant Deputy, U. S. Commission, Allied Council for Austria, Vienna
Monroe Karasik, Acting Assistant Chief, Division of Economic Property Policy, Department of State
Coburn B. Kidd, Division of Austrian Affairs, Department of State
Leonard C. Meeker, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State
Edwin G. Moline, Petroleum Division, Department of State
Lt. Colonel J. D. Lawler, Plans and Operations Division, General Staff, United States Army

Administrative Assistant

Mary Louise Zarger, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State

Archivist

Mrs. Helen Skouland, American Embassy, London

The Council of Foreign Ministers, which adjourned at Paris June 20, instructed the Deputies for Austria to resume their work promptly for the purpose of reaching agreement not later than September 1, 1949, on the Austrian draft treaty as a whole.

Negotiations on the Austrian treaty have been in progress since January 1947. At the forthcoming meeting the Deputies will continue discussions conducted at London from February 9 to May 5, 1949, which were discontinued during the Sixth Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Committee To Pick Priorities of U.S. Program for UNESCO

A proposal to select six priority items from the Unesco program for emphasis in securing public support for the coming year has been considered by the Executive Committee of the United States Commission for Unesco, which has been meeting in Washington, D.C.

Under the chairmanship of Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, the Committee is expected to blueprint a work program to forward the purposes of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the United States during the fiscal year July 1, 1949, through June 30, 1950.

Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, outlined contemplated United States participation in an expanded international program of technical assistance for the economic development of backward areas. The Committee discussed the aims and resources of Unesco and of the United States National Commission, in relation to this program.

Plans for the United States delegation to the Fourth General Conference of Unesco in Paris this September will be taken up with George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

The United States National Commission, an advisory body to the Department of State on matters pertaining to Unesco, is also charged with the task of carrying out the Unesco program in the United States. The Commission will seek increased cooperation, along lines suggested by the Executive Committee's priority projects, from community, church, labor, and women's groups as well as from specialized bodies representing Unesco's educational, scientific, and cultural interests.

The six projects upon which the Committee is expected to take action are:

An educational campaign to make known the tenets and responsibilities of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Interchange of persons for the promotion of better understanding among nations.

Educational reconstruction and aid for schools, museums, libraries, and laboratories in countries recovering from the devastation of war.

An information program on relationships between food supply and population pressure and the recurrence of war.

Improvement of textbooks and teaching materials.

Education on the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Members of the Executive Committee, in addition to Mr. Eisenhower, are:

Detlev Bronk, President of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Erwin D. Canham, President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston

William G. Carr, Associate Secretary of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

Ben M. Cherrington, Director of the Social Science Foundation at the University of Denver, Denver

Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director of Social Insurance Activities for the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Douglas Horton, President of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, Nashville

Archibald MacLeish, Winner of the Pulitzer Poetry Award in 1932, Boylston Professor at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Charles J. McLanahan, Educational Director of the Cooperative League, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, Public and Labor Relations Consultant, New York

George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College, New York

Robert S. Smith, Vice President of the U.S. National Student Assn., New York

Merle A. Tuve, Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C.

Howard E. Wilson, Associate Director, Division of Education, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and member of the National Council for the Social Studies, New York

Mrs. Louise Wright, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago

The meeting was held in a Department of State conference room at 1778 Pennsylvania Avenue, Friday and Saturday, June 24 and 25.

Twelfth International Conference on Public Education

Dr. Rall I. Grigsby, Deputy Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education, has been named chairman of the United States delegation to the Twelfth International Conference on Public Education scheduled to be held at Geneva, July 4–12, 1949. Kendric N. Marshall, Director of the Division of International Relations, United States Office of Education, and Dr. Ruth E. McMurry, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State have been appointed to serve as delegates to this meeting.

The Education Conference is sponsored jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Bureau of Education (IBE). Its purpose is to enable the attending delegations to exchange information on recent developments in education in their countries and to afford an opportunity for studying on an international level a number of educational problems of current interest.

The agenda of the Conference will include the following four points: (1) Consideration of concise reports from the Ministries of Education on educational developments during the school year 1948–49; (2) the introduction to natural science in primary schools; (3) the teaching of reading; and (4) the teaching of geography as a means of developing international understanding.

UNESCO and IBE have invited 73 nations and 5 international organizations to participate in the meeting. The Eleventh International Conference on Public Education was held at Geneva last summer.

Twelfth International Dairy Congress

The Department of State announced on June 1 the United States delegation to the Twelfth International Dairy Congress, which is scheduled to be held at Stockholm August 15–19, 1949. The delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Dr. Ollie E. Reed, Chief, Bureau of Dairy Industry, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture

Delegates

Dr. G. M. Trout, Professor of Dairy Manufacturing, Michigan State College, and President, American Dairy Science Association

Dr. Sherman Johnson, Associate Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture

Don Anderson, Assistant Director, Dairy Branch, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

Dr. George E. Holm, Head, Dairy Products Research Laboratories, Bureau of Dairy Industry, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture

Ethel Austin Martin, Director of Nutrition Service, National Dairy Council, Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Leland Spencer, Professor of Marketing, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Dr. Hugo H. Sommer, Dairy Industry Department, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Dr. William E. Krauss, Associate Director, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, Ohio
Arthur W. Farrall, Head, Agricultural Engineering Department, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan

Secretary of Delegation

Dr. Eric Englund, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden

The purpose of the Congress will be to review developments and exchange technical information in the field of dairy research. Scientific papers on the following subjects will be presented by delegates from the various countries: (1) milk production, hygiene, and control, (2) physics, chemistry, and microbiology, (3) dairy industrial technique, (4) economics and trade, (5) organization of the dairy industry, and (6) tropical dairying. In addition to the scientific sessions, there will be tours to the important dairying sections of Sweden.

The invitation to attend the Congress was extended to this government by the Government of Sweden in behalf of the International Dairy Federation. The United States is not a member of the Federation but has attended the last three congresses. The eleventh in the series was held at Berlin in 1937.

Pan American Railway Congress

The United States Commission, appointed June 14 by President Truman, discussed on June 21 a program of work which includes establishment of close relationship with the headquarters of the Association in Buenos Aires and preparations for its seventh congress to be held in Mexico City, October 10–20, 1950.[1]

Decision was made to assist the Association in studying improved methods of accounting for all Latin American railroads, in which the practices developed by United States railroads and the requirements of the Interstate Commerce Commission are expected to constitute important precedents. Interest of the United States Commission in the Government's technical assistance program was also shown.

The Commission members reviewed the current work of the Association and appointed two officers who are at present government officials, who will serve without additional salary: Walter S. Abernathy, Special Assistant, Transportation and Communications Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, as executive secretary; and Kenneth N. Hynes, attaché in the United States Embassy at Buenos Aires, who will be resident member of the Association's permanent commission.

[1] BULLETIN of June 26, 1949 p. 818.

Ratification of the International Wheat Agreement

[*Released to the Press June 17*]

The President signed on June 17, 1949, the United States instrument of ratification of the International Wheat Agreement which was open for signature in Washington from March 23 to April 15, 1949, and which was signed during that period on behalf of the Government of the United States of America and the governments of 40 other countries. The Senate, by a resolution of June 13, 1949, gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the agreement.

The objectives of the agreement, as stated in article I thereof, "are to assure supplies of wheat to importing countries and markets for wheat to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices."[2] The agreement, upon its entry into force, would establish an International Wheat Council to administer the provisions of the agreement during the 4-year period of its effectiveness.

It is provided in article XX that the agreement shall be subject to acceptance by the signatory governments in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, that instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the United States Government not later than July 1, 1949, except in cases where the Council, after it comes into being, may grant an extension of time, and that the agreement, except part 2 thereof, shall enter into force on July 1, 1949, provided the agreement has by that date been accepted by "the Governments of countries listed in Annex A to Article III responsible for not less than seventy percent of the guaranteed purchases and the Governments of countries listed in Annex B to Article III responsible for not less than eighty percent of the guaranteed sales."

The 5 signatory exporting countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, France, and Uruguay) are listed in annex B to article III. The 36 signatory importing countries are listed in annex A to article III.

The United States and Canada together account for more than 80 percent of the guaranteed sales. The Canadian instrument of acceptance was deposited on May 12, 1949. The United States instrument of ratification, constituting acceptance of the agreement, was deposited on June 17, 1949. Consequently, the requirement of the agreement with respect to exporting countries responsible for not less than 80 percent of the guaranteed sales has been satisfied.

(*Continued on page 30*)

[2] For an article by Edward G. Cale on the International Wheat Agreement see BULLETIN of Apr. 24, 1949, p. 507; the text of the agreement was printed in *Documents and State Papers* for May 1949, p. 784.

Summary of Major Developments in Change-Over to Civilian Control of Germany

[Released to the Press June 30]

The Department of State announced on June 30 that John J. McCloy left by air for Germany on that date preparatory to his assumption of authority in the American zone of Germany.

Mr. McCloy will stop in Paris on July 1 for a conference with ECA Administrator Harriman and Ambassador Bruce and then proceed to Berlin for consultations with the United States Military Government authorities. Mr. McCloy will assume the position of the United States Military Governor, a post he will hold until a West German Government is created after the August 14 elections. Upon formation of a West German Government and the establishment of the Allied High Commission, he will then assume the position of United States High Commissioner in Germany.

The following summarizes major developments in the change-over to civilian control of Germany:

As John J. McCloy, former president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, assumes the post of United States authority for Germany, civilian administration of occupied Germany will take form for the first time since the end of World War II.

The change from military control to civilian administration is the culmination of measures of progress, both political and economic, which have been made in Germany in the past few years. It is evidence also, of the desire of the Western powers to return to the German people a greater voice in their own destiny.

Under the proclamation of President Truman, Mr. McCloy will serve as Military Governor (reporting to the Secretary of Army) until the Allied High Commission for Germany has been established. Creation of the latter is planned at about the same time as the establishment of the new Western German Government, following the German elections on August 14. Upon assuming the post of High Commissioner, McCloy will report to the Secretary of State.

Mr. McCloy meanwhile will serve also as chief of the Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Germany. In his function as High Commissioner and ECA Mission chief, he will exercise full authority over all political and economic issues.

Mr. McCloy brings to his new post a varied experience in law, government, finance, and European affairs. As president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development from March 1947 until his present appointment he has been acutely familiar with the interrelationship of economic problems throughout the world. During the war years, as Assistant Secretary of War, he observed the destruction of war and recognized the problems of recovery.

By centralizing authority in one man, the United States aims at simplifying the implementation of its German policy. At the same time, the United States intends to broaden the area of responsibility vested in the Germans themselves.

The United States is determined to pursue a policy of positive, constructive action in Western Germany designed to revive the country economically, politically, and socially, while at the same time taking every precaution necessary to prevent the restoration of a Germany which might become militarily dangerous to Europe and the world.

Within these limits, therefore, the Germans are being encouraged to become responsible arbiters of their own future and gradually to assume the task of governing themselves democratically. In addition, the way is open for the Germans to balance their economy and finances and to expand their trade.

German participation in the organization for European Economic Cooperation, the council of

European nations receiving Marshall Plan aid, is anticipated following the establishment of the new Western German Government.

Germany, traditionally the second largest buyer and seller in Western Europe, must play a key role in the over-all economic recovery of Europe which is the goal of the Marshall Plan. To the other European nations participating in the ERP, Germany must again become a market for their products. To be able to buy their goods, Germany in turn must find new markets for her own exports. This is the cycle of trade which was interrupted first by Nazi autarchical policy and then by the war, and which is being restored through Marshall Plan assistance. It is the cycle in which Germany must take her place, not only for her own recovery but for the recovery of Europe as a whole and the revival and expansion of world trade.

In the field of political achievement Germany has taken several steps toward ultimate self-government. Under the Occupation Statute, only the minimum controls necessary for security and for the fulfillment of Allied objectives in Germany are reserved to the Western powers. This statute is described as a bridge between military government and the peace treaty.

The Western Germans have a constitution, which was drafted, approved, and legally effected by themselves. This constitution has been ratified by 10 of the 11 Western German states, and, all are expected to join when elections have been held and the new government actually comes into being.

In June 1948, the foundations for this political development were laid in the London agreements between the three Western powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, and the Benelux countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

The London agreements provided for 1) eventual fusion of the three Western zones; 2) the setting up of a provisional German Government in the west; 3) the Occupation Statute, which was to define those powers to be reserved to the Allied authorities against the new German Government, while giving it as much power as possible; 4) the International Authority of the Ruhr; and 5) agreement on minor territorial adjustments of Germany's western frontiers.

Beginning last fall, the Bonn Constitutional Assembly held meetings to draft the constitution which will be the basis for the new German Government. During the fall and winter, also, the three Western powers were working on arrangements to carry out the London agreements.

The Washington agreements, negotiated by Secretary Acheson with United Kingdom and French Foreign Ministers this spring following the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington, represent another step in the implementation of the London agreements.

At that time, the Foreign Ministers of the three Western powers agreed to a trizonal fusion plan and to the text of an occupation statute. These agreements cleared the way for rapid progress in carrying out the London agreements.

Throughout these negotiations, the goal of giving hope and confidence to the Germans under continuing and necessary restraints was kept in sight.

One such restraint is the Military Security Board. This is the military agency responsible for the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany.

The rapid progress which has followed the Washington talks is apparent in the projected departure of Mr. McCloy late this month, and, even more significantly, in the plans for establishment of the new German Government some time this fall.

Hope for quadripartite control of Germany, which had been agreed to in the Potsdam agreements of 1945, was virtually nullified by the Russians when they walked out of the Control Council in March 1948. Their walk-out followed a period of consistent refusal to carry out the provisions of Potsdam which called for German economic unity. When, in December of that year, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov in London made the Russian intransigence on the subject even more clear, the Western powers had no alternative but to proceed to carry out the spirit of Potsdam in the trizone as effectively as possible. The three Western nations therefore began, in February 1948, the London talks which led, ultimately, to the formation of a German Government which is now in process.

United States economic policy in Germany envisages the reestablishment of that country as a vital factor in the economic life of Europe as a whole while at the same time safeguarding Germany's neighbors from a revival of war industries. It is not possible to achieve European economic health without Germany, which for many years has served Europe both as a market and as a source of imports.

There are three major agreements affecting this economic policy:

First, the International Authority of the Ruhr (IAR), which went into effect April 28, 1949, between the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux countries. This organization will seek to utilize the resources of the Ruhr in the common interests of both the Germany economy and the economies of the other European countries cooperating in the common economic good, while leaving operations, management, and production in German hands. It will attempt to provide effective insurance against unilateral use by Germany of key Ruhr resources. The agreement assures the fair and nondiscriminatory allo-

cation of Ruhr coal, coke, and steel between domestic use and export. It anticipates, also, that after the occupation, arrangements will be made to prevent use of Ruhr resources for German rearmament purposes.

The IAR is designed also to protect the German economy. It is expected to be ratified by the German Federal Republic when the latter is established, and Germany will have the opportunity to appoint representatives to attend all IAR meetings. Following German ratification of the agreement, Germany will have an equal vote with France, the United Kingdom, and the United States in determining the actions of the IAR.

The second example of United States economic policy in Germany is the Reparations agreement among the three Western powers. In accordance with that agreement those plants which would constitute a security risk have been eliminated. However, the number of plants dismantled has been held to a minimum in order to permit German industry to contribute to recovery.

The third basic agreement underlining United States economic actions in Germany is the Prohibited and Restricted Industries Policy, an agreement between the three Western powers. It provides for selective bans on certain industries and prohibits for security reasons the manufacture of certain products.

The change from military government in Germany to civilian administration will not mean a change in the democratization effort. The United States and the other occupying powers intend to let nothing prevent the continuation of their program for democratization of German life.

Official figures on trade indicate that Germany is already making a substantial contribution to over-all European recovery. A sharp increase in German imports from other Marshall Plan countries points to the reestablishment of Germany as one of Europe's most important markets. As an outlet for her neighbors' products, Germany is a key factor in the expansion of trade which is necessary for Europe's economic recovery.

Total import deliveries to bizone during the first quarter of 1949 averaged about 13 million dollars per month greater than the monthly average during 1948. Nearly one third of bizone's imports during the first quarter of 1949 came from ERP countries. Marked increase in the rate of imports from Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Luxembourg, Denmark, and France were reported.

In addition, Germany is essential as an exporter of "hard" goods to her European neighbors. Figures show that bizone exports during the first calendar quarter of 1949 were 77.5 percent greater than the average reported for the calendar year 1948. Of these exports—which were largely "hard goods"—more than 80 percent of the total went to ERP countries.

The currency reform, which was effected in June 1948, has had a pronounced influence in stabilizing the German economy, increasing production, improving distribution systems, and reviving incentive.

Reported bizone industrial production in March 1949, was 90 percent of the 1936 level. This figure compares with the May 1948 level, which was only 47 percent of 1936.

Agricultural production in 1948 was approximately up to the average of the good years 1935–38. It is true, however, that the population of bizone has increased by nearly a third over prewar levels—due to the vast influx of refugees from the Eastern zone. Therefore its food requirements are considerably higher than in prewar years.

For the same reason, employment and unemployment are both increasing in Germany. There was an increase of 800,000 persons in the registered labor force in bizone between the end of 1947 and the end of 1948.

The importance of Germany as a market for other nations of Europe is shown by the scope of imports from ERP countries. Germany imports from Sweden, pulp; from Italy, fruits and vegetables; from Denmark, meat, eggs, dairy products; from Belgium and the Netherlands, vegetables and products from dependent overseas territories, such as fibers, oilseeds, ores, rubber, and medicinal herbs; from Austria, hides and skins, lumber, and building materials; from France and its territories, vegetables, seeds, and copper; and from Norway, fish and fish oils, iron and copper ores, and concentrates.

The marked increase in imports from ERP countries is shown in the following figures which compare German imports during the entire year 1948 with her imports during the first 2 months of 1949 in terms of dollar value; from Belgium, 1948, total 18.5 million dollars, January and February 1949, 15.4 million dollars; from Denmark, 1948, total 3.8 million dollars, January and February 1949, 5.2 million dollars; from France, 1948, total 1.2 million dollars, January and February 1949, 3.5 million dollars; from Luxembourg, 1948, total 1.7 million dollars, January and February 1949, 2 million dollars; from Netherlands, 1948, total 29.5 million dollars, January and February 1949, 8 million dollars; and from Sweden, 1948, total 27.1 million dollars, January and February 1949, 10 million dollars.

The same comparison reveals a sharp increase in bizone trade with Eastern Europe—which is encouraged by the United States and ECA within the limits of security:

In 1948, Germany's trade with Poland had a total dollar value of $166,500. In the first 2 months of 1949, the value had risen to about 4

million dollars. Trade with Hungary, in 1948, amounted to $756,800; during the first 2 months of 1949 it rose to 4.8 million dollars. Bizone trade with Czechoslovakia increased from an over-all 1948 total of 9.6 million dollars to 3.2 million dollars for the first 2 months of 1949.

Trade with Finland and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, dropped in this period of comparison. The substantial increase in German-East Europe trade indicated by these figures was made possible by the trade agreements signed late last year between the American and British military authorities and the Eastern European governments.

Expanded trade is a basic goal of the American program for Germany, to enable it to support itself as well as to take its place as part of an integrated Europe, functioning in its important capacity as a buyer as well as a seller.

Bizone industrial production has made remarkable improvement in the past year in all fields, reaching in April 1949 an over-all volume equal to 82 percent of 1936. This compares with 79 percent in December 1948 and 51 percent in March 1948. In terms of commodities the improvement is shown below:

Coal: May 1948, 66% of 1936; April 1949, 86%.
Iron and steel: May 1948, 27% of 1936; April 1949, 58%.
Nonferrous metals: May 1948, 35 % of 1936; April 1949, 78%.
Machinery and optical goods: May 1948, 41% of 1936; April 1949, 84%.
Motor vehicles: May 1948, 22% of 1936; April 1949, 79%.
Electrical equipment: May 1948, 72% of 1936; April 1949, 169%.
Textiles and clothing: May 1948, 38% of 1936; April 1949, 85%.
Electricity and gas: May 1948, 108% of 1936; April 1949, 130%.

United States aid, which has been in large measure responsible for this revitalization of Germany in the economic framework of European recovery, has been in the form of GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) and ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration).

GARIOA aid through the fiscal year ending June 1949 is estimated in the bizone at 573.4 million dollars.

As of the end of May 1949, the bizone area received ECA aid amounting to 484.3 million dollars of which 82.6 million dollars represented conditional grants. This was for the 15-month period ending June 30, 1949.

For the same period, the French zone received ECA aid amounting to 116.6 million dollars of which 14.8 million dollars was in conditional grants.

The close cooperation which already exists between United States-United Kingdom administration of the bizone and French administration of the French zone is expected to be even more firmly established under the Allied High Commission. Trizonal fusion will then become an accomplished fact in the determination of German activities.

Indicative of the rapport which characterizes relations betweeen France, the United Kingdom, and the United States today is the enthusiasm with which the French have greeted the appointment of Mr. McCloy as United States High Commissioner.

The French zone imports practically all its grains and foodstuffs, causing a dollar imbalance which the ERP is designed to relieve.

Exports from the French zone include wine to the United States and other countries, electricity to Switzerland, newsprint to France, and coal to France and other areas of Germany.

Although statistics for French zone trade are not available, in general the trade patterns of the French zone follow those of the bizone. Since October 18, 1948, all foreign trade of the three Western zones has been under the auspices of the Joint Export-Import Agency (JEIA), tripartite body.

Charter of the Allied High Commission for Germany

[*Released to the Press simultaneously in London, Paris, and Washington*]

I. ESTABLISHMENT OF ALLIED HIGH COMMISSION AND TRANSFER OF CONTROL

1. An Allied High Commission (hereinafter referred to as the High Commission) is hereby established for the exercise of Supreme Allied Authority in the Federal Republic of Germany. The High Commission shall be headed by three High Commissioners, one designated by each of the three powers signatory hereto.

2. As from the date of the entry into force of the Occupation Statute all authority with respect to the control of Germany or over any governmental authority thereof, vested in or exercised by the respective Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of occupation of the three powers in Germany, from whatever source derived and however exercised, will be transferred to the three High Commissioners respectively, to be exercised in accordance with the provisions hereof and of the Occupation Statute.

3. The forces of occupation of the three powers in Germany shall remain stationed in their respective zones of occupation. Command of the forces of occupation in each zone and control of their related military establishments shall remain with the respective Commanders of the forces of occupation in such zones.

4. Legislation of the occupation authorities enacted before the effective date of the Occupation Statute shall remain in force until repealed or amended or otherwise replaced as provided in the Occupation Statute.

II. FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGH COMMISSION

1. The High Commission shall exercise control over the Federal Government and the Governments of its constituent Laender as provided in the Occupation Statute. In the exercise of the powers reserved to the occupation authorities under said Statute, the High Commission shall reach its decisions in accordance with the provisions of the "Agreement as to Tripartite Controls"[1] among the Three Powers dated 8 April 1949 and attached hereto and made a part of this instrument as Annex A. These decisions shall constitute a joint exercise of the authority of all of the three High Commissioners.

2. The High Commission shall act only through the Federal or appropriate Land Government except where direct action or legislation by the High Commission is necessary or appropriate for the due exercise of any of the powers reserved to the occupation authorities under the Occupation Statute.

3. The Headquarters of the High Commission shall be at the seat of the German Federal Government which, together with a surrounding area to be defined, will constitute a special area directly under the High Commission and excluded from any individual zone of occupation. The necessary special arrangements in connection with the definition and administration of this area in as far as they concern the Allies will be determined subsequently by the High Commission.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE HIGH COMMISSION

1. The organization of the High Commission at its headquarters shall be tripartite in character and shall consist of:

A. An Allied Council (hereinafter referred to as "The Council") composed of the three High Commissioners. Each High Commissioner shall nominate a Deputy or permanent representative who will take his place on the Council in his absence. The Deputies or permanent representatives of the respective High Commissioners acting together may function as an Executive Committee of the Council if the Council so decides;

B. Such committees or bodies as the Council may from time to time establish. These committees and bodies shall advise the Council in their respective spheres and shall exercise such executive functions as the Council may delegate to them. The number, functions, and organization of such committees or bodies may be changed, adjusted, or eliminated entirely by the Council in light of experience. Subject to the above, in order to ensure continuity of operation, the Council initially shall be assisted by Committees respectively for Political Affairs, Foreign Trade and Exchange, Finance, Economics, Law and by the Military Security Board. Each Committee shall be assisted by such associated staff as it may require and as the Council approves.

C. Allied General Secretariat.

2. *The Council*

A. The Council shall constitute the supreme authority of the High Commission. The Council shall meet as frequently as it considers necessary and at any time upon the request of any of its members. The Chairmanship of the Council and its various committees shall be held in monthly rotation by each of its members. The Council shall fix the time and place of its meetings and shall establish appropriate rules and procedures for the conduct of its business. Decisions of the Council shall be reached in accordance with Annex A hereof.

3. *Committees*

The composition of each Committee and its terms of reference shall be fixed by the Council. Initially, such Committees, together with their respective terms of reference, shall be as follows:

A. The Political Affairs Committee, consisting of the three Political Advisers to the respective High Commissioners will be concerned with all political and foreign affairs of the German Federal and Land Governments coming with the competence of the Council.

B. A Foreign Trade and Exchange Committee consisting of the respective Economic and Finance Advisers of each of the High Commissioners.

(1) The Committee shall observe the economic, financial and foreign trade policies of the German authorities and shall advise the Council if such policies or any action taken or proposed to be taken pursuant thereto is likely to have such adverse effect on the foreign trade or foreign exchange resources of the German Government as is likely to increase its need for external assistance.

(2) The members of the Committee shall automatically be members of the Board of Directors of the Joint Export-Import Agency (hereinafter referred to as "JEIA") and in conjunction with the other Directors shall be charged with the orderly liquidation of JEIA at the earliest practicable date. The Committee shall assume any control functions presently exercised by JEIA as may warrant retention when the liquidation of JEIA is completed.

(3) It is understood that the German Federal Republic will become party to the convention for European Economic Cooperation and will execute a bilateral agreement with the Government of the United States. It is further understood that thereafter the functions of the High Commission in

[1] BULLETIN of May 8, 1949, p. 590.

respect of the matters referred to in (I) will be appropriately modified.

C. The Economics Committee, consisting of the three Economics Advisers to the respective High Commissioners, shall observe the general economic policies of the German authorities and shall advise the Council as to the exercise of its powers in this connection reserved under the Occupation Statute. The Committee shall advise the Council on all matters relating to the Decartelization and Deconcentration of German industry.

D. The Finance Committee, consisting of the three Finance Advisers to the respective High Commissioners, shall observe the general financial policies of the German authorities, and shall advise the Council as to the exercise of its powers in this connection reserved under the Occupation Statute. To the extent necessary within the limits of the provisions of the Occupation Statute the Finance Committee shall succeed to and shall assume the functions heretofore exercised by the Allied Bank Commission.

E. The Law Committee, consisting of the Legal Advisers to the respective High Commissioners, shall advise the Council and its committees on all legal and judicial affairs arising out of the work of the High Commission.

F. The Military Security Board shall deal with all matters of demilitarization, disarmament, industrial prohibitions and limitations, and scientific research, in accordance with its existing terms of reference.

4. *Committee Staffs and Subordinate Groups*

A. Within numerical limitations established by the Council, each of the committees designated pursuant to paragraph 3 of this Article III shall establish such tripartite subordinate committees or other groups as may be necessary to the performance of its functions and as the Council may approve.

B. Except as specifically otherwise provided in subparagraph *C* of this paragraph 4, personnel for such subordinate committees or groups shall be appointed by each of the High Commissioners on a basis of parity among the three Allied nations. They may include military personnel. The number, functions and organization of such subordinate committees or groups may be changed, adjusted or eliminated entirely by the Council in the light of experience. Each subordinate committee or group shall be answerable to the committee responsible for its creation and shall report to the Council through such committee. Each subordinate agency shall be physically located at the headquarters of the High Commission except as may be otherwise determined by the Council.

C. The subordinate committees and groups established pursuant to subparagraph *A* of this paragraph 4 shall include:

(1) Joint Export-Import Agency which, until liquidated as provided in subparagraph *B* of paragraph 3 hereof, shall function under its existing terms of reference with an integrated staff and shall report to the Committee on Foreign Trade and Exchange through its Director General who, together with the Deputy Directors-General, shall be members of the Board of Directors of JEIA.

(2) The Decartelization and Industrial Deconcentration Group, the Coal Control Group and the Steel Control Group, all of which shall report through the Economics Committee.

(3) The Combined Travel Board which shall report through the Political Affairs Committee.

(4) Civil Aviation Board which shall report as determined by the Council.

(5) Information and Cultural Affairs Subcommittee which shall report through the Political Affairs Committee.

(6) A subcommittee on foreign interests which shall report as determined by the Council.

5. *Allied General Secretariat*

The High Commission shall be served by a Tripartite General Secretariat. The Secretariat will receive and dispatch all communications to or from the High Commission, prepare the agenda and materials for the meetings of the Council and shall keep the minutes of their meetings. The Secretariat or its appropriate branches shall act as the channel of communication between the High Commission and the agencies of the Federal Government, and between the Council and the several Land Commissioners with respect to matters affecting said Land Governments. The Secretariat shall maintain the records of the High Commission and be responsible for such other tasks as the Council may decide.

IV. LAND COMMISSIONERS

1. All powers of the High Commission shall be uniformly exercised in the constituent Laender of the Federal Republic, in accordance with tripartite policies and the directions of the Council.

2. To achieve uniformity in the exercise of its powers, the High Commission shall be represented at the seat of government of each of the constituent Laender by an Allied Land Commissioner who shall be solely responsible to the Council for ensuring due compliance on the part of the Land authorities with the Council's decisions and directives. The Land Commissioner shall report and be solely responsible to the Council for all matters of tripartite concern in the Land and shall be the exclusive channel of communication and liaison between the Council and the Land Government with respect to such matters.

3. In particular, each Land Commissioner shall be responsible to the Council for:

A. Initial consideration and prompt transmittal to the Council of Land legislation, together with his recommendations thereon;

B. observing and ensuring due compliance on the part of the Land Government with the provisions of the Federal and Land constitutions, the Occupation Statute and the laws of the occupation authorities in force;

C. providing information as required by the Military Security Board and giving all necessary assistance to the inspectorate of the Military Security Board and such other bodies as may be authorized by the Council;

D. the preparation of such periodic or special reports as the Council may request.

4. Each Land Commissioner and the members of his staff shall be nationals of the Power in whose zone the Land is situated, and shall be appointed by and administratively responsible to the High Commissioner designated by such Power. Each Land Commissioner shall be accountable exclusively to his High Commissioner and shall be his channel of communication and liaison with the Land Government with respect to:

A. All matters which are listed in Article V, paragraph 2;

B. conduct of all relationships between the forces of occupation stationed in the Land and the governmental agencies thereof except to the extent that direct communications and relations may be authorized by him.

5. Each High Commissioner shall designate an observer together with a small personal staff to be agreed in each case by the High Commissioners concerned, to each of the Land Commissioners outside of his own Zone for purposes of consultation and information.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS

1. Each High Commissioner shall maintain at the seat of government of each of the Laender in his zone a Land Commissioner with the minimum staff and facilities required for the purposes set forth in Articles IV and V hereof. He shall ensure the due implementation by each of said Land Commissioners of the decisions and directions of the Council. He shall also ensure that all powers of the High Commission are uniformly exercised within said Laender in accordance with tripartite policy and the decisions of the Council.

2. Each High Commissioner shall be responsible to his government with respect to the Laender of his zone for the matters in fields reserved to the occupation authorities listed below. Nevertheless, so far as possible, he shall coordinate the general policies which he may pursue in these fields with those of the other High Commissioners and exercise these powers in accordance with such tripartite legislation or policies as the Council may adopt.

A. Maintenance of law and order if the responsible German authorities are unable to do so;

B. ensuring the protection, prestige, security and immunities of the Allied forces of occupation, of the Allied occupation authorities, their dependents, employees and official representatives;

C. the delivery of reparations and restitutable property;

D. care and administration of displaced persons;

E. the disposition of war criminals;

F. administration of justice in cases falling within the jurisdiction of Allied courts;

G. control of the care and treatment in German prisons of persons charged before or sentenced by the courts or tribunals of the occupation authorities, over the carrying out of sentences imposed on them and over question of amnesty, pardon or release in relation to them.

3. Each High Commissioner shall be individually responsible for the formulation annually in accordance with tripartite policies and criteria, of a budget of occupation costs and other requirements within his zone. Such budget shall be formulated and submitted to the Council on a date to be determined by it for consideration and approval by the Council and for consolidation in a total budget of the occupation authorities for transmission to the German Government. Each High Commissioner shall be responsible to the Council for control of the approved budget for his zone in accordance with accounting standards and procedures established by the Council.

VI. DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL

1. Formal decisions and directions of the Council affecting the Federal Government or any agency thereof shall be in writing and shall be communicated to the Chancellor by or on behalf of the Council.

2. Formal communications involving matters of lesser import or of a routine character may be addressed to the Minister concerned by the appropriate organ of the Council.

3. Formal decisions or directions of the Council affecting a Land Government or any agency thereof shall be in writing and shall be communicated to its Minister President through the Land Commissioner, in the name of the Council.

4. Formal decisions of the Council shall be recorded in an official gazette maintained by the High Commission at the Allied seat of control in Germany, which shall be published in the English, French, and German languages. Publication of any such decision in the official gazette of the High Commission shall be conclusive evidence that the recorded action or decision was taken pursuant to the powers vested in the occupation authorities under the Occupation Statute.

VII. INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY FOR THE RUHR

The High Commission shall take all necessary steps to give effect to Article XXII of the agreement establishing the International Authority for the Ruhr of April 28, 1949.

VIII. FOREIGN MISSIONS IN GERMANY

The necessary liaison with the governments of other nations especially interested will be ensured by the appointment by such governments of appropriate missions to the Council of the High Commission having access, by procedures to be determined, to its subordinate bodies and to the German Government.

IX. UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS IN GERMANY

United Nations organizations and specialized agencies may operate in the Federal Republic of Germany on such terms as may be agreed by the Council.

(*Continued on page 38*)

U.S. Insists That Disputes Over Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian Violations of Human Rights Be Settled by Peace Treaties' Procedures

[*Released to the Press July 1*]

On June 30, 1949, the Department of State replied to the Soviet Government's note of June 11 refusing to cooperate in the peace treaty procedures for the settlement of disputes which have arisen between the United States, the United Kingdom, and several of the Dominions, on the one hand, and Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania on the other.

On May 31 the United States and United Kingdom invoked those clauses of the peace treaties providing for consideration of these disputes by the three heads of mission (American, British, and Soviet) in Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest.[1] The Soviet note of June 11 stated the view that no violations have occurred, that these matters are within the domestic jurisdiction of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and that the Soviet Government sees no reason for the three heads of mission in each of those countries to discuss the matter.

The Department's note of June 30 reaffirms the existence of disputes for the settlement of which precise procedures are laid down in the peace treaties. The attitude of the Soviet Government, indicated by its note of June 11, shows disregard for the stipulations of the treaties and represents an obstacle to the settlement of the disputes. Instead of cooperating in the search for a settlement under procedures laid down in the treaties, the Soviet Government has chosen to give its complete support to the position taken by Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania and thus to condone their violation of the treaty provisions guaranteeing to their citizens the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

TEXT OF U.S. NOTE OF JUNE 30, 1949

[*Released to the Press July 1*]

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the Embassy's note No. 74 of June 11, 1949. The Embassy's note stated the views of the Soviet Government with reference to (1) the Acting Secretary of State's note of May 31, 1949 transmitting for the information of the Governments of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as signatories to the treaties of peace with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, copies of notes exchanged between the United States Government and the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania concerning disputes arising out of violations of the clauses of the respective treaties of peace which guarantee the enjoyment of human rights to all persons under the jurisdiction of those three states; and (2) the letters sent on May 31, 1949 by the American Chiefs of Mission in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania to their Soviet colleagues requesting that the Heads of Mission of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in those three countries meet, in accordance with the terms of the peace treaties, to consider the disputes which have arisen concerning the interpretation and execution of the treaties.

It is noted that no direct reply has been made by the Soviet Ambassadors in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania to the above-mentioned letters of the American Chiefs of Mission.

The United States Government regrets that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by its refusal to cooperate in the consideration of the disputes by the three heads of mission in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, has itself shown disregard for the stipulations of the peace treaties providing explicitly that any dispute concerning the interpretation or execution of the treaties which is not settled by direct diplomatic negotiations shall be referred to the three heads of mission.

The existence of disputes between the United States Government and the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania respectively cannot be questioned. According to notes exchanged with these three governments, the United States Government has charged them with repeated and systematic violations of certain clauses of the treaties of peace, and they have replied asserting that their acts do not constitute such violations. The Soviet Government, in the Embassy's note of

[1] BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 755.

June 11, 1949, has associated itself with the position of the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in denying that the treaties have been violated. This interpretation is disputed by the United States and by other signatories of the treaties of peace. The procedures set forth in article 36 of the treaty of peace with Bulgaria, article 40 of the treaty of peace with Hungary, and article 38 of the treaty of peace with Rumania are precisely applicable to these disputes.

The opinion of the Soviet Government on the merits of the disputes, as expressed in the Embassy's note of June 11, deserve full consideration. They are, however, irrelevant to the question whether or not disputes exist and to the matter of instituting the procedures called for by the above-mentioned articles of the treaties of peace.

The Embassy's note states that "it is self-evident that the measures carried out by Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania with the aim of fulfilling the articles of the Treaties of Peace rest wholly within the internal competence of these countries as sovereign states." The United States Government cannot agree that the fulfillment of international treaty obligations can be considered as a purely domestic affair. The application of such a theory would not only permit the total circumvention of treaty obligations but would destroy the very basis of international law.

At the 190th plenary meeting of the third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, April 12, 1949, the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in objecting to consideration by the General Assembly of charges of violation of human rights in Bulgaria and Hungary, cited article 36 of the treaty of peace with Bulgaria and articles 40 of the treaty of peace with Hungary and stated: "Even if there were any violation of the Peace Treaties by Bulgaria and Hungary, the states alleging such violations should adhere to the procedures stipulated in the Peace Treaties themselves." Whether there have been such violations is in dispute. The United States, as a signatory power making such allegations, had already, on April 2, 1949, initiated measures with a view to the application of the treaty clauses cited by the Soviet delegate. The resolution of the General Assembly on the subject, adopted on April 30, 1949, noted these measures with satisfaction, expressed the hope that they would be diligently applied, and most urgently drew the attention of the Governments of Bulgaria and Hungary to their obligations under the peace treaties, including the obligation to cooperate in the settlement of disputes. The Soviet Government, however, by its present attitude, shows that it is unwilling itself to act in accordance with these treaty procedures. This attitude of the Soviet Government represents an obstacle to the settlement of disputes which have arisen under the treaties of peace.

In the light of the foregoing, the United States Government hopes that, on further reflection, the Soviet Government will see fit to reconsider its decision as conveyed in the Embassy's note of June 11, 1949, and will instruct its representatives at Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest to meet with their respective American and British colleagues as the latter requested in their letters delivered on May 31, 1949.

Undermining of Religious Faith in Czechoslovakia

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the Press June 23*]

The present attack by the Czechoslovak authorities on the position of Archbishop Josef Beran is recognized as a critical point in the calculated campaign of a totalitarian dictatorship to make impossible the preservation of the freedom and rights of religious organizations in Czechoslovakia. The United States has not failed to note the series of steps taken by the present regime in Czechoslovakia during the past year to undermine religious faith while it cynically professes to acknowledge religious liberty. Restrictions have been imposed on the freedom of assembly, association, expression, communication, and instruction in an attempt to subject religious organizations to the rule of an intolerant police state.

These measures violate the rights of conscience and the decencies of civilization. They ignore the religious freedom which should be an inalienable right of the Czechoslovak people and which was supposedly guaranteed by the constitution proclaimed by the present Czechoslovak Government itself. The systematic effort to subvert religious organizations follows the pattern of repression already established in Hungary, Bulgaria, and other countries of Eastern Europe under authoritarian Communist regimes.

Wheat Agreement—*Continued from page 21*

The instrument of acceptance of Belgium was deposited on June 17, 1949. There has not been deposited up to this time an instrument of acceptance on behalf of any other importing country. It will be necessary for such instrument on behalf of importing countries representing not less than 70 percent of the guaranteed purchases to be deposited by July 1 in order for any of the provisions of the agreement to enter into force and for the International Wheat Council to be established thereby.

Understanding Arrived at With Sweden To Correct Its Present Imbalance of Trade and To Conserve Its Foreign Exchange

[*Released to the Press June 29*]

The Department of State announced on June 29 that discussions have recently been held between representatives of the United States and Swedish Governments regarding Sweden's continuing need to prevent further serious losses of gold and foreign exchange holdings caused by the substantial deficit in Sweden's trade with the hard-currency areas of the world.

The drastic reduction of Sweden's holdings of hard currencies since the close of the war necessitated temporary modifications of the quantitative and nondiscriminatory commitments of the trade agreement of 1935 between the two countries. Understandings regarding such modifications were reached on June 24, 1947, February 11, 1948,[1] and June 12, 1948.[2]

Due to Sweden's continued shortage of hard currency, it was agreed on June 27 to extend the arrangements embodied in the aforementioned understandings until June 30, 1950, or until Sweden becomes a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, whichever is the earlier date. The understanding of June 27 may be terminated by either government on 60 days' written notice, after consultation as to the justification for its continuance.

Text of the memoranda exchanged on June 27 follows.

EMBASSY OF SWEDEN
Washington, D. C.

Memorandum

The Government of Sweden wishes to refer to discussions which have been held between its representatives in Washington and representatives of the Government of the United States of America concerning the problems faced by the Government of Sweden as the result of the serious loss of its gold and dollar exchange. These discussions have resulted in a mutual understanding between the two governments as follows:

1. Because of the large deficit in the Swedish balance or payments with the hard currency areas of the world, it is recognized that the Government of Sweden continues to be faced with the necessity of taking measures to correct its present imbalance of trade and to conserve its foreign exchange. The import restrictions imposed by the Government of Sweden on March 15, 1947, as presently applied, are understood to serve these purposes.

2. It is therefore agreed that the provisions contained in the exchange of *aide-mémoire* between the two governments dated June 24, 1947, as modified by the exchange of memoranda dated February 11, 1948, and June 12, 1948, shall continue to be applied after June 30, 1949, until the Government of Sweden becomes a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade concluded at Geneva, Switzerland on October 30, 1947, or until June 30, 1950, whichever is the earlier. The Government of Sweden is now engaged in tariff negotiations in Annecy, France, looking toward its eventual accession to that Agreement. If, however, Sweden has not adhered to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade by May 1, 1950, the two governments agree to review the situation for the purpose of considering such actions as the circumstances may demand.

It is further agreed that either government after consultation as to the continued justification for this understanding may terminate it on 60 days written notice.

Washington, D. C., June 27, 1949.

Memorandum

The Government of the United States of America wishes to refer to discussions which have been held between its representatives and representatives of the Government of Sweden concerning the problems faced by the Government of Sweden as the result of its serious loss of gold and dollar exchange, and to the memorandum of today's date from the Embassy of Sweden setting forth the understanding reached in these discussions. The

[1] BULLETIN of Feb. 22, 1948, p. 251.
[2] BULLETIN of July 11, 1948, p. 53.

Government of the United States of America takes note of the fact that the Government of Sweden acknowledges the current validity of the 1947 and 1948 understandings between the two governments. The Government of the United States of America confirms the understanding reached in recent discussions as set forth in the memorandum from the Embassy of Sweden.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 27, 1949.

Efforts of Soviet Union To Jam Voice of America Programs

Assistant Secretary Allen at his news conference on June 13 said that the United States technical experts are convinced that the Soviet Union required 3 months to build up their equipment for the present jamming campaign.

The intensified jamming was initiated in April at about the time when the United States and the U.S.S.R. representatives were discussing in New York the possibility of lifting the 10-month-old blockade. Mr. Allen expressed the belief, however, that in view of the 3 months needed for preparation, the timing of the jamming operations may have been overemphasized.

Mr. Allen estimated that between 25 to 30 percent of the VOA broadcasts are getting through to the Russian people. He said that the "Voice of America" and the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) have used as many as 101 transmitters on as many wave lengths to beam broadcasts to the U.S.S.R. on a single occasion.

According to present estimates, there are about five million radio receivers in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Allen said that the Soviet Government is doing everything possible to keep from the people news of the jamming activities. He said that they have been jamming us sporadically for 15 months or more and that the decision they made to put this terrific amount of equipment, time, and energy into the jamming operation was the result of their "increased realization of the effectiveness of our Voice operation in general and their determination to do everything they possibly could to prevent the Russian people from hearing what we had to say."

In describing the one outstanding difference between what we are saying to the Russian people and what the Soviet Government is saying to them, Mr. Allen said that the "Soviet Government is trying to make every effort it can to convince not only its own people, but all the satellite people and everybody else in the world they can reach that the program of the United States is thoroughly reactionary, backward-looking, and a return to the pre-1914 days, if you will." He said that they know that if they can sell that idea that it is a very effective one for them. They also know that what we are offering and what we hope for the peoples of the world and particularly those behind the Iron Curtain is "something a great deal better than those people have ever known, either in 1914 under the Czars and the previous regimes in eastern Europe, or what they know today." They are determined, Mr. Allen said, "to try to prevent their people from hearing our true program and keep dinning in their ears every day that the only thing that the United States has to offer is almost what amounts to the absentee landlord system, corrupt ecclesiastical authority under people like Rasputin, and the decadent aristocracy of the old days."

Asked whether the United States was considering methods to counter Soviet jamming, Mr. Allen answered affirmatively but did not go into details.

He said that as a result of the equipment needed for jamming purposes, the Soviets suspended for a while their entire Latin American program and that the domestic broadcasts have been reduced. The Latin American broadcasts have been resumed.

Mr. Allen explained that only the VOA broadcasts to the U.S.S.R. and not those to the satellite countries have been jammed.

Report on the European Recovery Program

[*Released to the Press by ECA July 1*]

While industrial production in Western Europe is flowing at an increasing rate, Marshall Plan countries face complex problems of economic balance, the Economic Cooperation Administration said on July 1 in releasing a report on the recovery program.

"Over-all trade volume is being sustained at high levels, industrial production continues to expand, and the threat of inflation seems to have eased," ECA said. "At the same time, however, weaknesses in the pattern of economic development are coming to the fore.

"Trade volume among the participating countries continues to lag, and there are signs of difficulties in sustaining domestic demand and in absorbing the labor force freed by increasing productivity.

"Problems of markets, trade, prices, and distribution are taking the place of those of production, allocation, and rationing."

On the bright side, ECA reported that:

Industrial output during the first 1949 quarter was 113 percent of prewar. This was 14 percent above the corresponding quarter a year ago. A further increase in over-all output is indicated for the second quarter, in the light of the preliminary April and May reports on output in major industries, such as coal, steel, and textiles.

Steel output rose above the prewar average for the first time in the opening quarter of 1949, steel continuing to set the pace in production expansion. Preliminary figures for April and May reflect no slackening. Coking coal and steel scrap are becoming more abundant. Coal output in the first 1949 quarter increased 10 percent over a year ago, although still below prewar. Textile output, measured by yarn production, was about 15 percent greater; rayon production was 35 percent greater.

Construction activities continued to expand. Cement output was 16 percent above the same period of last year, and brick output also was up.

Rains which followed the spring drought have improved prospects for agricultural production, and indications are that output of grains will not be far behind the 1948 harvest.

Prices have been stable or have declined slightly in all countries except Turkey. Budgets are on the way to balance. Revenue from taxation is more than sufficient to cover the regular expenditures of governments in all countries except Greece and Austria. Where current revenues are not sufficient also to finance in full investment expenditures by governments, these are being largely covered from noninflationary sources such as long-term internal loans and ECA counterpart funds.

On the other hand, the ECA report showed the following weaknesses in recent trends:

There is evidence that, with the turn from a sellers' to a buyers' market in the United States, European exports to North America are encountering resistance. Preliminary data indicate that first quarter exports to the Western Hemisphere were somewhat smaller than in the preceding period. Exports to the United States declined to 35 million dollars in April from an average of 83 million dollars per month in the first quarter and 91 million dollars in the last 1948 quarter.

Intra-ERP trade, which is considered imperative to the economic recovery of Western Europe, has lagged behind the postwar expansion of total trade. Excluding Western Germany's depressed trade, the total export volume in the first quarter was 119 percent of prewar, while exports among participating countries was only 105 percent of prewar.

Changing price levels, particularly in the hard-currency areas, seem to call for adjustments so that an adequate volume of output may be directed to these areas which provide the needed imports.

Electric power supply in the first quarter showed a smaller increase than in the previous quarter, the decline reflecting the shortage of thermal generating equipment and the severe drought which reduced the hydroelectric power supply of France, Italy, and Austria.

The labor situation during the first quarter was featured by a small general increase in unemployment and a continued increase in output per worker. Unemployment in the German bizone rose to 1.2 million in March, from 750,000 in December. Belgian unemployment, though still serious, declined from 300,000 at the first of the year to 230,000 at the first of April. Unemployment in Italy was almost 2 million in the first quarter, and the problem may be further aggravated.

The tempo of further production increases, the ECA report concludes, seems to hinge in part on establishing a basis for relating the economies of the participating countries so that the increased output can flow into economically desirable channels.

Comprehensive data on ERP economic developments underlying this summary are charted in the ECA bimonthly report, *Recovery Guides.*

Secretary Acheson Welcomes Latvian Envoy

[*Released to the Press June 28*]

The Secretary of State on June 28 received Jules Feldmans, a career diplomat with the rank of Minister in the Latvian diplomatic service, who presented his letter of appointment as Chargé d'Affaires of Latvia in Washington. Mr. Feldmans becomes chief of the Latvian diplomatic mission in the United States, in succession to the late Latvian Minister, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, who died here last July.

Remarks of Mr. Feldmans to the Secretary of State

Sir, I have the honor to present to Your Excellency the letter of Mr. Charles Zarine, Latvian Minister in London and bearer of the Special Emergency Power of the last legal Government of Latvia, introducing me to Your Excellency as Chargé d'Affaires of Latvia in the United States, and thus charging me to continue the work of my predecessor, the late Latvian Minister Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, who during his twelve years of service in Washington until his death discharged his duties with honor and distinction.

On assuming my duties in this responsible post

so important for the Latvian nation, I wish to express the deep gratitude which my people feel toward the United States Government for its friendly attitude in accepting a new Latvian Representative Plenipotentiary in the United States, and acceptance especially significant in times so trying and difficult for my country. By not recognizing either *de facto* or *de jure* the annexation of Latvia proclaimed by a foreign power and brutally carried out in breach of the existing treaties and international law, the United States Government not only continued to maintain its traditional benevolent attitude toward the small nations, but also assumed the role of the most powerful guardian of international justice and true Christian morals, upon which the entire Western civilization is based. This attitude gives me great encouragement to assume my duties, and I beg Your Excellency to accord me his assistance in the fulfillment of my mission.

Remarks of the Secretary of State to Mr. Feldmans

SIR: I have received from your hands the letter of April 20, 1949 from Mr. Charles Zarine, the Latvian Minister in London and bearer of the special emergency powers of the last independent Government of Latvia, presenting you to me as Chargé d'Affaires of Latvia in the United States in succession to the late Latvian Minister, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, whose untimely death last year ended a long period of distinguished service for his country in Washington. Dr. Bilmanis' cooperation with this government was always full and wholehearted.

In accepting you as the chief of the Latvian Mission in Washington in the capacity of chargé d'affaires an occasion is afforded my government to demonstrate its continuing interest in the welfare of the Latvian nation. I am therefore particularly happy to welcome you to Washington, and am sure we will establish and maintain with you the same close cooperation and mutual understanding as we had with your predecessor.

I wish you happiness and success in your new mission and assure you that my associates in the Department and I will always be ready to help in every way we can.

I would also ask you to thank Minister Zarine for his expression of good wishes, which are warmly reciprocated, on behalf of the Latvian nation and himself for the welfare of the United States.

Regions in China Closed to Foreign Vessels

Note From Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to American Embassy in Canton, dated June 20, 1949

[*Released to the Press June 23*]

[Translation]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the American Embassy and has the honor to state that the Government of China has now decided that the following regions from the north bank of the mouth of the Min River, longitude 119 degrees, 40 minutes east and latitude 26 degrees, 15 minutes north to the mouth of the Liao River, longitude 122 degrees, 20 minutes east and latitude 40 degrees, 30 minutes north, which lie along the coast and within the territorial water of China shall be temporarily closed, and entry therein of foreign vessels shall be strictly forbidden. Instructions have already been issued by the Government of China that, beginning from midnight of June 25 of this year, prompt actions shall be taken to prevent violations of this decision by foreign vessels. All foreign vessels shall themselves be responsible for any danger resulting from their violation of this decision.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also wishes to call the Embassy's attention to the fact that, during the period of rebellion suppression, the Government of China decided on June 18 of this year to close all ports originally declared open but no longer under the actual control of the Government of China. Included in this category are Yungchia [Wenchow], Ningpo, Shanghai, Tientsin and Chinghuangtao [Chinwangtao], where no commercial shipping by sea shall be permitted.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests the Embassy to give due consideration to this matter and to transmit the contents of this note to the American Government, and promptly notify the American shipping companies concerned to act accordingly.

Note From U.S. Embassy at Canton to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated June 28, 1949

[*Released to the Press June 29*]

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China and has the honor to refer to the latter's note No. 5938 of June 20 stating that the Government of China has now decided that the regions from the north bank of the mouth of the Min River, longitude 119 degrees 40 minutes east and latitude 26 degrees 15 minutes north, to the mouth of the Liao River, longitude 122 degrees 20 minutes east and latitude 40 degrees 30 minutes north, which lie along the coast and within the territorial waters of China shall be temporarily closed, and entry therein of foreign vessels shall be strictly forbidden. The note under reference adds that instructions have been issued by the Government of China for the enforcement of this decision beginning from midnight June 25, 1949, and calls attention to a decision by the Government of China on June 18, 1949, to close all ports originally declared open but no longer under the actual control of the Government of China.

As requested therein, the Ministry's note was transmitted to Washington. The Embassy is now instructed to state in reply that, despite the friendliest feelings toward the Chinese Government, the United States Government cannot admit the legality of any action on the part of the Chinese Government in declaring such ports and the territorial waters adjacent thereto closed to foreign vessels unless the Chinese Government declares and maintains an effective blockade of them. In taking this position, the United States Government has been guided by numerous precedents in international law with which the Chinese Government is doubtless familiar and has noted that the ports referred to are not under the actual control of the Chinese Government.[1]

Note From Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to American Embassy at Canton, dated June 30, 1949

[Translation]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America, and has the honor to refer to the latter's note, No. 265, of June 28, 1949, setting forth the position of the United States Government with regard to the closure by the Chinese Government of certain parts of its territorial waters and the ports therein.

In reply, the Ministry has the honor to state that the Chinese Government deems it within the sovereign right of a state to declare open or closed any part of its territories, whenever conditions necessitate. In fact, the Chinese Government has exercised in the past on more than one occasion the right to close some of its ports, and no question of legality has been raised by any government, including that of the United States. Port Dairen, for instance, was declared closed at a time when it was not under the actual control of the Chinese Government. The closure order under reference is, in effect, of a similar nature and is, therefore, enforceable independently of a declaration of blockade, which has never been, and is not, under the contemplation of the Chinese Government.

In stating its position, the Chinese Government also wishes to assure the United States Government that in the execution of the closure order it will undertake to do its best to avoid any unnecessary hardship or loss to the nationals of the United States. The Chinese Government hopes, therefore that in view of the friendly feelings happily existing between the two peoples, the United State Government will see its way to cooperate with it so as to prevent any untoward incident.

The Chinese Government has the honor to request the Embassy of the United States of America to be good enough to transmit at its earliest convenience the above reply to the Government of the United States.

[1] On Nov. 21, 1908, the Government of Haiti declared the port of Aux Cayes blockaded. Upon receipt of the telegram Secretary of State Root directed the American Minister to Haiti (Furniss) "to convey to the Haitian Government the usual notice that blockade must be proclaimed and maintained by an adequate force in order to be respected." (1908 *For. Rel.*, p. 439.)

The Department of State was informed in 1912 that the port of Veracruz, Mexico, which was in the hands of insurgents, had been ordered closed by the Federal Government. It thereupon instructed the American Chargé d'Affaires to inform the Mexican Foreign Office as follows:

"As a general principle a decree by a sovereign power closing to neutral commerce ports held by its enemies, whether foreign or domestic, can have no international validity and no extraterritorial effect in the direction of imposing any obligation upon the governments of neutral powers to recognize it or to contribute toward its enforcement by any domestic action on their part. If the sovereign decreeing such a closure have a naval force sufficient to maintain such a blockade, then he may seize, subject to the adjudication of a prize court, vessels which may attempt to run the blockade. But his decree or acts closing ports which are held adversely to him are by themselves entitled to no international respect. The Government of the United States must therefore regard as utterly nugatory such decrees or acts closing ports which the United States of Mexico do not possess, unless such proclamations are enforced by an effective blockade." (VII Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, 1943, p. 166.)

When the Mexican Government decreed that in addition to the ports of Veracruz and Manzanillo, in the hands of insurgents, the ports of Frontera and Puerto Mexico were closed and notified the United States of its

Allegations of Espionage in Mukden Denied

[*Released to the Press June 22*]

The Department of State fully endorses the statements issued on June 19 by the American Embassy, Nanking, and on June 20 [1] by the Office of the American Embassy, Canton, denying Chinese Communist allegations that the American Consulate eGneral at Mukden served as an espionage organ. With respect to these allegations, which appeared in a North China News Agency report datelined Mukden June 18, the Department states categorically that no member of the staff of the Consulate General is or has been involved in espionage activities. Specifically they are not and have not been involved in any way with the individuals or alleged activities mentioned in the North China News Agency report.

As the Department had announced previously,[2] all communications between the American Consulate General at Mukden and the outside world were severed by order of the Chinese Communists on November 18, 1948, 16 days after Mukden was occupied by Chinese Communist forces. From unofficial reports it appears that members of the staff of the Consulate General have been confined to their compounds since November 20. Only since June 13 have the Chinese Communists relaxed their communications blockade of the American Consulate, Mukden, to the extent of permitting it to exchange Chinese language telegrams on administrative matters with the American Embassy at Nanking and with the American Consulate General at Peiping.

This propaganda attack, coming as it does a month after the United States Government informed the Chinese Communists that the Consulate General at Mukden was being closed and its staff withdrawn, appears explicable only as an effort to excuse the unjustifiable treatment accorded personnel of the Consulate General by the Chinese Communist authorities, contrary to generally accepted standards of international law and comity.

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action, Secretary of States Hughes replied, February 1, 1924, that—

". . . this Government, with the friendliest disposition toward the Mexican Government, feels obliged, following a long line of precedents, to respect what are believed to be the requirements of international law, to the effect that a port of a foreign country declared by the government thereof to be outside of its control, cannot be closed by such government save by an effective blockade maintained by it." (VII Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, 1943, p. 167.)

During the revolution in São Paulo in 1932, the Brazilian Government closed all ports of that State to foreign and domestic shipping. On July 16, 1932, Secretary of State Stimson instructed the Embassy in Rio de Janeiro:

"If Santos is in the control of insurgents the Brazilian Government would have no right to close this port by decree as reported . . . unless this decree is enforced by an effective blockade." (VII Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, 1943, p. 168.)

In reply to a *note verbale* of August 20, 1936, from the Spanish Foreign Office to the American Embassy advising the Embassy that certain ports in the possession of the Government had "been declared a war zone" and that consequently entry into them by merchant ships would not be permitted, the Department of State instructed the Embassy on August 25 to reply as follows:

"My Government directs me to inform you in reply that, with the friendliest feelings toward the Spanish Government, it cannot admit the legality of any action on the part of the Spanish Government in declaring such ports closed unless that Government declares and maintains an effective blockade of such port. In taking this position my Government is guided by a long line of precedents in international law with which the Spanish Government is doubtless familiar." Department of State, XV *Press Releases*, weekly issue 361, pp. 192–193 (Aug. 27, 1936).

[1] Communist charges that the American Consulate General in Mukden was engaged in espionage are ridiculous and absolutely false. The Communists may have levelled such charges in order to distract attention from the fact that they have held the American Consul General and his staff incommunicado for the past 7 months in violation of international law and custom.

[2] The Department of State made the following announcement on May 31:

In view of the arbitrary restrictions imposed on the United States Consulate General in Mukden by the local Communist authorities, the Department of State has issued instructions that the Consulate General be closed and its staff withdrawn.

On November 18, 1948—18 days after the occupation of Mukden—the Chinese Communist authorities forced the closure of the Consulate General's radio facilities, and despite innumerable subsequent attempts to restore communications, no direct word has been received from Consul General Ward or his staff. There have been indirect reports that the Consul General and his staff, while safe and well, have been confined to their compounds and have been prohibited from carrying on the normal functions customarily performed by consular officials with the sanction of recognized international practice.

When it proved impossible to establish communications with the Consul General in Mukden, even after restoration of ordinary mail and telegraph communications between Mukden and cities in north China, Chinese Communist authorities in Nanking and north China were notified that unless the arbitrary restrictions were removed and the Consulate General permitted to carry on normal consular functions the Consulate General would be closed and the staff withdrawn.

No change having followed this notification, Consul General O. Edmund Clubb in Peiping was instructed on May 17 to notify the Chinese Communist authorities there that the Consulate General in Mukden was being closed and to request facilities for the withdrawal of the staff.

Aid to Korea

Statement by Secretary Acheson on his Meeting With the House Foreign Affairs Committee

[*Released to the Press June 23*]

I also discussed with the Committee the bill authorizing aid to the Government of the Republic of Korea which the Committee is now considering. I urged an early report so that final action can be taken by June 30, when the present program of aid to Korea will terminate. I stressed the fact that the Government of the Republic of Korea, which has been recognized as the only legal government in Korea by the General Assembly of the United Nations, stands as a symbol of hope to those people in the surrounding area who have fallen under the oppressive yoke of Communism, and that without the proposed assistance the people and the government in south Korea will have an almost insuperable task in maintaining freedom and independence.

Control Over Certain Property of Former Japanese Government Relinquished[1]

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Executive Order 9760 (11 F. R. 7999), as amended by Executive Order 9788 (11 F. R. 11981), and pursuant to law (R. S. 161; 5 U. S. C. 22), the undersigned, after appropriate investigation and consultation, deeming it necessary in the national interest:

Hereby waives any authority which he may have to exercise control and supervision over certain property consisting of funds deposited as checking or commercial accounts at the National City Bank of New York, Fifty-first Street Branch, New York, New York; Whitney National Bank of New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana; Second National Bank of Houston, Houston, Texas; First National Bank of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Northern Trust Company, 50 South La Salle Street, Chicago 90, Illinois; Union Trust Company of the District of Columbia, Fifteenth and H Streets NW., Washington 5, D. C.; National Metropolitan Bank of Washington, 613 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington 13, D. C.; Riggs National Bank of Washington, D. C.; Sumitomo Bank of Seattle, Seattle, Washington, and the former branch offices of the Yokohama Specie Bank, Limited, in California and New York, respectively, in the names of various former diplomatic and consular establishments of the Japanese Government which were situated at the cities wherein these banks are located. The custody of this property is relinquished to the Office of Alien Property of the Department of Justice, and a notification in writing to the Office of Alien Property of this action is hereby authorized.

This release shall become effective on the date of publication in the *Federal Register* of a vesting order issued by the Office of Alien Property covering the property described herein.

In connection herewith reference is made to the antepenultimate paragraph of Department of State Public Notice DA 170 of August 1, 1946.

[SEAL] DEAN ACHESON,
Secretary of State.

May 11, 1949.

Provisions of Argentine-U.K. Trade and Payments Agreement Studied

[*Released to the Press June 27*]

During the course of the negotiations between the British and Argentine Governments which led to the adoption of the Trade and Payments Agreement, representatives of the Department of State engaged in a number of discussions with British and Argentine representatives regarding the proposed agreement. The circumstances leading to the proposed agreement and the terms under contemplation were fully explored. On studying the final terms, the Department is gratified to observe that substantially more flexibility is incorporated in its provisions than had at first been informally reported.

The agreement constitutes an effort on the part of the United Kingdom and Argentina to expand their trade with each other without risking further loss of dollars and gold of which both countries are short. The agreement will permit transactions between the United Kingdom and Argentina to be settled in sterling, and an effort will be made to achieve a balance of payments at the highest possible level of trade.

The agreement provides that the British Government will buy very substantial quantities of meat products from the Argentine Government over the next 5 years. It provides also that British-controlled companies will offer substantial quantities of petroleum and petroleum products to importers in Argentina. Stated minimum quantities of other products are listed in the agreement which the Governments will permit to be bought and sold through the customery channels, provided buyers and sellers reach agreements on the terms. Therefore, apart from the firm contract for the purchase of meat products, the purchase or sale

[1] [Public Notice 7] 14 *Fed. Reg.* 2590.

of other commodities will depend upon the future decisions of British or Argentine buyers or sellers.

In discussions with British representatives, the United States has recognized the fact that as long as the British dollar shortage continues, the British Government will have no choice but to seek arrangements with other countries designed to avoid a loss of dollars, while maintaining its essential imports. The United States has stressed that these arrangements should be of a sufficiently flexible character so that they would not continue beyond the period in which they were made necessary by the dollar shortage. The United States notes that the United Kingdom-Argentine arrangements provide for the right of termination of the Trade and Payments Agreement at the end of any year by either party, that prices contained in the meat contracts are subject to annual agreement by the parties, and that the export and import of other products, including petroleum products, depends upon the subsequent negotiations of buyers and sellers. The agreement by its terms may therefore be adapted to changing circumstances.

The United States is pleased to note the United Kingdom's reaffirmation of its basic objective of returning to convertibility and multilateralism and its disavowal of an intention to discriminate against the trade of third countries. The United States also notes that neither the United Kingdom nor Argentina is obliged by the terms of the agreement to purchase goods from the other at prices in excess of those available in other markets, and that the United Kingdom does not propose that its capacity for exporting goods to the dollar area will be affected by the agreement.

The United States proposes to discuss periodically with the United Kingdom the nature of actual operations under the agreement, having in mind the ultimate objectives of both governments.

Charter of the Allied High Commission—*Continued from page 28*

X. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

The official languages of the High Commission shall be English and French. Authoritative German texts of documents shall be provided as necessary.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the foregoing agreement has been duly executed by the respective representatives thereunto duly authorized of the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the United States of America and the Republic of France, in triplicate in the French and English languages, each text being equally authentic and shall come into effect on the date of the entry into force of the Occupation Statute.

PARIS

20th June, 1949.

[Signed at Paris by Secretary of State Acheson, Foreign Minister Bevin, and Foreign Minister Schuman on behalf of their governments.]

Agreement With Canada Relating to 1948 Potato Crop Terminated

Through an exchange of notes on June 20, 1949, the United States and Canada terminated an agreement of November 23, 1948, under which the Canadian Government instituted a price-support and export-permit program for the 1948 Canadian potato crop.[1] Under this program Canada ceased exporting table-stock potatoes to the United States and controlled the export of certified seed potatoes in a manner designed to channel them exclusively into seed outlets in the United States.

The agreement was negotiated for the purpose of avoiding certain problems which would confront the United States Government in the operation of its price-support and other programs for potatoes if imports of Canadian potatoes during the then current crop year were to continue to be unrestricted. Since the 1948 potato marketing season is practically ended and stocks of old potatoes are relatively low, the termination of the agreement is considered to be in the mutual interest of both countries.

Canada's prompt and effective cooperation with the United States in entering into and carrying out the agreement has provided another instance of the readiness of the two countries to take joint action to meet problems of mutual concern.

For text of the exchange of notes, see Department of State press release 472 of June 21, 1949.

Military Mission Agreement With Peru Signed

[*Released to the Press June 20*]

There was signed on June 20, 1949, by James E. Webb, Acting Secretary of State, and Fernando Berckemeyer, Ambassador of Peru to the United States, an agreement providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army as an advisory mission to serve in Peru. The agreement, which replaces an almost identical agreement in force since July 10, 1944, is to continue in force for 4 years from the date of signature, and may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Peru.

The agreement is similar to numerous other agreements in force between the United States and certain other American Republics providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps to advise the armed forces of those countries.

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[1] BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1948, p. 744.

the provisions of the agreement pertain to the duties, rank, and precedence of the personnel of the mission, the travel accommodations to be provided for the members of the mission and their families, and other related matters.

Boyd-Roosevelt Highway From Colón to Panama City Completed

[*Released to the Press June 24*]

The Department of State announced on June 24 that the United States Government had completed the construction, at its expense, of a first-class highway in Panama from Colón to Panama City. The Boyd-Roosevelt Highway, about 50 miles in length, crosses the Isthmus from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. It is located almost entirely within the Republic of Panama, and ties in with existing transportation facilities in the Canal Zone. The highway was opened to traffic in April 1943 and, except for a stretch of approximately 1000 feet, was completely paved by 1944. The paving of this short stretch of the highway near Colon on June 13, 1949, was the last step necessary to complete the project. This stretch was previously left unfinished, pending a recent decision of the Panamanian Government that it did not now wish to construct an overpass at the intersection with Randolph Road. Inasmuch as this is the last of the construction called for by the pertinent agreements between Panama and the United States, and as the obligations of the United States to perform post construction operations pending the stabilization of the highway have been duly discharged, the United States Embassy in Panama has accordingly notified the Government of the Republic of Panama that further responsibility of the United States Government for performance of work under such agreements will terminate on June 30, 1949.

The Boyd-Roosevelt (Trans-Isthmian) Highway was constructed in three sections. The first comprised that part between its junction with Fort Randolph Road near Colón on the Atlantic side to the Canal Zone boundary near Cativa, which was a commitment under the original Trans-Isthmian Highway Convention of March 2, 1936. The second was the adjoining sector which extended to the boundary of the Madden Dam area, and was carried out by the United States Government pursuant to an exchange of notes dated August 31 and September 6, 1940. The third and last sector extended from a point near the termination of the second section to Panama City, which was an obligation undertaken under Article V of the General Relations Agreement effected by an exchange of notes dated May 18, 1942. The total cost of construction was approximately 9,785,000 dollars.

The standards to which Trans-Isthmian Highway was finally constructed are substantially better than those stipulated in the original highway convention of March 2, 1936 in that the road constructed is 24 feet wide with maximum grades of five percent while the convention called for a highway only 18 feet in width with eight percent maximum grades. The highway was originally intended to accommodate Panamanian commercial and normal Canal Zone requirements, but by 1940 it became evident that the higher standards would be more adequate to handle increasing military needs on the Isthmus of Panama.

American-Turkish Association Furthers Cultural Relations

Statement by Assistant Secretary Allen[1]

The interchange of cultural relations and the increase in knowledge of one nation about another are essential elements in the establishment of peace and security in the world. To this end private citizens and private organizations in America are making a fundamental contribution. Today, you who are founding the American–Turkish Association are forging a further link in the chain of cultural contacts between the United States and other nations. Our links with Turkey include the worthy traditions established by American educational and medical institutions in Turkey for more than a century, a growing appreciation in the United States for Turkish art, literature, and culture, and recognition of the common bonds of interest between peoples striving to safeguard human rights and liberties.

Your association will provide a meeting ground for Americans of widely varied interests but with a common bond of friendship for Turkey and a common desire to promote better understanding of Turkey in the United States. On the occasion of the founding of this Association, I take special pleasure in extending my very best wishes and sincere hopes for the success of your undertaking.

[1] Made on the occasion of the founding of the American-Turkish Association in New York on June 7, 1949, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Allen is Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

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EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN UNITED STATES AGRICULTURE

by Daniel Goott

The movement of workers across national boundries for purposes of employment has been an mportant factor in the recovery efforts of many European countries since the end of the war. It is erhaps not as generally recognized, however, that he United States has during this period been ngaged in a temporary foreign migratory labor rogram of its own. This program has not asumed the same relative proportions, nor the conomic significance that manpower movements ave assumed abroad. It has, nevertheless, been ulfilling what the United States Employment ervice determines to be a continuing need for easonal agricultural workers by American armers. It is also serving as a source of employent for workers who would probably otherwise e unemployed and is providing much needed dolr exchange for the countries of emigration. uthoritative but unofficial estimates show that pproximately 48,000 foreign migrant workers ere legally employed in United States agriculre during the peak employment periods of the ear 1948. About 43,000 of these were Mexican ationals and some 5,000 were British West Indian ationals from Jamaica, the Bahamas, and arbados. There were, in addition, several thound Canadian workers, who were engaged in the arvesting of crops along our northern border.

This country's experience in recent years with e temporary employment of foreign migratory orkers in agricultural activities may be coniently divided into two periods. The first riod may be considered to date from 1942 when, an emergency measure, substantial numbers of reign workers were brought into this country to lp alleviate the severe wartime shortage of domestic agricultural labor. It extended through the end of 1947, when the wartime legislative authority expired. The second and current period may be viewed as one representing a continuation of the program beyond the expiration of the wartime legislation but under significantly modified conditions.

In the latter part of 1942, the United States Government negotiated its first formal agreement with Mexico providing for the temporary employment of Mexican nationals in United States agriculture. At about the same time arrangements were worked out for the recruitment and employment of British West Indians, Newfoundlanders, and Canadians, the latter being employed mainly along the Canadian border. It has been estimated that by 1945 the number of foreign workers employed in agricultural jobs in this country had risen to a peak of nearly 120,000, with Mexicans constituting by far the greatest proportion. The average annual number from 1942 through 1947 was approximately 68,000.

The program commencing in 1942 was given its impetus by the pressing wartime need for manpower on the Nation's farms. Implementation of the program was facilitated under the broad provisions of the special statutory authority which was then enacted. This authority made possible direct participation by the United States Government in the varied operations which a program of that character and magnitude required. United States Government participation not only involved administrative and supervisory functions performed through the United States Department of Agriculture but even extended to the subsidization of many of the costs incidental to

the movement and the care of the workers. Among the costs so subsidized were those for transportation of the workers to and from the United States, housing and recreational facilities, and health and medical services. The United States Government, in addition, participated in the determination of the terms and conditions under which these workers were to be employed and was a signatory to the work contracts which incorporated these terms. The significance of the United States Government's role in the program during this period lay in the fact that it, in effect, was a guardian of these workers and assumed responsibility for effectuating the protective safeguards established in the work contracts.

In April 1947, the 80th Congress enacted Public Law 40 which provided for the liquidation of the wartime program and for the repatriation by December 31 of that year of all the foreign workers who had entered the United States under that program. This legislation also marked the return of the authority for farm labor recruitment and placement to the United States Employment Service.

With the enactment of Public Law 40, it became evident that the foreign migratory labor program was not to be continued in its original form. Numerous United States agricultural employers who had been utilizing Mexican and British West Indian workers applied to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service for permission to retain many of their foreign workers beyond December 31, 1947. These applications were predicated upon an alleged continuing shortage of domestic agricultural workers. Upon certification by the United States Employment Service in each case that domestic agricultural workers were unavailable for recruitment at prevailing wage rates to fill the jobs in the areas involved, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service extended the authority of several thousand Jamaicans, Bahamians, and Barbadians to remain in agricultural employment in this country for limited periods of time ranging up to one year. The employment of these workers and additional ones subsequently brought in has continued up to the present time on the basis of this certification procedure.

The over-all features of the program during the present period differ in several significant respects from that of the previous period. One of the more significant distinctions is that the United States Government no longer subsidizes any of the transportation, housing, subsistence, health, and other costs. Since existing legislation does not provide for the expenditure of public funds for such purposes, these costs must now be borne in one way or another by the participating private groups. The precise method of distributing these costs varies with the terms of the contractual agreement reached between the parties. Thus in the case of the British West Indian workers, the United States employers, and the respective island governments have worked out an arrangement under which the costs of transportation to and from the United States are shared by the employers and the workers. The Mexican work contracts, on the other hand, have required that the employers assume the cost of transportation from the contracting centers in Mexico to the place of employment in the United States and return.

Another significant distinction which serves to demarcate the two periods is one which is relevant for the British West Indian phase of the program but not for the Mexican phase. Since the end of 1947, the United States Government has not officially participated in the formulation of the work contracts governing the employment of British West Indian nationals, nor has it been a signatory to these contracts, as it was prior to that time. These contracts are now developed through direct negotiations between private United States agricultural employers, on the one hand, and the respective British West Indian Governments, on the other. The terms of employment for these workers are thus essentially a reflection of the relative bargaining strength of these two groups. There is, furthermore, no formal agreement now in effect between the United States and the respective British West Indian Governments with regard to the over-all scope or operation of this phase of the program.

In contrast with this latter situation, the special considerations peculiar to the Mexican phase of the program have led to the renegotiation and renewal of formal executive agreements between the United States and Mexican Governments. The most recent of these was the agreement of February 21, 1948. This agreement remained operative until the middle of October 1948, when the illegal entry into the United States of a large number of Mexicans and their employment outside the scope of the agreement led to its abrogation. Negotiations with the Mexican Government for

new agreement have been under way since early 1949, and it is anticipated that they will be successfully concluded in the near future.

Any comment on the Mexican phase of the program would be incomplete without some reference to the "wetback" problem, one of its most persistently difficult and disturbing aspects. The term "wetback" is commonly used to describe the Mexican national who illegally crosses the border into the United States, often by swimming or wading across the shallow waters of the Rio Grande. These "wetbacks" normally find their way into agricultural employment, but it has been charged that they are also to be found employed in such nonagricultural jobs as the building and service trades. Although the number of "wetbacks" now in this country is difficult to estimate with any precision, it is generally conceded that it substantially exceeds the number brought in legally under the formal program. Estimates range from 100,000 to a high of about 400,000. This condition prevails despite the fact that large numbers are regularly deported by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The presence in the United States of these illegal entrants represents what in many respects is the most formidable problem confronting the United States and Mexican Governments in connection with the migratory labor program. Not only does the practice of illegal border crossings constitute a violation of United States immigration laws, but it also exerts a seriously detrimental impact on the effectiveness of the formal program. It is important to note in this regard that the "wetbacks" represent a source of foreign labor which is utilized outside the scope of the formal agreements between the two governments. These workers are, therefore, not subject to the protective provisions incorporated in the agreements and work contracts, as are the legally recruited Mexican workers. The availability of Mexican workers for employment under these circumstances presents an almost inevitable economic inducement to United States employers to recruit them. This inducement has been further accentuated by the fact that the Mexican Government in the past has refused to permit its nationals to be legally contracted in certain areas in this country where anti-Mexican discrimination has been practiced. United States agricultural employers in these areas have thus been deprived of the opportunity for recruiting Mexican workers under the formal program. Faced with the necessity for securing seasonal workers to harvest their crops, many of these employers, presumably in the absence of local labor, have resorted to the use of "wetbacks." The agreement which is now under negotiation with the Mexican Government is designed to cope with this problem and, it is to be hoped, will make a significant contribution towards alleviating it.

Apart from the arrangements for the temporary employment of foreign workers, systematic procedures have recently been developed for the recruitment of workers from Puerto Rico. As citizens of the United States, Puerto Ricans are, of course, free to travel to and from the mainland for purposes of employment or otherwise. In a recent agreement with the Puerto Rican Commissioner of Labor, however, the Bureau of Employment Security of the Federal Security Agency clarified its policy under which Puerto Rico would be included in the clearance procedures for the determination of the need for foreign agricultural workers. This agreement, as explained by the United States Employment Service, was designed to provide an orderly means for employers to recruit Puerto Ricans when local labor supplies are inadequate and to assure consideration of Puerto Rican farm workers in preference to foreign workers. It is thus intended by the United States Employment Service that, whenever circumstances permit, Puerto Rican workers should be offered agricultural employment opportunities in the United States prior to any foreign nationals.

Experience with the foreign migratory labor program since its inception as an emergency measure in 1942 has revealed numerous areas of potential and actual friction. These have in the past led to diplomatic representations to the United States Government and to strong criticism by private groups in this country. The nature of the problems which have given rise to these frictions are varied and can only be touched upon briefly here. Problems related to the determination of prevailing wage rates and their effective application to foreign migratory workers have been a relatively frequent source of difficulty. The practice of social discrimination in certain localities, against Mexican nationals particularly, has been an issue of extremely delicate character. Points of conflict with the activities of United States trade unions in the fields of organization and collective bargaining have on occasion led to particularly

heated protestations by trade-union leaders in this country as well as to diplomatic representations. The solution to each of these issues is by no means an easy one and continues to present a challenge for those dealing with the program.

The general problem of the program's potential impact on United States labor standards is one in which United States agencies other than the Department of State have a more direct and immediate responsibility. It is a problem, however, which the Department of State cannot ignore. Apart from its general responsibilities, the Department of State must concern itself with the possibility that derogatory attitudes toward these foreign nationals may develop among American workers should they come to view the former as competitors who are undermining labor standards in this country. In addition, the program must be kept consistent with broader foreign-policy objectives as they are reflected, for example, in this government's responsibilities as a member of the Caribbean Commission and in its obligations as a member of the International Labor Organization.

The bulk of the criticism which has been directed at the general conduct of the program during the last 2 years has come from organized labor. The Department of State has been subjected to some criticism for the part it has played in connection with the negotiation of the agreements with the Mexican Government. Much of the criticism of the Department's role in this respect, it appears, arises from a general misconception of the purpose which these agreements serve. Foreign workers are admitted into the United States by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice pursuant to the discretionary authority vested in the Attorney General under existing immigration statutes. Public Law 893, 80th Congress, enacted for a period of 1 year, ending June 30, 1949, moreover, specifically authorized the recruitment of workers from the Western Hemisphere when it is determined by the United States Employment Service that adequate members of domestic agricultural workers are unavailable. It is upon the exercise of their respective authorities by these two agencies that foreign nationals are admitted into the United States for temporary agricultural employment. Negotiation of an agreement with Mexico is not the action which determines whether foreign workers shall be brought into this country. The agreement represents an effort only to assure that those workers who are legally admitted into the United States pursuant to the action taken by the United States Employment Service and the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service are employed under principles and procedures acceptable to both the Mexican and the United States Governments. It represents an effort also to place the admission and employment of these workers on an orderly and controlled basis and thereby to meet the needs of the United States Employment Service in its over-all responsibilities for farm labor placement.

The alternative to an agreement with Mexico would be a situation in which Mexican nationals could, under existing statutes, be legally admitted into the United States even without the consent or approval of the Mexican Government. A situation of this kind would be likely both to jeopardize our good relations with the Mexican Government and to impair the standards already achieved.

Despite the frictions which have emerged in the past and the problems which still underlie the program, notable success has, in general, been achieved in meeting our own more immediate needs as well as those of the other participating governments. While there is considerable room for improvement in the conduct of the program, it should at the same time be recognized that many of the frictions to which it has given rise are perhaps inevitable under a program of this kind in which the unpredictable human factor looms so large. It is to be hoped that the future availability of employment opportunities in this country will continue to make this program possible on a basis of mutual advantage to all concerned and as a constructive contribution to United States foreign-policy interests.

The United States in the United Nations

July 9–15

Report on United States Trust Territory

The 12-member Trusteeship Council spent the past week examining the first annual report, submitted by the United States as the administering authority, on its administration of the strategic trust territory of the Pacific Islands covering the year ended July 17, 1948. Along with the report, the Council members considered the written replies of the United States to 122 questions of Trusteeship Council members.

Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, the United States representative pointed out that the trust territory of the Pacific Islands, comprising the Marshalls, Marianas, and Carolines, covered a sea area of around 3 million square miles and contained a comparatively small population of not more than 53 thousand people, widely scattered among 64 different island groups. The territory presented unique problems of transport and communications, said Ambassador Sayre, upon which the political economic, social, and educational progress of the multitude of far-flung islands largely depended. He stressed that the United States sought no financial gain or advantage for itself but was trying in every practicable way possible to assist the inhabitants.

The United States Deputy High Commissioner for the territory explained some of the difficulties which faced the United States. He emphasized that at least eight distinct cultural groups had developed, each with its own language and customs. The effect of the war and conflicting policies under previous administrations by the Spanish, Germans and Japanese had left the natives confused, without loyalties and without ambition or initiative. The United States has had to build an educational program from the bottom up. He further explained the problems of rehabilitating agriculture, transportation, and public health.

The reaction of Council Members, with the exception of the U.S.S.R. representative, during the detailed discussion of the report, was one of praise for United States policies in the Trust Territory. The form of the report and the "forthright" nature of United States replies to Members' questions were also commended. The U.S.S.R. representative attacked United States policies in the Trust Territory, contending that no steps had been taken to bring the natives into administrative, legislative and judicial organs. He criticized continuance of the ancient tribal system, alleged that racial discriminatory policies practiced in the United States had been carried into the Trust Territory, and called for a new tax system and increased funds for educational and health services.

Ambassador Sayre expressed appreciation for the comments and suggestions "which, with the exception of one member, have been for the most part helpful and constructive." He replied in detail to the U.S.S.R. criticisms, stressing that the United States Government was content to let its record speak for itself. The aims of the administering authority, he stressed, were to promote as rapidly as possible the progress and advancement of the people of the territory toward self-government or independence. He said the United States would be happy to welcome the Visiting Mission to the United States Trust Territory next year.

Turning to discussion of the Mission which will visit the trust territories of the Pacific Islands, New Guinea, Western Samoa, and Nauru in 1950, the Council agreed that the Mission should consist of four Trusteeship Council members and that the maximum duration of the visit should be 110 days. The U.S.S.R. representative told the Council that his delegation "would not find it possible to take part in the Mission."

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) in the second week of the ninth session, meeting in

Geneva, adopted resolutions noting the reports of the Economic Commission for Europe, the International Telecommunications Union, the Universal Postal Union, and the International Labor Organization. Each of these reports contained a number of resolutions submitted for Ecosoc approval. Also approved was a joint resolution of which the United States was one of the sponsors on the question of availability of insecticides for combatting malaria in agricultural areas. The resolution recommends that the import of insecticides by those countries needing them should be facilitated by the adoption of measures affecting tariff, export and import restrictions.

In the discussion of the report of the Economic Commission for Europe, the United States Representative declared that the Commission is fulfilling its mandate in a "thoroughly satisfactory manner." He added that his country also expected that the work being done by the Ece Trade Committee would prove useful. In reply to Soviet criticisms of the European Recovery Program, United States foreign trade policies and controls, the United States representative called attention to previous United States replies to similar attacks and said that repetition of the charges did not make them true.

Interim Committee

A subcommittee of the Interim Committee on July 12 began discussion of the question of extending the duration of the Interim Committee, which was reestablished by the General Assembly last December for a second experimental year, and of the question of the Interim Committee's terms of reference. Discussion centered on a Turkish proposal which called for reestablishment of the Interim Committee for an indefinite period, unless the General Assembly decided otherwise. The United States, Bolivian, French, Chinese, South Africa, United Kingdom, and Uruguayan representatives indicated support for the Turkish proposal, but there was some variance of opinion over possible revision of the terms of reference.

The United States representative called the "very existence" of a year-round body like the Interim Committee "an important factor in assuring general stability." He supported the "continued availability" of the Interim Committee to carry on its present tasks, with the present terms of reference.

Korea

The Commission on Korea (Uncok) is making another effort to carry out the task of verification of the withdrawal of the occupation forces from all of Korea, assigned to it by the General Assembly resolution of last December. The Commission has sent a communication in respect to withdrawal of Soviet troops to the United Nations Secretariat for transmission to the U. S. S. R. The message points out that Uncok is now verifying final withdrawal of United States occupation forces from South Korea and states it is ready "whenever proper facilities are afforded for the purpose" to carry out this task in respect to Soviet troops in the north. The U. S. S. R. announced withdrawal of its forces from North Korea last December, but Uncok has never been able to enter the northern part of the country to verify this.

Membership

The Security Council on July 11 resumed the general discussion on the reexamination of twelve applications for membership in the United Nations. The U.S.S.R., Ukraine, and United States delegates restated their positions but no decision was reached.

The U.S.S.R. delegate stated that earlier arguments expressed by Ambassador Austin in opposition to admission of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Mongolia were "false". He charged that the United States opposed the entry of certain states because their policies and internal structure were not to the liking of the United States. He was "hardly surprised", he said, at United States opposition to the U.S.S.R. proposal of simultaneous approval of all twelve applications.

In reply, Ambassador Austin pointed to the need for applicants to be peace-loving and able and willing to abide by the Charter. He also mentioned the necessity of decision as to whether the applicant was a state and that Mongolia posed certain difficulties in this regard. He said that the United States motion for separate action on each application was necessary because of the varying circumstances surrounding the individual applications. Depending on the conduct of certain applicants in regard to human rights and aid to the Greek guerrillas, the United States attitude could change, but using Charter obligations as a "yardstick of qualifications", it was not difficult for the United States to decide, Ambassador Austin concluded.

The Norwegian Delegate reiterated his endorsement of the previous statement by the United States Delegate that the United States would not permit its vote to prevent approval of an application which had received seven affirmative votes in the Security Council.

United States Participation in Pan American Railway Congress Association

by H. H. Kelly

The United States National Commission in the Pan American Railway Congress Association met for the first time on June 21, 1949, at Washington. In effect, its inaugural session opened a new and commodious room in the expanding structure of technical cooperation between the United States and the other American Republics.

Created under authority of an act of Congress (Public Law 794, 80th Congress), the Commission assembled under promising auspices and with the official cooperation of the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The eight members, at appropriate ceremonies incident to administration of oaths of office, received commissions signed by the President of the United States and the Acting Secretary of State. Immediately thereafter, they began consideration of a program of work which envisages in general the improvement of transportation systems in the Western Hemisphere and, in particular, the development and progress of railways.

MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

The members of the Commission, who collectively represent the broadest governmental and private interests in rail transportation, are as follows:

William T. Faricy, Chairman, President, Association of American Railroads, Washington, D.C.
Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.
Charles Sawyer, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.
Charles D. Mahaffie, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D.C.
George P. Baker, Professor of Transportation, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; and United States Member, Transport and Communications Commission, United Nations
J. M. Hood, President, American Short Line Railroad Association, Washington, D. C.
James G. Lyne, President, Simmons-Boardman Publishing Corporation, and Editor, *Railway Age*, New York
Arlon E. Lyon, Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington, D.C.

As one of its first actions, the Commission appointed Walter S. Abernathy, specialist in the Transportation and Communications Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, as executive secretary; and Kenneth N. Hynes, assistant attaché at the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires, as resident member for the United States on the Permanent Commission of the Association in Buenos Aires. Both of these men, who have been active in the organization stages of the United States Commission, will handle their new responsibilities in connection with their regular duties and without additional compensation. The Commission also decided to use the executive secretary's office as its mailing address: Room 1868–A, Commerce Building, Washington 25, D. C.

INITIAL WORK

The keynote of the Commission's activities was sounded by Assistant Secretary Thorp in his opening remarks at the Commission's first meet-

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ing. He emphasized the official interest of the United States Government in the Pan American Railway Congress Association, as expressed by act of Congress (Public Law 794, 80th Congress), by Presidential designation of the Commission members and by the cooperative endeavors of the Departments of State and Commerce and the Interstate Commerce Commission. He also said that while the Commission will report to the Secretary of State in accordance with precedent, it is to be independent in its thinking, with full freedom to examine facts, express opinions, and make recommendations. He reminded the members of the all-pervasive importance of transportation in modern life, and expressed the hope that, although the special interest of the Commission is in the field of railways, the broader problems of transportation as a whole would not be ignored in its deliberations.

Two of the various resolutions adopted by the Association at its latest (sixth) congress held at Habana March 28–April 7, 1948, and which had been referred to the United States Commission for attention, were discussed. The first (paper no. 28 of the Habana agenda) set forth in generalized terms the objectives of railroad unification and coordination and proposed the establishment of a bureau within the Permanent Commission of the Association to carry out these objectives. In the absence of complete documentation on this proposal, and with some question as to whether or not a special bureau could be justified in any case, the Commission instructed its resident representative at Buenos Aires to obtain more specific information.

The second (paper no. 58 of the Habana agenda) related to the desirability of establishing a uniform system of railroad accounts, statistics, and terminology, and established a committee of five members (representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Mexico) to prepare definite proposals for the next congress of the Association. This committee was subsequently expanded by the Executive Committee of the Association to include the United States. In their discussion of this item, the United States Commission members expressed appreciation of the high regard in which the Interstate Commerce Commission regulations appeared to be held in the Latin American countries but recognized the widely varying conditions which exist in the other countries and which may require much more simplified methods. They instructed the resident representative at Buenos Aires to maintain contact with the Permanent Commission on the matter and to obtain advice as to any specific assistance needed at present. Mr. Mahaffie was designated as the United States Commission member to give special attention to the problem.

The need for translation from Spanish into English of the Association documents, including its bimonthly bulletin, was pointed up by the discussion of the two Habana resolutions. Since the United States is the first English-speaking nation to become a member of the Association, the language problem will now take on added importance. Decision was made to request the Permanent Commission at Buenos Aires to provide a brief digest in English of the articles in the bimonthly bulletin and to arrange when necessary for appropriate translation into English of other documents, as initial steps.

The United States technical assistance program was cited as a promising means for providing help on transportation problems in the Latin American Republics, through sending experts there to make investigations and recommendations and bringing trainees to this country. The United States Commission, with its direct participation in the affairs of the Association, was recognized as an ideal channel for consideration of projects in the railroad field. Comments by various members showed that this activity may well prove to be one of the most important items in the Commission's entire program of work.

Consideration was given to the possibility of forming an advisory committee representing associations of railroad-equipment manufacturers, to assist the Commission in its study of technical and trade problems, but action was deferred until a time when the Commission has a clearer picture of its responsibililities and activities.

The question of establishing a budget for the Commission, as authorized by the enabling legislation, revealed a unanimous desire on the part of the members to keep expenditures to a minimum and to rely so far as possible upon the resources of the various governmental and private agencies represented by the membership. No budget will be established for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1949. It was explained that the expenses of delegations attending the periodic railway congresses will be covered out of government funds, especially provided for United States participation in international conferences, and will not be charged against the Commission.

The chairman was authorized to assign to members of the Commission or other persons the preparation of any papers which may be requested by the Association for presentation at the next (seventh) Congress to be held in Mexico City, October 10–20, 1950. Recommendations on the membership of the United States delegation to that congress will be made by the Commission later. In this connection, it was reported that the Association may wish to hold its eighth congress in the United States, possibly in 1952 or 1953.

The next meeting of the United States Commission will be held at the call of the chairman, and the tentative date was indicated as January 1950.

All members of the Commission were present at the initial meeting except Mr. Mahaffie, who was unavoidably prevented from attending by participation in an Interstate Commerce Commission hearing.

BACKGROUND DATA

In 1907, in connection with a railway exhibition held at Buenos Aires to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first railway built in the Argentine Republic, decision was made to establish a South American Railway Congress. This organization held its first assembly in 1910 at Buenos Aires, upon invitation of the Argentine Government, and with representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela in attendance.

In 1941, at a congress in Bogotá, the name was changed to the Pan American Railway Congress Association, and invitations to join were extended to countries of Central and North America.

Six congresses in all have been held—in 1910 at Buenos Aires, 1922 at Rio de Janeiro, 1929 at Santiago, 1941 at Bogotá, 1946 at Montevideo, and 1948 at Habana.

United States Participation

United States membership in the Association irst was considered by the Department of State n 1941, when membership was opened to countries of Central and North America, but no action was aken at that time because of the war. At the first ostwar congress in 1946, United States participaion was limited to sending two observers.

The matter was further considered during 1947 y interested organizations. On February 28 of hat year the Subcommittee on Transportation of he Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific nd Cultural Cooperation urged that the United States Government become a member of the Assoiation and that legislation to this end be introuced in the 80th Congress. On April 17, Comittee III on Transportation, Communications nd Tourism of the Inter-American Economic and ocial Council recommended that all governments f the American Republics adhere to the Associaon.

On January 26, 1948, Senator Vandenberg inoduced S. J. Res. 177 in the United States Sene "providing for participation by the Governent of the United States in the Pan American ailway Congress, and authorizing an appropriion therefor." This resolution, after receiving vorable reports from the Senate Committee on oreign Relations (Report no. 1036, Calendar no. 1078, March 30, 1948) and from the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, together with the support of Government departments and industrial interests, was enacted as Public Law 794 of the 80th Congress, and was approved by the President on June 28, 1948.

Meanwhile, the United States had been represented at the Habana Congress of the Association, March 27–April 7, 1948, by three observers: William T. Faricy, president of the Association of American Railroads (who became the first chairman of the United States National Commission this year); Dr. Julian Duncan, economist of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and Seymour T. R. Abt, staff officer of the Department of Commerce. A number of railroad representatives also were present in their private capacity. It should be added here that several individual American railroads have held membership in the Association for a number of years. The Association of American Railroads became a member after the Habana Congress in 1948.

In October 1948, initial payment of the United States contribution to the Association was made in the amount of $2,500, covering the second half of the calendar year 1948.

The constitution and bylaws of the Association, as approved at the Uruguay Congress in 1946 (subsequently designated as the "Charter" of the organization and approved by the sixth congress in Habana in 1948), provides, in articles 12 and 13, that a national commission shall be formed in each adhering country. Action to this end was begun in the latter part of 1948 by officers of the Departments of State and Commerce and the Interstate Commerce Commission, in consultation with railroad representatives, and resulted in recommendations to the White House early in 1949. Final approval of the membership was given by President Truman on June 14, and the first meeting was immediately set for June 21.

Purposes and Character of the Association

The aims of the Association, according to its charter, are "to promote the development and progress of railways in the American continent," and these aims are carried out by means of (a) periodic congresses; (b) publication of works and documents related to the Association's objects, and an official Bulletin; and (c) maintenance of informative services and the studies of topics of general interest.

The Association is an international organization, with rights of membership extended not only to governments but also to railway companies, public institutions, and interested private individuals. Voting rights, however, are limited to governments and railways, and each national delegation has a total of four votes in the congresses.

As of June 1949, the following 17 governments were members of the Association: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The work of the congress is carried out by a permanent commission and its executive committee, with headquarters in Buenos Aires, Argentina (Paseo Colon No. 185, R. 44), and by national commissions established in the affiliated countries.

Assessments to member governments are fixed by the Permanent Commission at the rate of $.05 United States currency per kilometer of railroad lines in operation, up to a maximum assessment of $5,000. The United States Government contributes the latter amount.

The Pan American Railway Congress provides a forum for discussion of technical economic and administrative problems of railways and the formulation of recommendations leading to the improvement of the transportation systems of the Americas. Recommendations of past meetings have been concerned with problems of railway organization, the technical and economic aspects of railway operation, including construction, maintenance, materials and traction, standardization of equipment and identity of gauge, accounting and statistics, and appropriate legislative and administrative questions.

The United States Government, through membership in the Association, may now give further assistance in the development of inter-American agreement and action on:

1. Improvement, standardization, and expansion of inland-transportation systems in the American Republics.
2. Establishment of adequate and efficient land-transport facilities as a means to improved inter-American economic development and increased trade and commerce.
3. Reduction of inter-American frontier barriers and facilitation of the movement of freight and passengers throughout the American Republics.
4. Standardization of equipment, gauges, and operating methods, and the introduction of the highest technical standards through the application of advanced railway techniques.
5. Improvement of hemispheric defense and security through the coordination of inter-American transportation facilities.
6. Interchange of technical data and knowledge among all the American Republics as a means of advancing hemispheric cooperation in the field of transportation.

First Session International Wheat Council

[*Released to the press July 5*]

Albert J. Loveland, Under Secretary of Agriculture, will be chairman of the United States delegation to the first session of the International Wheat Council which convened at Washington on July 6.[1] Appointed as delegates were Ralph S. Trigg, administrator, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture; Fred J. Rossiter, associate director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture; Edward G. Cale, associate chief, International Resources Division, Department of State; and James C. Foster, assistant director, Commodities Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce. Ursula H. Duffus, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, is serving as adviser to the delegation.

The first session of the International Wheat Council is an organizational meeting concerned with administrative and other arrangements necessary to carry out the functions of the Council as provided for by the International Wheat Agreement.

The Preparatory Committee of the Wheat Council, composed of representatives of Australia, Benelux, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, France, India, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States, has been meeting at Washington since June 27.

[1] The Council on July 7 selected London as the site of its permanent headquarters and elected F. Sheed Anderson, U. K. Minister of Food, as its permanent chairman.

Senate Debate on the North Atlantic Treaty

Excerpts From Statement by Senator Tom Connally[1]

We are approaching one of those momentous hours in our Nation's history when we must make a decision that will have a tremendous impact upon world events for generations. I refer to the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The Committee on Foreign Relations has just completed a systematic and painstaking study of the treaty, and now I present it for the consideration and, I hope, the overwhelming approval of the Senate. We have reached the unanimous conclusion that it is a vital forward step in the maintenance of world peace. We urge its ratification at an early date.

The treaty is a defensive pact. In it the 12 signatory nations, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States, undertake to exercise their inherent right of collective or individual self-defense against an armed attack, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The treaty makes clear the determination of the peoples of the North Atlantic area to do their utmost to maintain peace with justice and to take such action as they may deem necessary in the event the peace is broken.

In a word, the Atlantic Pact is an agreement among free nations who earnestly desire peace and who plan through united action to safeguard their common heritage of freedom by exercising their inherent right of self-defense against armed attack.

Tragic events since the outbreak of World War I have taught us that we cannot achieve peace by acting alone. The world has shrunk far too much for that. Distance has been annihilated, and seas which were once moats are now ocean highways that no longer protect us from attack.

Even more important is the simple fact that if we really want peace we will have to work for it.

. . . . .

The Atlantic Pact is still another indication of our determination to work constructively for world peace.

Given these factors, and given the present feeling of insecurity in the world, there is no practical alternative for the Atlantic Pact. The only alternative, and I repeat, it is not a practical or acceptable one, is uncertainty, indecision, and lack of unity on the part of the free nations of the world. That would be an open invitation to aggression and to national disaster.

In the course of my discussion I do not intend to examine in detail the various articles of the treaty. That is done in the committee report which is on the desk of every Senator. I desire to direct the attention of the Senate, however, to these basic questions: First, how was the treaty formulated? Second, what does the treaty do? Third, what does the treaty not do? Fourth, why do we need the treaty? And fifth, what are the benefits of the treaty to the United States?

HOW THE TREATY WAS NEGOTIATED

The treaty which is now before the Senate was not hastily put together. It is not the result of a momentary impulse. It was carefully considered and negotiated over a long period of time.

Moreover, the treaty is the product of extremely close executive-legislative cooperation. Last year, it will be recalled, a number of Senators, properly concerned over the inability of the United Nations to function effectively, introduced resolutions which were designed to strengthen that organiza-

[1] Made before the Senate of the United States on July 5, 1949, and printed from the *Congressional Record* of July 5, 1949, p. 8984.

tion. The Foreign Relations Committee, in consultation with the Department of State, decided that those legitimate aspirations could best be channeled into constructive action through Senate Resolution 239.

That resolution was adopted by the Senate last June by the overwhelming vote of 64 to 4. It expressed the view of the Senate that the President should do what he could to strengthen the United Nations in a variety of ways, including the development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense under the Charter. The resolution also provided for the following:

(3) Association of the United States, by constitutional process—

I wish to emphasize the words "by constitutional process"—

with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

I wish to stress that also.

(4) Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.

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I want to emphasize that the pact was not brought to us in final form on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. During the negotiations, Secretary Acheson met with the Foreign Relations Committee on two occasions to discuss, article by article, the terms of the treaty. Consultations were also held from time to time with ranking members of the committee about specific language changes. The committee thus played an important and effective role in formulating the terms of the treaty.

I want to linger on this point, Mr. President, for it is highly significant. Secretary Acheson and former Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett were, of course, the chief architects for the United States in building the treaty structure. But I think it is safe to say that the Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate furnished some of the stone and mixed some of the mortar to complete its symmetry and strength.

Surely no member of the Senate can criticize the President or the Secretary of State for this kind of executive-legislative teamwork. First we give them our advice as to the course they should pursue. They then negotiate the treaty, consulting with us from time to time. Now they are asking for consent to ratify the treaty, which is, in effect, our joint handiwork.

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In the course of our deliberations the committee heard 97 witnesses—which almost sets a record for the number of witnesses to appear before us on any particular bill or treaty. We take pride in the fact that we heard everyone who asked to appear. We concluded from the hearings that the great majority of the American people strongly support the treaty and the principles upon which it is based.

WHAT DOES THE TREATY DO?

The treaty seeks peace and security by establishing a collective defense arrangement for the North Atlantic area. It operates within the framework of the United Nations Charter and is based upon the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter.

Perhaps we can best understand the objectives of the treaty by summarizing at the outset the new obligations undertaken by the United States.

First. To maintain and develop, separately and jointly and by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, the individual and collective capacity of the parties to resist armed attack.

Second. To consult whenever, in the opinion of any of the parties, the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any of them is threatened;

Third. To consider an armed attack upon any of the parties in the North Atlantic area an attack against them all; and

Fourth. In the event of such an attack, to take forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as the United States deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

"Including the use of armed force" simply means that it is among the things which may be employed—not that it has to be employed, but that it is available if necessary to be employed.

Article 5 is the heart of the treaty. If the treaty fails to maintain peace and security, if the deterrent effects of articles 3, 4, and 5 fail, if an armed attack against any of us in Europe or North America does occur, then article 5 comes into operation.

In article 5 the parties have agreed to meet an armed attack by the exercise of the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter. Let me emphasize that this is an inherent right possessed by every state. It is not conferred upon them by the Charter. The Charter simply recognizes the inherent right of all states to defend themselves collectively or individually.

Article 51 of the Charter provides:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations.

In other words, the Charter recognizes that right, and does not invade the jurisdiction of the states with respect thereto.

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The use of the word "impair" recognizes the existence of that right. This means that every member of the United Nations agrees to the right of the members of the North Atlantic Pact to provide for collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs. Each and every member of the United Nations is obligated to respect that right. Article 51 is also assurance that the treaty does not conflict with the Charter, since it specifically provides that nothing in the Charter shall impair the right of self-defense. Since the treaty is an exercise of this right, the Charter makes clear that it does not interfere with the United Nations. There can be no cause of complaint from any member of the United Nations at the course outlined in the treaty.

Article 5 is based upon the fundamental proposition that an armed attack against any one of us is to be considered an attack against all. The parties thus publicly underline a basic truth which recent history has so vividly demonstrated; an attack in the North Atlantic area places all of us in such grave jeopardy that it immediately becomes a matter of collective concern and calls for collective action. It is up to the signatories to determine whether an attack has occurred. Internal disorders and revolutions will not ordinarily be considered armed attacks—and, Mr. President, mark this—unless they are aided and abetted by an outside power to such an extent that the parties decide that an armed attack has in fact taken place.

Nor will attacks of a minor character bring into full play the obligations contained in article 5. We did not go to war in 1937 when the Japanese sank our gunboat, the *Panay*, on the Yangtze River. We did not go to war in 1946 when American planes were shot down over Yugoslavia. Those incidents were settled through normal channels of diplomacy.

Article 5 obviously contemplates aggressions of a more formidable character. I doubt very much if any state which it attacked would call upon the United States for assistance unless the attack is of such magnitude and importance that its independence and integrity are threatened.

Once this original determination is made that an armed attack has occurred, then each party must forthwith take such action as it deems necessary in order to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. How far each state will go and what action it will take to fulfill its obligations will be determined by each state in the light of existing circumstances. It is possible that a diplomatic protest may suffice. On the other hand, in the face of an all-out attack, it might be necessary to bring into full play the whole weight of the partnership and the ultimate decision of war. We shall not be neutral in the face of aggression.

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Already we see that the treaty is not typical of the *ad hoc* alliances, used so extensively in modern European history, to meet a particular crisis or to wage a particular war; nor is it typical of the treaties which were designed to achieve a delicate balancing of power. Alliances and coalitions have usually been directed against or have sought protection from a definite opponent. The North Atlantic Treaty is directed against any armed attack within a specified area.

Together we are seeking to increase the measure of our own security by self-help and mutual aid pledged in article 3. We are determined to knit our separate and otherwise isolated strengths into a single protective cloak capable of resisting any aggressive attack. We have a common heritage to defend and a single purpose to serve. It is natural that we should unite to strengthen our hands to ward off annihilation through disunity.

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I would not wish to underestimate the efforts required of all of us to build a suitable defense capacity, nor the difficulty of maintaining the priority of economic recovery in the face of these intolerable burdens put upon peaceful nations. But I am certain that article 3 will enable all of us to consider defense measures on a very practical basis, to comprehend rational arrangements that will in the long run help to reduce the burdens of armaments. In this connection, one should note the North Atlantic Council and Defense Committee set up by article 9 on which all members are equally represented, the small states and the great states alike. This machinery for collective consultation and collective recommendations on our common responsibilities should prove highly helpful on such matters.

What obligations does the United States assume under article 3? What is the relationship between the treaty and military-assistance program? The military-assistance program has not yet been submitted to the Congress, but it is in the discussions and in the thoughts of Senators, no doubt. If a Senator votes for the treaty does that mean he is obligated to vote for the military-assistance program? These pointed questions have been raised by Members of the Senate and they deserve a candid reply.

The United States—like all the other signatories—has assumed an important obligation under article 3. We have committed ourselves to the principle of self-help and mutual aid. We have agreed to work together in building up the capacities of all the signatories to defend themselves against attack. But we have not committed ourselves to any particular type of military-assistance program. There were no secret agreements at the

negotiation of this pact. There were no undercover commitments. Everything that is committed is written into the face of the treaty.

It is true that the treaty and the military-assistance program are closely related. But they are not Siamese twins; they are not inseparable. Each program should be passed upon separately by the Congress; each should be accepted or rejected on its own merits.

My own view is that we should proceed forthwith to ratify the treaty and implement it by approving the military-assistance program during the present session of the Congress. Time is highly important in this great enterprise, and we must let our partners know, as soon as we can, that not only words but deeds are a part of our policy.

It is entirely possible, however, that even a strong supporter of the treaty might find good and legitimate reasons for opposing the military-assistance program. That is a matter for each Senator to decide as he searches his own conscience and exercises his own honest judgment.

Many partnerships in history brought the weaker ally or allies into complete bondage to a greater power. The North Atlantic Treaty does not do this. Never in peacetime have signatories to a treaty attempted so extensively and with such evidence of good faith in each other's intents and interests to strengthen one another through mutual aid. This becomes especially noteworthy in that not even the weakest nation in the pact has come under servitude to its stronger partners or has lost its parity, its independence, or its sovereignty.

Right at this point let me draw attention to article 2 which makes perfectly clear that the treaty is not exclusively military in its implications. The signatories have recognized, and have demonstrated their conviction, that economic collaboration and well-being help to lessen international tensions among themselves and with the rest of the world, and help to destroy the seeds of war. This is an exceptionally important element in the treaty: the existence as well as the cultivation of the prerequisites for peaceful change.

Like articles 2 and 3, article 4 underlines the preventive character of the treaty. I think that article 4 goes a long way to emphasize that the period of dividing and conquering has come to an end. The consultation provided for in that article addresses itself to the threatening of the territorial integrity, the political independence, or the security of any of the parties.

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I draw the attention of the Senate now to articles 12 and 13 which provide for the indefinite duration of the treaty and for its review after 10 years. Review and amendment may of course take place earlier by unanimous consent. A party may cease to be a member after 20 years. These time periods seem reasonable, since it is impossible to bring security and stability to the North Atlantic area under a treaty of short duration.

Will the partnership endure that long? Obviously, the treaty is not yet in force and has not been tested by time. But I think there can be no doubt that the partnership will last, resolutely, until the menace of aggression has disappeared and until the United Nations is able to give adequate assurance of world security. This particular document does not need to last any longer than that. I am confident that the signatories would be only too willing to permit it to lapse when that happy time arrives.

WHAT DOES THE TREATY NOT DO?

I should like Senators to give attention to what the treaty does not do. Let us consider that point. To make the record perfectly clear, it is just as important to understand what it does not do as what it actually does.

As I sat through the hearings and listened to 97 different witnesses it seemed to me the five main criticisms emerged. Some argued that the treaty involves a commitment for the United States to go to war without congressional approval; that it runs counter to our obligations under the United Nations Charter; that it is an old-fashioned military alliance; that it is directed against the Soviet Union; and that it places our stamp of approval on the colonial policies of Great Britain, France, Holland, and the other signatory states.

Mr. President, the committee examined these criticisms very precisely and very thoroughly. Our considered answer to each one of them is a categorical "No."

The treaty does not involve any commitment to go to war nor does it change the relative authority of the President and the Congress with respect to the use of the armed forces.

I am fully aware of the fact that this latter problem might well stir up endless days of debate on the Senate floor. It is true that the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has always possessed considerable authority to use the armed forces without congressional approval; but the line of authority between the President and Congress has never been clearly drawn, except it is clear, I think, that a state of war, which is something more than the use of armies, must be declared by the Congress of the United States.

Moreover, it is neither necessary nor desirable for us to attempt to draw that line during this debate. It would be foolhardy for us to assume that we could do in a few days' time what our forefathers have been unable to do in a century

and a half of our national existence. It is sufficient for our purposes to underline the basic principle that nothing in the treaty either increases or decreases the constitutional powers of either the President or the Congress with respect to the use of the armed forces.

While the treaty was being drafted rumors circulated about Washington that article 5 carried with it a commitment which would bind the United States automatically to go to war in the event of an armed attack. I challenge anyone to find such a commitment. The words of article 11—that the provisions of the treaty will be carried out by the parties "in accordance with their respective constitutional processes"—are unequivocally clear on this point. That nails it down absolutely. Not only must we ratify the treaty by constitutional processes, but it will be carried out under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. The full authority of the Congress to declare war, with all the discretion that power implies, remains unimpaired.

We have a further important safeguard in the phrase "such action as it deems necessary" found in article 5. These words mean that, in event of an armed attack, the United States will be free to decide for itself what measures it will take to restore the peace and security of the North Atlantic area. We will have full opportunity to exercise our judgment in each case that arises.

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It might be well to repeat at this point the far-reaching nature of those obligations. If an armed attack should occur in the North Atlantic area the action we would take would depend, of course, upon the location, nature, and scale of the attack. In the face of an all-out attack we might decide that war would be necessary to restore the peace and security of the North Atlantic area.

On the other hand there are many effective measures short of the use of armed force which might suffice, depending upon the circumstances. Whatever we do will have to be done in accordance with our established constitutional procedures.

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Totalitarian and communistic powers have publicly announced their policy to be a conquest of the entire globe and its subjection to their economic and political theory. Will free nations and free men blind their eyes to this hostile threat? Will they close their ears to this brutal demand that they be doomed to slavery? With this bold and savage announcement, it is fundamental that free nations of Europe and North America should be determined to preserve the institutions of their free governments as against the ambitions and conquest by these sinister and ruthless forces.

The processes by which strong military imperialistic countries have in recent years picked off country by country are distinct and clear in the minds of the people of the United States. Hitler by arms seized Austria and incorporated it into the Reich. Sudetenland was annexed. When war with all of its blood and terror burst upon the world, Poland was subdued, Czechoslovakia fell to the arms of Hitler, France was overrun, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and other defenseless and weakened nations were conquered and placed under the iron heel of Hitler. Their institutions were overthrown, their liberty was destroyed, their territory was violated, and cruel and galling tyranny was inflicted upon them. Such a riot of arms and blood must not occur again. The united strength of peaceful and peace-loving peoples can prevent the violation of their rights and the dismemberment of their nations, if their strength is united and made effective against aggressors and despots.

This area is dedicated to peace and to security. It must not become the lair of the armies of greedy nations anxious for conquest. It must not become the nest of totalitarian powers who seek to subvert, not alone the peace and security, but the traditions of this magnificent territory. These things all shine through the treaty and give it life and vitality and vigor.

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The treaty does not run counter to any of our obligations under the United Nations. Quite the contrary, it has been conceived within the framework of that organization and in its preamble the contracting parties solemnly reaffirm their dedication to the high purposes and principles of the Charter. It is soundly and solidly based on article 51 of the Charter which specifically recognizes the inherent right of states to defend themselves, either individually or collectively, against armed attack.

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Mr. President, I stand second to none in my desire to preserve the vitality and the integrity of the United Nations. I firmly believe the treaty is entirely consistent with the Charter and will greatly assist in maintaining peace and security—which is the primary purpose of the United Nations.

The treaty is not directed against the Soviet Union nor its satellite states. What a splendid thing it would be if the millions of people behind the iron curtain had the same opportunity as the people of the free world to read the committee report on the Atlantic Pact. They would see that the pact is not aimed at them or any other group of states; it is aimed only against aggression and war.

. . . . .

Certainly no one has any grounds whatsoever

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for accusing the United States of any aggressive intent. Our rapid and extensive demobilization following World War II and our persistent efforts to bring about world peace make that perfectly clear.

If the Soviet Union really believes the pact is aimed at her, then I suggest that she demonstrate her peaceful intentions and embrace a policy of full cooperation with the North Atlantic countries within the framework of the United Nations. Such a course would return rich dividends to the Soviet people and to the rest of the world, both in terms of increased security and general well-being.

The treaty is not an old-fashioned military alliance comparable to those which characterized European power politics in bygone centuries.

. . . . .

The Atlantic Pact is not aggressive; it is purely defensive in character. It is not the design of a few monarchs, but has the popular support of the nearly 300,000,000 people of the North Atlantic area. It does not contain any commitment to go to war. It is not aimed at aggrandizement and is surrounded by all the solemn obligations against aggression which the United Nations Charter imposes upon its members. It comes into operation only when a nation has committed a criminal act by launching an attack against a party to the treaty. It does not carry with it any secret additional protocols.

It may be stated authoritatively, without any equivocation whatever—and the Secretary of State and his assistants and all connected with the treaty give us the most solemn assurances to that effect—that no commitments, no promises, no secret agreements were made; and, Mr. President, if they had been made they would have no effect, because the Congress stands here on guard. There is no obligation of any kind except what is written in the treaty itself.

Upon reflection it is unthinkable that 12 nations, who have traditionally supported democratic principles, could ever conspire together to negotiate any of the notorious secret deals which were often associated with traditional bilateral alliances.

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I repeat what I said during the hearings. If the Atlantic Pact is an alliance, then it is an alliance only against war itself.

Finally, the treaty does not constitute, in any fashion, any endorsement on the part of the United States of the colonial policies of any of the signatory states.

Mr. President, I think I can dispose of this point in short order. I agree 100 percent with those who argue that this treaty should not be either the front door, the side door, or the back door through which the United States might be drawn into family quarrels between the signatory parties and their overseas territories in Africa, the Far East, or other parts of the world.

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WHY DO WE NEED THE TREATY?

The answer to the question, Why do we need the treaty? can be found in the history of our times. I recall vividly the San Francisco Conference where the victorious powers with unbounded faith and hope signed the Charter of the United Nations. We signed that document with the hope that it gave us at least the foundations upon which to build a future of peace, freedom, and human happiness.

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Yet here we stand, 4 years away from San Francisco, with undiminished belief in the Charter, in the correctness of its work and spirit, and in the fundamental need for a universal United Nations. But no sincere and realistic person can blind himself to the fact that peace is still remote and the security we long for is yet to be attained. The long catalog of 30 Soviet vetoes and the frustrated efforts to write a peace treaty with Germany bear eloquent witness of how effectively the peace and security machinery of the world has been hampered.

We have become painfully aware that the technique of "divide and conquer" is not a thing of the past but a part of the insecure present. It has been given fresh life and application during the past 4 years in country after country. The catalog of its victims is even more imposing than that compiled by aggressor nations before World War II.

There was once a Republic of Estonia. Where now is Estonia? Its soil remains, but its democracy has been ruthlessly destroyed. It has been transformed into a police state.

There was once a Lithuania. Where is that nation today? The basic freedoms of its people have been brutally usurped. It has been absorbed into a vast communistic system.

There was once a Latvia. Where now is the fair land we knew as Latvia? Its boundaries have disappeared. It has been incorporated into the totalitarian network of eastern Europe.

There was once a democratic Czechoslovakia. Over the centuries its people have stood for freedom and self-government. All the world knows what has happened in that unhappy land. Democracy has been routed. Tyranny has been enthroned. Free government has been banished.

The same tragedy has taken place in differing degree in other countries. Where is the freedom of the so-called liberated peoples of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Al-

bania? Overshadowed by the might of their eastern neighbor, and alone, one by one, they have been subjugated by aggression from within and from without.

Let us be perfectly frank. Such a situation, which breeds fear and suspicion and distrust, is a constant threat to world peace. It is a threat to the security of peaceful peoples who desire to lead their own lives and to direct their own future, free from the destructive impact of infiltration, and free from the menacing arms of a hostile power.

The security of the North Atlantic area is necessary to the security of the United States. I emphasize that statement. Iceland, Greenland, and Canada are our front door. That door must be guarded and defended.

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Mr. President, I am completely convinced that if the Kaiser had known in 1914 that his ruthless attack upon Belgium and France would have led Great Britain and the United States to hurl their armed might against him, he never would have crossed the Belgian frontier.

I am completely convinced, too, that if Hitler had known in 1939 that the United States and the other United Nations would have stood together against his marching millions, he never would have launched World War II.

The unwillingness on the part of the free nations of the world to make clear in advance their determination effectively to oppose aggression was in large measure responsible for the two great wars of our time.

All during the 1930's the League of Nations was plagued with this same doubt and uncertainty. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia—all were victories for the aggressor because League members failed to stand united in defense of the Covenant.

Last year this committee in its report on Senate Resolution 239 commented as follows:

> The committee is convinced that the horrors of another world war can be avoided with certainty, only by preventing war from starting. The experience of World War I and World War II suggest that the best deterrent to aggression is the certainty that immediate and effective countermeasures will be taken against those who violate the peace.

President Truman has this same lesson in mind when he delivered his inaugural address last January. "If we can make it sufficiently clear, in advance," he said, "that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur."

The main objective of the North Atlantic Treaty is to erase any possible doubt and uncertainty that may be lurking in the minds of potential aggressors. We must provide unmistakable proof this time that the free nations will stand together to resist armed attack from any quarter. History must not be allowed to repeat itself. War is not inevitable.

It is confidently believed that the ratification of the treaty will exert a tremendous deterrent in preventing armed attack. The knowledge of any nation with criminal designs to absorb or conquer a small or weak nation that an armed attack by it upon such nation would meet with united resistance of the signatories to the pact would discourage that nation and probably prevent its criminal enterprise.

The deterring effect of a warning in advance is clearly illustrated by the Monroe Doctrine. I digress to observe that in this Chamber the Senate of that time, 1823, had presented to it and had read the stirring lines of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1823, when President Monroe made his famous proclamation, he did so in order to arrest the scheming of Spain and the Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance, composed of the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1823 plotted the destruction of the republics in South and Central America and the reinstatement of monarchies in those lands. Their designs upon Spain's former colonies in the New World were forestalled by Monroe's firm declaration that the United States would "consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." In the face of those stirring words, the Holy Alliance abandoned its designs, and the Western Hemisphere was saved.

While the United States was involved in the War Between the States in 1861, imperialists in France conceived an enterprise against the integrity and sovereignty of Mexico. The United States registered its opposition. French forces invaded Mexico and captured the capitol on June 7, 1863. The French proclaimed Mexico a monarchy and installed Maximilian as emperor with the support of the French troops.

The United States had to content itself with sending diplomatic notes since she could neither drive out the French nor help Juarez to do so. Upon the termination of the War Between the States, the attitude of the United States toward the French in Mexico became firm and determined. Secretary of State Seward, whose portrait looks down upon us in this Chamber, warned France against any permanent occupation of Mexico.

The War Between the States having come to an end, the United States was free to dislodge the French from Mexico. In 1867, Napoleon III withdrew his troops from Mexico, and abandoned Maximilian to the fury of Juarez.

The mere announcement of the Monroe Doctrine deterred the Holy Alliance in its plans of conquest. The announcement that the United States would maintain the Monroe Doctrine in Mexico ousted the French from Mexico and dethroned

the usurper Maximilian. Not a gun was fired, not a cannon was discharged, not an act of the military was necessary to invoke the principles and precepts of the Monroe Doctrine.

Through more than a century of dynamic application the Monroe Doctrine kept aggression from the doorstep of the New World and preserved the territorial integrity of that entire area. Not a gun was fired in maintaining that Doctrine—not even when it was applied in bringing to an end the ill-starred empire of Maximilian in Mexico. For almost a century and a quarter, it grew in strength and power and played an important role in assuring peace and security in the New World. No clearer proof exists that security lies in letting the aggressor know in advance that resistance awaits his criminal act.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS TO THE UNITED STATES?

Every citizen of this country, and especially every elected representative of the people, must ask himself this fundamental question: How does the treaty benefit my country? There is nothing mean, narrow, or ignoble in using this yardstick—a yardstick that all the signatory powers also use—because in this treaty, the advantages gained by the other members are also our benefits, and our gains coincide with their own. I will go even further: The benefits of this pact will be reaped by peace-loving nations everywhere.

The principal benefit to this United States is the great promise this treaty holds for an enduring world peace. Certainly the United States, as much as any other country, has a tremendously high stake in the kind of peace and security which give opportunity for the full application of our vast energies for the promotion of greater well-being, strong democratic institutions and principles, and the maintenance of our way of life.

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It is obvious that the United States gains much by declaring now, in this written pact, the course of action we would follow even if the treaty did not exist. Without a treaty, we were drawn into two world wars to preserve the security of the North Atlantic community. Can anyone doubt that we would become involved in a third world conflict if it should ever come?

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The treaty, in thus encouraging a feeling of confidence and security, will provide an atmosphere in which the European recovery program can move forward with new vitality. We know that encouraging progress has already been made. We know, too, that a momentum of confidence has been building up in Europe as a direct result of our assistance.

But that is not enough. The greatest obstacle that stands in the way of complete recovery is the pervading and paralyzing sense of insecurity. The treaty is a powerful antidote to this poison. It will go far in dispelling the fear that has plagued Europe since the war.

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The North Atlantic Treaty is designed to give encouragement and a tougher and more enduring quality to the morale of the people of these lands. Its purpose is to rehabilitate their courage and strength and their determination to preserve their traditional attachment to the institutions of liberty and to the basic principles and civilizations of their peoples. These are the mighty forces which the pact is intended to invigorate and revive.

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There is one final benefit which, in all candor, should not be overlooked. If our efforts for peace fail and war is thrust upon us we shall not stand alone. Our strategic positions will be greatly improved and we shall have a much better opportunity to make effective use of our armed strength. Eleven friendly nations, with a vigorous population and vast industrial production, pledge to stand with us and to resist the attack from whatever quarter it may come. This means for all parties a greater confidence that any international criminal, who violates the charter and uses armed force against us, can be successfully resisted and ultimately defeated.

. . . . .

President Monroe warned the aggressor that an attack upon any state in the New World would be considered an attack against us and would meet with our determined resistance. Let me repeat, for over a century this doctrine has remained a source of great security to us and to our southern neighbors. It kept Spain from embarking upon a reconquest of her lost South American colonies and prevented Russia from extending her domain to California. It drove the Emperor Maximilian from the throne of Mexico, and it turned the German Navy from Venezuela's door. The treaty which the Committee on Foreign Relations now presents for favorable Senate action is but the logical extension of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the North Atlantic area.

Finally, we do not lightly disregard the past, nor shirk the present, nor prophesy the future. But in ratifying this treaty, the Senate of the United States heeds the voice and successful statesmanship of our glorious past. The Senate realistically and courageously applies to the present the force of our matured responsibility and world leadership. By this action, the Senate

does not prophesy the future; it guarantees there is one for free nations.

Recent developments, including the results of the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, convince me that our present foreign policy is based on sound principles. The Soviet Union understands firmness; they understand what we mean when we say with conviction that we are going to stand on what is right and what is just.

A wide chasm of differences still yawns between the east and the west. Any weakness or vacillation on our part will be thoroughly exploited by the Soviet Union and will broaden the chasm, rather than narrow it. We are on the right road. We shall move firmly and resolutely toward our goal.

In some totalitarian quarters the charge is made that the United States seeks to employ the North Atlantic Treaty as an instrument of imperialist policy. The United States is assailed as the symbol of imperialism with the purpose of subordinating the signatories to the treaty to its will and to control their affairs and policy. A more false charge was never advanced in modern history.

The course of the United States in the field of foreign policy is well-known in every country in the world. They are aware of our power and resources; of our industrial preeminence; of our naval and military command of the oceans and the air. They know that these superb resources have not been employed to establish an empire. They respect our world influence and leadership in the cause of peace and international cooperation. They remember our part in establishing the United Nations and advancing its objectives of preventing war and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means rather than by the sword. They know that ambition for dominion is not the motive of our policy.

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We stand before the bar of history. We shall face its judgment without fear. We strive to strengthen liberty and security to the free nations of the world. We await the verdict of the years with supreme confidence. Our motives and our conduct will be vindicated and will receive the plaudits of grateful nations and of their people.

We do not covet empire. We do not covet control of any other nation. We abhor tyranny, whether by arms or by devious and secret pressure, with the threat of grim force behind them. We do covet peace. We do covet security. We do covet freedom. We do covet the right of free nations and freemen to live without the fear of conquest or subjugation.

Under the Atlantic Pact no sword leaps from its scabbard; no plane drops its bombs; no soldier marches with a gun in his hand, until an armed attack, in violation of international law, is made upon a peaceful member of the pact.

As Senators drive around Washington, they may observe at the entrance to certain streets and areaways a sign erected by the police, reading "Do not enter."

The North Atlantic Treaty is a flaming sign to any aggressor, to any nation that contemplates armed attack upon a peaceful and law-abiding nation—"Do not enter" the North Atlantic area. The North Atlantic area must be a sanctuary against armed attack, against the violation of the security of peaceful nations.

Excerpts From Statement by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg[2]

No one can say he knows the answer to the peace conundrum which plagues this world. As one witness before our committee rightly said: "We live in unsatisfactory times and must make unsatisfactory choices." Peace is in flux. We are denied the luxury of perfecting our own righteous designs because, while one nation can make war, it takes two or more to plan and keep the peace. I do not know that I am right. But at least I know, as a result of our committee hearings, that my convictions seem to be supported by a great majority of the organized citizenship of the country as expressed by spokesmen for most of our groups in every field of life.

My view is that this treaty is the most sensible, powerful, practicable, and economical step the United States can now take in the realistic interest of its own security; in the effective discouragement of aggressive conquest which would touch off world war three; in the stabilization of western Germany; and, as declared by its own preamble, in peacefully safeguarding the freedoms and the civilization founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. These things, Mr. President, I shall undertake to prove.

Only those without eyes to see and ears to hear can deny that these precious values—far dearer than life itself—are in jeopardy in today's tortured world. It is the overriding fact of life. Sooner or later every other problem is overshadowed by it. It is a condition, not a theory. It must be met as such. That is what this pending treaty undertakes to do.

This jeopardy does not stem from us. On the contrary, the greatest tribute ever paid to the good faith of any government is the shining fact that, though we are the sole custodians of atomic bombs,

[2] Made before the Senate of the United States on July 6, 1949 and printed from the *Congressional Record* of July 6, 1949, p. 9065.

no nations anywhere on earth this afternoon, including the Soviet group which so violently libels our motives, has the slightest fear that the United States of America will misuse its present lethal monopoly. They all know they are safe unless and until they strike first. So patent is this fact that I am at a loss to understand how some of our own citizens—God save the mark—can join the warmongering charges that are made against us by those who nourish futile dreams of our destruction.

The jeopardy to which I have referred does not stem from us. It does not stem from those overwhelming majorities of peace-living states which constantly make common cause with us on the roll calls in the General Assembly of the United Nations. It does not stem from the North Atlantic community where western civilization was cradled and where its survival is at stake. No, Mr. President, it stems from embattled, greedy communism abroad and at home; from open conspiracies which have frankly sought to wreck the brave self-help and mutual aid which would restore independent peoples to their heritage, with our American cooperation; from kindred saboteurs in the United Nations; from those who have repelled and thwarted our American designs and aspirations for a live-and-let-live world.

I repeat: The jeopardy does not stem from us. But it inevitably involves us. Indeed, we are its heart and core. It is aimed ultimately at us. We cannot run away from it. There it is, pact or no pact. Every vigilant American knows this is true. We are the final target, though other independent peoples are in nearer jeopardy. We may argue ourselves out of ratifying the pact. But we cannot thereby argue ourselves out of the jeopardy which the pact seeks to minimize.

Is it not elementary common sense, Mr. President, for those who share this jeopardy also to share vigilance against it? That is what this treaty does. It reduces the jeopardy by anticipating it. It reduces the jeopardy by sharing it. Indeed, it may well extinguish the jeopardy—and I believe it will—by the clear demonstration that this united self-defense against aggression will be invincible. Upon two previous occasions the Kaiser and the Fuehrer found this out the hard way. This treaty ought to make a renewal of the lesson, in blood and sweat and tears, unnecessary. Certainly it is worth the chance.

We must undertake to mitigate this jeopardy by every possible, pacific means. This treaty is not a substitute for other major efforts to push back the shadows of war and to integrate what I shall repeatedly describe as a "live and let live world." With firm patience these efforts must continue in the United Nations. With complete good faith they must continue at the council tables in Paris and elsewhere, regardless of discouragements. They must never surrender to the hopeless defeatism which presumes that war is inevitable. Rather, they must presume that peace is inevitable, sooner or later, if we persist in trailing it. But they must never fail to recognize that appeasement is surrender on the installment plan.

There is no hypothesis of honorable peace, Mr. President, into which the North Atlantic Treaty does not fit. It stands in the way of nothing but armed aggression and nobody but armed aggressors. It cannot possibly handicap any successful peace efforts in other directions. It can only supplement and strengthen them—always and forever a reserve reliance, and nothing else—always and forever subordinate to the happy evolution of dependable progress in the United Nations, in the Councils of Foreign Ministers, and in the friendlier habits of presently dangerous neighbors.

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The treaty is here for another reason. We have not finished World War II until the German problem is settled. There can be neither peace nor economic stability in western Europe until the German problem is liquidated. There can be no release for us from our own burdensome occupational responsibilities in western Germany until free and self-sufficient government is reestablished in these areas. This means, on the one hand, that the Germans must have a reasonable and hopeful opportunity to build a sound and healthy economy for themselves and to resume their place in the family of nations. But it requires, on the other hand, that this recovery shall not restore the aggressive military potential which, twice in our lives, has plunged the world in war.

This time there must be no mistakes upon this score. Germany's immediate neighbors cannot be blamed for special solicitude in this respect. They cannot be blamed for insisting that German recovery must be subordinate to these protections. To meet this elementary need, we offered our Allies, including the Soviets, a 40-year treaty of support in the event of Axis resurgence. The Soviets spurned the proposal. I assume it is still open to them. In lieu thereof, we have now signed this pending 20-year pact with our western allies. For them and us it accomplishes, among other things, the same result. It would apply just as promptly and effectively to a German aggressor as it does to a Communist aggressor. But by the same token it also is a powerful and well-nigh indispensable aid to maximum German recovery—and therefore to European recovery—because it permits greater recovery latitudes than Germany's twice-ravished neighbors would otherwise tolerate.

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It is purely a self-defensive compact which serves advance notice upon any aggressor that

300,000,000 people in the North Atlantic community propose neither to appease nor surrender to aggression against the "rich heritage of the Western World," as one analyst has put it; that "brilliant civilization based on Greek humanism, Roman legal thinking, Christian ethics, and the great common experience of the Renaissance, all binding us together in a peace-loving community of free thought and free endeavor" which we mean to uphold and, if it should be necessary, to defend.

There is not one aggressive syllable in the entire contract. There is nothing but peace in the aspirations which give it being and in the self-help and mutual aid which give it life. It is not built to stop a war after it starts—although its potentialities in this regard are infinite. It is built to stop wars before they start. With greatest respect for the counter views of sincere Americans who argue otherwise—but with complete contempt for the hostile, self-serving, self-confessing hysteria against it by communism everywhere—I shall urge the Senate that this is the logical evolution of one of our greatest American idioms, "United we stand, divided we fall."

I want to come back, Mr. President, to the charge that this North Atlantic Pact is a repetition of the old military alliances as menacingly known to history, and that it thus flies in the face of all our own precious national tradition. I submit one exhibit bearing upon both and answering both.

Perhaps the most significant of all the old, orthodox military alliances was the Holy Alliance of 1815. Perhaps the most significant of all our own American doctrines was the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which was first announced to the world within these very hallowed walls where we now meet. The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine were just 8 years apart. The latter was substantially stimulated by the threats to America inherent in the former. I think by a very brief analysis of the two I can indicate conclusively why there is not a scintilla of justification for confusing the thing we are here asked to do with this thing of ancient menace.

Let me read one tell-tale, controlling sentence from the Holy Alliance: "The three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance."

It was a contract for weal or woe—on all occasions and in all places—regardless of provocations—regardless of right or wrong—to stand and fight together for the survival of these monarchies. It was a self-serving alliance against the world. It was both defensive and aggressive. It was a contract not only for survival but for domination.

Can you find any remote semblance of a parallel in the North Atlantic Treaty which is dedicated solely to peace; which applies solely to mutual resistance against an aggressor's armed attack; which is devoid of a single imperialistic obligation; and which is instantly null and void when the conscience of the world is prepared to function through the Security Council of the United Nations? This is not a military alliance in any historical and orthodox meaning of that phrase.

Then let me read, on the other hand, two sentences from the Monroe Doctrine

> We owe it to candor—
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> . . . . .

And when that phrase was used it was simply the forerunner of what we now mean when we so often indicate that in conducting the public foreign policy of the United States the Government should say what it means and mean what it says.

> We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers (referring to contemplated American colonization by European powers) to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and security. . . . With the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny . . . in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.
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> . . . . .

Mr. President, the North Atlantic Pact may be a literal departure from orthodox American diplomacy although George Washington's justly revered Farewell Address visualized temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies—and I do not know how any emergency could be more extraordinary than our dire need to stop total atomic war before it starts again, and I think a treaty which is subject to review in 10 years is relatively temporary compared with the decades of inexpressible grief which the failure of peace would grind into our broken lives. But I deny that the treaty is a departure from a philosophy of preventive action against aggression which was bravely and wisely and successfully launched by our own prescient forebears 126 years ago in Washington, D.C. I deny that it has any kinship with military alliances as they were known in the old and ominous sense. I assert, on the basis of our own American experience with candor under the Monroe Doctrine that it is more calculated to encourage peace and to prevent the insane events which would make peace impossible, pact or no pact, than any other recourse which we could presently embrace.

I know, Mr. President, there are many friends of this great peace adventure who are inclined to put their overriding emphasis upon the subsequent physical implementation of the pact.

There are those who count it disingenuous to take any other view.

I do not agree. Frankly, I should have much less interest in this treaty if I thought its repressive influence for peace is measured by or dependent on any such implementation. It is not the military forces in being which measure the impact of this "knock-out" admonition. In my view its invincible power for peace is the awesome fact that any aggressor upon the North Atlantic community knows in advance that from the very moment he launches his conquest he will forthwith face whatever cumulative opposition these united allies in their own wisdom deem necessary to beat him to his knees and to restore peace and security.

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Article 3 is elementary common sense in that the parties to this treaty propose, separately and jointly, by means of continuous self-help and mutual aid, to develop their individual and collective potentials to resist armed attack. It is common sense to put these common interests in gear in the exercise of common vigilance. The better they are integrated the less the need for their expansion and the less likelihood of their subsequent use.

What is proposed under article 3 for the next year? I do not know except by general information, that we may be asked for something like $1,000,000,000 of arms aid to supplement six or seven billions which our associated nations have already provided in their own budgets. The immediate objective, I understand, is substantially to make existing forces more efficient—to standardize rather than to expand.

By no stretch of the imagination can such a prospectus be deemed aggressive. Nor can it be deemed competitive. Nor can it be deemed a plan to turn western Europe into an armed camp. Nor can it be deemed to contemplate new American manpower overseas. Nor, Mr. President, can it be deemed—and this is the vital thing to me—to measure the final authority which this agreement shall exercise to dissuade aggressors from their crimes. The supreme authority for peace is in the potentials of the treaty itself. It is in article V and not in article III.

I want to repeat again, however, that I understand that article III has its very definite and unavoidable importance. It builds no illusory Maginot lines. But it steps up the defense facilities in being. It contributes to security and to the sense of security. It certainly discourages armed aggression by proxy, which is to say by internal treason. It betokens the fact that the treaty "means business" in its mutual purpose to prevent aggression. But I reserve to myself, as will every Senator, the right to pass independent judgment on the nature and extent of this supplementary legislation.

Just what is our obligation at this point? I take it no one would pretend that the ratification of the pact does not make some sort of alteration in the situation as it exists without the pact. Its articles are not meaningless. But the timing and the nature and extent of implementing legislation, in this or any other year, are, in my opinion, wide open to the free decision of all Senators as to what they believe the objectives of the pact and the national security require. The Secretary of State's statement is:

> The pact does not dictate the conclusion of honest judgment . . . it does preclude repudiation of the principle or of the obligation of making that honest judgment . . . there is an obligation to help, but the extent, the manner, and the timing is up to the honest judgment of the parties.

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Much the same sort of question arises under article 5. Senators will observe that I am now seeking to survey the moot points that have arisen. Since this article says that "an armed attack upon one shall be considered an armed attack upon all," does this automatically commit us to war? It commits us, according to the text to take forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, "such action as we deem necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." A commitment to take notice and to do something about it is automatic. A commitment to war is not. Indeed, the textual phrase "including the use of armed force" obviously indicates that there are many other alternatives, just as there are in the United Nations Charter.

Everything depends upon the nature of the event. A minor aggression might be stopped by a vigorous warning. An instant appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations might succeed and suffice. If the Security Council defaults, the so-called pacific sanctions described in the Charter might be applied by the partners under the pact. In other words, what might be called an "aggressive incident," or perhaps a "provoked incident" as some fear, as distinguished from an all-out, clearly deliberate act of conquest, could be met with a multitude and variety of devices far short of war. This is important because these so-called "incidents" have often historically led to war. At such a moment, the pact's potentials should exercise incalculable influence for peace.

But suppose the event is obviously of major and deliberate magnitude and clearly discloses a criminal aggressor deliberately on the march—as Hitler entered Poland or as the Kaiser entered Belgium. Let us say that it is clearly the dread thing which threatens the life and freedom of one of our associated nations, if not ourselves directly.

If it is, it threatens the life and freedom of every other associated nation, including our own. If it is, it threatens total war or total surrender, pact or no pact. If it is, our commitment is clear as crystal. It is to take whatever action we deem necessary to maintain the security of the North Atlantic area, which vividly includes the security of the United States. If the only action adequate is war, then it means war. If it does mean war, I venture to assert that, pact or no pact, it would mean war for us anyway in this foreshortened world. If it does mean war, I venture to say that we would be infinitely better off for having instant and competent Allies. But if it does mean war, only Congress itself, under the specific terms of the pact, can declare it.

But then comes the next question. Who would decide for us what we would deem to be necessary under such bitter circumstances? The Constitution says that only Congress can declare war. The Constitution also makes the President the Commander in Chief of our armed forces. As such, he can use—and many times has used—the armed forces to defend American life and property and security, without a declaration of war. Since treaties are the supreme law of the land, would it not be his duty, under the extreme circumstances last indicated, to act instantly in defense of that pledge? I think the answer is "Yes." But he has a wide area of discretion, always short of war, in which to act, and he can only act within his constitutional authority, which is neither increased nor diminished by this pact. Whatever it has been, there it still is. He could, for example, immediately alert our armed defense and summon Congress to its own swift constitutional decision. His immediate action, like his power and his responsibility, would depend upon the nature and circumstances of the event. So long as his action "forthwith" honorably recognized the basic obligation, he certainly would not be under compulsion to take any impetuous decision which might handicap or damage the sustained strategy ultimately necessary to the pledged objective, namely, the restoration of over-all security for the North Atlantic area.

The committee report answers an even more specific question on this score. Would he, the President, or the Congress, be obligated to react to an attack on Paris or Copenhagen in the same precise manner as to an attack on New York? The answer is "No." An armed attack upon our homeland involves an imminent physical need and an imminent constitutional obligation for instant and maximum physical response which does not, and cannot, by the very nature of the case, exist elsewhere, or under other circumstances. Turn the example around. In the event of an armed attack upon Alaska, would we, or could we, expect France or Denmark to react in the same manner as to an attack upon Paris or Copenhagen? Certainly not; obviously not. It would be impossible.

But that does not dilute the "forthwith" pledge of "all for one and one for all" if an international assassin strikes. The pledge dependably means that whoever is attacked will have dependable allies who will do their dependable part, by constitutional process, as swiftly as possible to defeat the aggressors by whatever means each deems necessary.

. . . . .

Let us not make the fatal error of deserting the treaty because of our preoccupation with contingencies which we are far more likely to confront without the treaty than with it. The prevention of the next war is more important even than the winning of it because not even the winner will be able to afford his victory.

This leads me to one more observation in this connection. The prevention of war is humankind's supreme objective. The way must be found. Like the United Nations to which it is subordinate, the North Atlantic Pact strives toward this goal. Yet, until the goal is reached, the pact must reluctantly but realistically face the existence of arms and armaments in the hands of potential foes. Peace will never escape this final hazard until universal disarmament, under absolutely dependable and automatic guaranties against bad faith, has spiked all guns for keeps. This is the supreme Christian aspiration. I proudly remind the Senate that Senate Resolution 239, which was the clear forerunner of this pact, asked not only for the pact, but also, and with equal emphasis, for maximum American efforts "to obtain agreements" among United Nations members, "upon universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate and dependable guaranty against violation."

The same Senate which asked, in Senate Resolution 239, for collective self-defense under article 51 of the Charter—as envisioned in the pending treaty—also asked, and in the same breath, for universal disarmament. Let that stand Mr. President, as an incontestable answer to those malignant critics who cry out that the North Atlantic Pact is borne of warmongers harboring evil, armed designs upon their fellow men.

I could wish, Mr. President, that if and when this pact is ratified, the President of the United States might address the world upon this score. I could wish that he might remind the world of all six of the objectives of Senate Resolution 239 from which this pact springs; and that he might call the peoples of the earth to a new crusade in behalf of these peace truths in the so-called Vandenberg resolution. I could wish that he might underscore our good-faith dedication, and plead for good-faith recruits.

It is peace which dominates our souls. Peace and righteousness—the only kind of peace that is worth the price we are prepared to pay for it.

. . . . .

The inherent right of collective defense—those are Charter words—clearly includes the inherent right of collective preparation for defense. But there is neither preparation nor ultimate action against anything, Mr. President, unless an armed aggressor rapes the Charter, and then only until the Charter's principles and purposes are redeemed. How can such defense of the Charter possibly be construed as hostile to the Charter? How can it hurt the Charter to make the Charter work?

We are members of the Charter. If the Charter had not been nullified in vital ways by the Communist group, we would already be doing everything, against armed aggression, which we would do under the regional pact. Our obligation under the pact is nothing new. It exists in the whole spirit of the Charter. How can it be possible that we undermine the Charter when we keep its obligation alive—when we keep its spirit alive—by acts of new and effective allegiance?

. . . . .

Mr. President, I shall now briefly, but I hope firmly, deal with other interpretative issues that have arisen in the course of the committee's hearings and the public discussion of the pact. These hearings and this discussion have been useful. We dare leave no twilight zones of fuzzy understanding in respect to what we here do—not only for our own sakes, but also lest there be those among our friends abroad who might one day accuse us of keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. Regardless of whether we find ourselves in final agreement, I commend the vigilant and critical scrutiny which the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. DONNELL] and the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] have focused upon the pact throughout its consideration. I also commend to all Senators the careful and comprehensive report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which speaks with recognized authority and with controlling probity in respect to implications and interpretations.

The question arises whether articles IV and V of the pact cover armed aggression against colonial or dependent or otherwise related areas of the signatories outside the area of the North Atlantic community as geographically defined in article VI. My own understanding is clear and unequivocal. The answer is "No." There can be no other logical answer. The doubts seem to have arisen because article IV, relating solely to consultations, is unlimited in the circumference of these consultations. But there is not a word of obligation in it except to talk things over.

The obligations are spelled out in articles III and V. It is significant, in this connection, that when article IX establishes a council to implement the treaty, it directs the council's attention specifically to articles III and V. It omits article IV in this connection. This is as it should be. It is by significant design. Our pledge of action under the United Nations Charter is general. That pledge is 4 years old. Nothing we do here can change it. But our pledge of action under the North Atlantic Pact is limited and specific. It applies only to armed aggression in the area clearly defined in article VI which is the North Atlantic community, set up by metes and bounds.

A corollary question asks how nonmembers of the United Nations, namely, Italy and Portugal, can be included in a United Nations arrangement and in collective security under article 51 of the Charter. The first answer is that article 51 is not the source of the right of individual and collective self-defense. It does not establish this right; it merely recognizes its sovereign existence in all states whether in or out of the United Nations. The second answer is that the Charter of the United Nations clearly calls for collaboration with nonmember states whenever mutual interest requires. Indeed, article II, paragraph VI, specifically asserts that "the organization shall insure that states not members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security." This doctrine is basic. It came to San Francisco from Dumbarton Oaks. It is perfectly clear that this article deals with aggression against any state whether a member of the United Nations or not.

Other provisions of the Charter similarly recognize the need to permit nonmember states to participate to some extent in the United Nations system for maintaining peace and security. If this were not so, I doubt whether Israel would now be an independent nation and now a member of the United Nations. If this were not so, certainly Switzerland would not now be a member of the World Court. The Charter does not prohibit member states from entering into mutual defense treaties with nonmember states. On the contrary, it contemplates just such arrangements by requiring that they be consistent with the Charter.

Italy and Portugal have sought membership in the United Nations and have been prohibited by veto. Italy is historically indispensable to the individual and collective self-defense of France. Portugal is obviously indispensable to the defense of the North Atlantic community. Portugal may lack our sense of democracy, but it lacks no devotion to our sense of peace as proven through the years. Both adhere to the principles and pur-

poses of the United Nations Charter through adherence to this pact.

Two other questions arise in this connection. I respond to both.

First. How can we rearm Italy under article III of the pact when our peace treaty with Italy puts a sharp limitation upon Italy's armaments? The answer is that we have no purpose to rearm Italy in excess of treaty limitations. Through self-help and mutual aid we shall increase the efficiency of this brave, young Italian Republic to resist armed aggression within treaty limitations.

Second. Can other nonmember European states be admitted to the North Atlantic community hereafter? Under article X, the answer is "Yes," but only by unanimous consent of the existing signatories. Who gives this consent for the United States? The Secretary of State has quoted the President, categorically and unequivocally, that he will do so only with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Secretary of State has further asserted that this pledge is binding upon the present President's successors. In my opinion any Presidential successor who might do otherwise would be impeached. This is fundamental. The character of this pact and the nature and extent of our obligations under it are governed by the character and the nature and the extent of its membership. When we ratify this pact we accept its existing membership and none other. When we ratify this pact that is all we shall have ratified. To enlarge the membership is basically to alter the pact. This must require the consent of the Senate just as definitely in the second instance as in the first. The record is clear and unmistakable.

Still another question really answers itself at this point. What happens if one of the existing signatories itself fundamentally changes character within the textual life of the pact? What happens, for example, if one of them succumbs to communism? Are we still bound by these pledges? The answer is that we are not. Any adverse change in basic character would represent a new signatory to all intents and purposes. We are making no commitments to any such new signatories.

But how do we expel them? We do not. Under such circumstance the pact simply ceases to be operative in respect to them. They expel themselves in reality by erasing their own eligibility under the terms of the pact. Cooperation would be impossible from their point of view or from ours. These facts would mutually serve to terminate the actual relationship.

Are we bound to support a member state against internal attack which seeks to overthrow the government? We are not bound, directly or indirectly, to take sides in civil wars. We are pledged only against armed aggression by one state against another. If civil war should include external armed aggression, identified by us as such, we would be obligated to take such steps against the external armed aggression as we would deem necessary to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. But this treaty is not a contract for the perpetuation of the internal status quo and cannot be used as such any more than can its parent, the United Nations Charter, which under article II, paragraph VII, is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within domestic jurisdiction.

Many questions have been asked about the general engagements in article II, the "further development of peaceful and friendly international relations" and particularly the quest for the elimination of conflict in international relations and the encouragement of economic collaboration. This is simply a restatement of the general philosophy of self-help and mutual aid which underlies every international enterprise upon which we have embarked. It simply reemphasizes our constant theme that needless economic conflict is a barrier to progressive stabilities. I should say it is particularly addressed to the need for larger western European unities.

Under it, do we accept any tariff commitments? We do not. Does it obligate us in any way, for example, in respect to the pending ITO, the International Trade Organization? It does not. Does it leave us free to consult our own economic necessities as we believe them to be? It does. It is a general expression of economic good will, along with its other emphasis upon mutually promoting free institutions and conditions of stability and well-being. It is a broad assertion, like the preamble, of an ideology. It is an abstract objective in keeping with the spirit of cooperation in the North Atlantic community. It is not by any stretch of the imagination a mandate.

This leads to yet another frequent query. By this pact do we tacitly exclude from our concern those nations which we do not include in the community? We do not. Our engagements to all member states in the United Nations remain specifically unimpaired. No jot or tittle is subtracted. Specific proofs of this truth abound. For example, the Rio pact remains impregnably intact, and always will. That includes more member states than does this treaty. Again, we are concurrently demonstrating that our direct concern with Greece and Turkey and with western Germany and with Korea and with kindred trouble spots is just as acute today as it was before the Senate ever thought of its resolution 239, which started this pact upon its way. The resolution sought, among other things, the strengthening of the United Nations as a vital whole. Under its directive we are today seeking these United Nations strength just as vigorously in the General Assembly and in the Security Council as we are seek-

ing new strength for it through regional facilities to help it meet its responsibility for peace and security in the world.

. . . . .

One final point, Mr. President. It is a legitimate source of widespread anxiety that we shall not overstrain our own resources in any of these commitments lest we ourselves collapse, pursuant to Soviet prayers, and take the peace hopes of the world down with us. Unquestionably we confront fiscal limitations which we dare not ignore. We must be provident. Yet, even in the matter of prudence, it is the fact of life that "without vision the people perish."

The surest way—the only largely effective way—for us to cut our budgets in the years to come is to find a dependable formula for peace. Exactly one-half of our budget for the next fiscal year is required for national security through defense and foreign aid. This percentage is continuously geared to the progress we can make toward peace. It inevitably and unavoidably reflects the degree of menace we confront. One dare not even think what it would be in the event of another war. We truly spend to save—taxes as well as lives and liberties—when we invest in peace. This is not an easy equation to evaluate in the midst of these uncertain economic days. But let realists remember, when they strike their balance, that short-sighted economy can be as costly and as deadly as rash extravagance under some circumstances.

Now Mr. President, I summarize; and I leave my colleagues to their fateful judgments. This is my estimate of the total situation we here face.

When the Senate, by a vote of 64 to 4 on June 11, 1948, adopted Senate Resolution 239, I believe it proposed the wisest and the safest peace procedures available to us and to western civilization.

It advised the President of the United States to strive toward strengthening the sinews of the United Nations in behalf of the collective peace and fellowship to which we rededicated our hearts and hopes. In particular, we advised him to seek regional and collective arrangements and to associate with them, in behalf of individual and collective self-defense through self-help and mutual aid against armed aggression.

The country well-nigh universally approved the Senate's action at that time. The percentage of dissent on the outside was apparently as small as it was on the inside.

The President has acted upon the Senate's all but unanimous advice. He has sent us precisely that for which we asked—and in the tailoring of which we have had a constant hand. Indeed, I would not know what it was I was asking for on that historic day last June if this pact is not it. Furthermore, the need has not lessened with the intervening months, nor have the signs that this increased and final unity in the North Atlantic community will strongly maintain the peace momentum, in this area, which has been making such vivid strides against its obvious adversaries.

I earnestly submit that this is no time to let this peace momentum lag or lapse. Let us maintain this sanctuary of realistic hope. This is no time to let the relatively little risks, if such there be, blind us to the larger risks which we here mitigate and which can involve the very survival of free society. Let us not get so close to the trees that we lose sight of the forest. While we must frankly assess the liabilities, lest we dream ourselves and others into delusions, let us just as frankly assess the supreme and potent and, I believe, dominant advantages which destiny here invites us to embrace for the sake of our own national security in our own precious land.

This pact is a fraternity of peace. It involves us in no obligation not already implicit in our signature to the United Nations Charter. It simply makes the obligation plain and dependable for us and others. It binds potential and indispensable allies to us as well as us to them. It spells it out. This candor can be as powerful as an atomic bomb. This is its terrific authority for peace. It spells out, beyond any shadow of any doubt, the conclusive warning that 300,000,000 people, united in competent self-defense, will never allow an armed aggressor to divide and conquer them pursuant to the pattern of the rapes of yesterday. It spells out the conclusive warning that independent freedom is not an orphan in this western world, and that no armed aggression will have a chance to win.

Thus we crystallize the most practical deterrent and discouragement to war which the wit of man has yet devised.

We have done our best—for peace. But we recognize our frailty. The wit of man alone is not enough. I quote the final sentence from the findings of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

> In tendering the unanimous report on the North Atlantic Treaty, we do so in furtherance of our Nation's most precious heritage—shared in common with the other signatories—continuing faith in our dependence upon Almighty God and His guidance in the affairs of men and nations.

U.S.-U.K.-Fusion Agreement Extended

EXCHANGE OF NOTES

[Released to the press July 8]

Attached is the text of an exchange of notes between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom extending the bizonal fusion agreement for a 3-month period. They were signed in Washington on June 30.

According to the terms of the extension, the United Kingdom will continue its support of the civilian population of Western Germany by contributing supplies and services from the sterling area in a value of approximately 4.4 million pounds or the equivalent of 17.5 million dollars. This constitutes a contribution of goods and services at an annual rate of aproximately 70 million dollars, the same rate at which the British have been supplying the German economy since December 1947. Before the termination of this extension, it is anticipated that the Federal German Government will be established and that a tripartite agreement covering the contribution and financial aspects for the whole of Western Germany will have been negotiated by the United States, United Kingdom, and France.

The fusion agreement signed in December 1947 covered several aspects of the financial and economic problems of the bizonal area. One part dealt with the contribution which the United Kingdom was to make to the bizonal area, another part constituted trade and payments arrangements between the United Kingdom and the bizone. During discussions concerning recent extensions of this fusion agreement, it was thought desirable to separate these two aspects. Consequently, the United States and the United Kingdom representatives in Germany were instructed to negotiate an arrangement to cover trade and payments between the bizone and the United Kingdom within the general framework of the European Recovery Program to supersede the trade and payments clauses of the fusion agreement. Negotiations in this connection have been taking place in Frankfurt and are now nearing completion. These arangements are not concerned with the United Kingdom's contribution to the bizonal area but merely establish the conditions governing trade and payments between the United Kingdom and Western Germany.

Text of United States Note of June 30, 1949

Excellency: I have the honor to refer to the discussions which have taken place between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States on the subject of the extension of the Agreement between the two Governments concerning the British and American Zones of Occupation in Germany.

By their exchange of notes of March 31, 1949 the two Governments agreed to extend the Bizonal Fusion Agreement to June 30, 1949, and to consult together before June 1, 1949 to consider the terms and conditions of a new Agreement for a further period.

At the time of this exchange of notes it was thought that, prior to June 30, a German Government would be in existence, that the Occupation Statute would be in operation and that the Tripartite Agreement on Control Machinery, covering a substantial part of the field of Trizonal Fusion, would have come into force simultaneously with the Occupation Statute, thus rendering unnecessary a further extension of the Bizonal Fusion Agreement. Since these arrangements have not yet matured, the Government of the United States believes that the most practical arrangement is the extension for a further period of three months of such parts of the present Fusion Agreement as have not already been replaced by other agreements or arrangements.

I therefore have the honor to submit the following proposals for the consideration of the Government of the United Kingdom:

(A) The Fusion Agreement of December 2, 1946, as amended on December 17, 1947 and as further amended by the exchange of notes of December 31, 1948 and March 31, 1949 shall, unless sooner terminated by mutual agreement or by the conclusion of a Trizonal Fusion Agreement, be

extended until September 30, 1949 subject to the following amendments.

(B) During the period for which the existing Fusion Agreement is extended, the Government of the United Kingdom will continue their contribution of supplies and services to Germany at the existing basic rate of 17½ million pounds per annum (approximately the equivalent of 70 million dollars). The type and value of specific categories of goods and services to be supplied by the Government of the United Kingdom will be agreed upon in separate discussions between the United Kingdom and the Bizonal Area. Pending such agreement, the Government of the United Kingdom will supply appropriate quantities of the goods and services specified in the Annex to the Agreement of December 17, 1947, amending the Fusion Agreement. The Government of the United States will use its best endeavors to secure the full utilization by the Bizonal Area of the offer of supplies and services which the Government of the United Kingdom will make to fulfill its obligation under this provision. If after the termination of the present agreement it should appear that the Bizonal Area has not received the full amount of the contribution envisaged, the two Governments will consult together for the purpose of seeking an acceptable method of settling the balance.

(C) Moneys made available by the Government of the United Kingdom for the supply of goods and services in accordance with paragraph B of the exchange of notes of March 31 last amending and extending the Revised Fusion Agreement will, to the extent that they have not been fully spent by June 30, 1949, be used for the purchase of Category A supplies and services for delivery after that date in accordance with existing arrangements and procedures.

(D) Upon the conclusion of a Payments Agreement between the United Kingdom and Western Germany, as envisaged in sub-paragraph (A) of the exchange of notes of March 31, 1949, paragraph 3 of the Agreement signed in Washington on December 17, 1947 shall terminate and its provisions shall be replaced by the Payments Agreement to be concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and Western Germany. Until conclusion of such a Payments Agreement the figure of 1½ million pounds in paragraph 3 (6) (vi) and (vii) of the Agreement of December 17, 1947 will be increased to 7½ million pounds, provided, however, that any credit for accounting of unused drawing rights out of fiscal year 1948/49 will be excluded from a credit balance of the Bizonal Area for purposes of calculating the excess which would necessitate payments in United States dollars.

(E) The liability of the Government of the United Kingdom to convert sterling into dollars in accordance with the provisions of sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 4 of the Agreement signed in Washington on December 17, 1947 shall be limited to the sterling held on July 1, 1949 in the No. 2 account of the Bank Deutscher Laender with the Bank of England, or due to be paid into that account in fulfillment of arrangements concluded before the first of July, 1949. During the period of the present agreement the sterling held in the No. 2 account of the Bank Deutscher Laender with the Bank of England will not be converted into dollars.

(F) At the time of the liquidation of JEIA as provided for in the charter of the Allied High Commission for Germany the capital funds of JEIA, resulting from the capital contributions made by the Governments of the United States and United Kingdom in accordance with the Agreement of December 2, 1946, will be made available to the German Government for purposes of financing the foreign trade of Germany, provided, however, that the sterling assets of JEIA transferred under these arrangements will be blocked until June 30, 1950, or until agreement has been reached between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States as to how their release is to be effected, whichever date is the sooner.

Should these proposals commend themselves to the Government of the United Kingdom, I have the honor to suggest that this note and your reply should constitute an Agreement between our two Governments.

Accept, [etc.].

For the Secretary of State:

DEAN RUSK.

Text of the United Kingdom Reply

June 30, 1949.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today's date, the terms of which are as follows:

[Here follows text of United States note printed above.]

In reply, I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom accept the proposals set forth in your note and, in accordance with the suggestion contained therein, your note and this reply shall be regarded as constituting an Agreement between our two Governments in this matter.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurance of my highest consideration,

F. R. HOYER MILLAR
Chargé d'Affaires

Agreement by U.S., France, U.K., and Poland on Distribution of Monetary Gold Looted by Germany

[*Released to the press July 6*]

A protocol was signed on July 6 in London in behalf of the Governments of the United States, the French Republic, the United Kingdom, and Poland by Julius Holmes, René Massigli, Ernest Bevin, and Jerzy Michalowski, whereby Poland is permitted to participate in the distribution of monetary gold looted by Germany.

This agreement has been signed in accordance with that provision of part III of the Paris agreement on reparation from Germany of January 14, 1946, which reserved the question of eventual participation in the restitution of monetary gold of countries not represented at the conference which drew up the agreement.

American Nationals Holding Bank Deposits in Bulgaria Should Communicate With Department of State

[*Released to the press July 6*]

The Department of State announced on July 6 that it is interested in communicating with American nationals (natural persons or corporations, partnerships, or other forms of association) who hold leva deposits or credit balances with banks or other financial institutions, including the postal savings system, in Bulgaria and matured Bulgarian State leva bonds or other matured leva obligations of the Government of Bulgaria.

Such persons who are interested in converting their holdings of this nature into United States dollars are requested to write immediately to the Department of State, Division of Financial Affairs, Washington 25, D.C., for further particulars. The communication to the Department in this respect should consist of a sworn statement, in duplicate, containing a full description of the holdings and should indicate the time and manner of the acquisition of the ownership or other interests in the funds. In the case of deposits the name and address of the Bulgarian bank or other depository should be stated, as well as the type of deposit or credit balance involved and the present or last known leva balance. In the case of matured leva bonds of the Government of Bulgaria the statement should indicate the present location of the securities. The statement also should contain a specific reference to the nationality of the inquirer, indicating in the case of native-born citizens the place and date of birth in the United States supported by a certified copy of birth certificate, and in the case of naturalized citizens the date and place of birth, the date and place of naturalization, the designation of the court in which naturalized and the number of the naturalization certificate. An American corporation, partnership, or other form of association should furnish (1) a certified copy of charter or articles of incorporation, including amendments, or a certified copy of partnership agreement, including amendments, (2) proof of citizenship of officers and directors of the corporation or of the partners, (3) affidavit of an officer of the corporation as to citizenship of stockholders as far as known.

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—— 392d meeting: 24 December 1948. No. 134. 59 pp. printed. 60¢.
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[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted as certain designated libraries in the United States.

Draft International Technical Cooperation Act of 1949

A Bill To promote the foreign policy of the United States and to authorize participation in a cooperative endeavor for assisting in the development of economically underdeveloped areas of the world.

Be it Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "International Technical Cooperation Act of 1949."

SECTION 2. The United States and other nations of the world have a common interest in the material progress of all peoples, both as an end in itself and because such progress will further the advance of human freedom, the secure growth of democratic ways of life, the expansion of mutually beneficial commerce and the development of international understanding and good will. The members of the United Nations have covenanted to promote higher standards of living and conditions of economic and social progress and development. Many peoples living in economically underdeveloped areas of the world are seeking a fuller life and are striving to realize their full capabilities and to develop the resources of the lands in which they live. These efforts can be furthered through the cooperative endeavor of all nations to assist in such development.

It is, therefore, declared to be the policy of the United States, in the interest of its people, as well as that of other peoples, to promote the development of economically underdeveloped areas of the world.

SECTION 3. It is the objective of this Act to effectuate this policy by enabling the Government of the United States to participate in programs, in cooperation with other interested governments, for the interchange of technical knowledge and skills which contribute to the balanced and integrated development of the economic resources and productive capacities of economically underdeveloped areas.

SECTION 4. In carrying out the objective set forth in Section 3 of this Act, the participation of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, their related organizations, and of any other international organization shall be sought wherever practicable.

SECTION 5. The participation of private agencies and persons shall be encouraged in carrying out the objective of this Act.

SECTION 6. As used in this Act,

(a) The term "technical cooperation programs" means activities serving as a means for the international interchange of technical knowledge and skills which are designed primarily to contribute to the balanced and integrated development of the economic resources and productive capacities of economically underdeveloped areas. Such activities may include but need not be limited to economic, engineering, medical, educational, and fiscal surveys, demonstration, training, and similar projects that serve the purpose of promoting the development of economic resources and productive capacities of underdeveloped areas. The term "technical cooperation programs" does not include such activities authorized by the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 6) as are not primarily related to economic development, nor activities undertaken now or hereafter pursuant to the International Aviation Facilities Act, 1948 (62 Stat. 450), nor pursuant to the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 128), as amended, nor pursuant to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 137), as amended, nor activities undertaken now or hereafter in the administration of areas occupied by the United States armed forces;

(b) The term "United States Government agency" means any department, agency, board, wholly or partly owned corporation or instrumentality, commission, or independent establishment of the United States Government;

(c) The term "international organization" means any intergovernmental organization and subordinate bodies thereof, of which the United States is a member.

SECTION 7. In order to carry out the objective of this Act, the President is authorized to plan, undertake, administer, and execute technical cooperation programs and, in so doing, to:

(a) Prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act;

(b) Coordinate and direct existing and new technical cooperation programs carried on by any United States Government Agency;

(c) Utilize the services and facilities of private agencies and persons;

(d) Make advances and grants to any person, corporation, or other body of persons, or to any foreign government or foreign government agency or to any international organization;

(e) Make and perform contracts or agreements on behalf of the United States Government with any person, corporation, or other body of persons however designated whether within or without the United States of America, or with any foreign government or foreign government agency or with any international organization;

(f) Enter into contracts, within the limits of appropriations or contract authorizations hereafter made available, that may run for not to exceed three years in any one case;

(g) Acquire or accept in the name of the United States Government by purchase, devise, bequest, gift, grant, or otherwise, any money, services, and property, both real and personal, as he finds to be necessary and in any manner dispose of all property so acquired except property declared to be surplus. Receipts arising from the disposition of property not acquired with appropriated funds, except surplus property, shall be available for expenditure for the purposes of this Act in the country in which the property is located. Any money acquired hereunder shall be received and accounted for under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe;

(h) Provide for printing and binding outside the continental limits of the United States, without regard to Section II of the Act of March 1, 1919 (44 U. S. C. 111);

(i) Appoint such advisory committees as he may determine to be necessary or desirable.

SECTION 8. The President shall terminate United States support for and participation in technical cooperation programs whenever he determines that such support and participation no longer contribute effectively to the objective of this Act.

SECTION 9. The President may exercise any power or authority conferred on him by this Act through the Secretary of State or through any other officer or official of the United States Government.

SECTION 10. To further the objective of this Act, the Secretary of State may establish an Institute of International Technical Cooperation within the Department of State.

SECTION 11. In order to carry out the objective of this Act:

(a) Officers, employees, agents, and attorneys may be employed for duty within the continental limits of the United States in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, except that the President may, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, appoint and fix the compensation of one person at a rate not to exceed $16,000 per annum;

(b) Persons employed for duty outside the continental limits of the United States shall receive compensation at any of the rates provided for the Foreign Service Reserve and Staff by the Foreign Service Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 999) together with allowances and benefits established thereunder and may be appointed to any class in the Foreign Service Reserve or Staff in accordance with the provisions of said Act. Alien clerks and employees may be employed in accordance with the provisions of said Act;

(c) Officers and employees of the United States Government may be detailed to offices or positions to which no compensation is attached with any foreign government or foreign government agency or with any international organization: *Provided*, That while so detailed any such person shall be considered, for the purpose of preserving his privileges, rights, seniority or other benefits, an officer or employee of the United States Government and of the United States Government agency from which detailed and shall continue to receive therefrom his regular compensation, which shall be reimbursed to such agency from funds available under this Act: *Provided further*, That such acceptance of office shall in no case involve the taking of an oath of allegiance to another government;

(d) Experts and consultants or organizations thereof may be employed as authorized by Section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U. S. C. 55a), and persons so employed may be compensated at a rate not in excess of $50 per diem.

(e) Such additional civilian personnel may be employed without regard to Section 14 (a) of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 219), as amended, as may be necessary to carry out the policies and purposes of this Act.

SECTION 12. The President shall transmit to the Congress an annual report of operations under this Act.

SECTION 13.

(a) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act. Activities provided for under this Act may be prosecuted under such appropriations or under authority granted in appropriation acts to enter into contracts pending enactment of such appropriations. Unobligated balances of such appropriations for any fiscal year may, when so specified in the appropriation act concerned, be carried over to any succeeding fiscal year or years. The President may allocate to any United States Government agency any part of any appropriation available for carrying out the purposes of this Act. Such funds shall be available for obligation and expenditure for the purposes of this Act in accordance with authority granted hereunder or under authority governing the activities of the Government agencies to which such funds are allocated;

(b) Nothing in this Act is intended nor shall it be construed as an expressed or implied commitment to provide any specific assistance, whether of funds, commodities, or services, to any country or countries, or to any international organization.

SECTION 14. If any provision of this Act or the application of any provision to any circumstances or persons shall be held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the applicability of such provision to other circumstances or persons shall not be affected thereby.

ADDRESS BY CHARLES E. BOHLEN

On July 7 Charles E. Bohlen, Counselor of the Department of State, delivered an address on the subject of The Problems of Foreign Affairs before the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. Text was issued as press release 521.

Research and Teaching Opportunities

Netherlands and Norway

[*Released to the press June 7*]

Ninety opportunities for Americans to undertake graduate study, advanced research, or teaching in the Netherlands and Norway were announced on June 7 by the Department of State.

The awards, which are the first offered for these two countries under the provisions of the Fulbright Act, are payable in Netherlands and Norwegian currency. Graduate scholarships under this program ordinarily cover the round-trip travel, maintenance, tuition, and necessary books and equipment of the grantees. Grants to visiting professors and research scholars ordinarily include round-trip travel, a stipend, a supplemental living allowance, and an allowance for purchase of necessary books and equipment.

Fifty awards are offered to American graduate students, twenty-five for study in each country.

Twelve grants are available for Americans to serve as visiting professors or research scholars in Netherlands universities. There are 20 similar opportunities, 10 for visiting professors and 10 for research specialists, for work under the sponsorship of Norwegian institutions of learning.

Opportunities are provided also for eight Americans to serve as visiting teachers in primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands.

In addition grants for round-trip travel to and from the United States will be made available to more than 200 Norwegian and Netherlands citizens desiring to teach, study, or do research in this country. These awards will not cover expenses in the United States, which must be met from other sources.

Candidates for all grants will be selected upon the basis of merit by the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Veterans will be given preference provided their other qualifications are approximately equal to those of other candidates. Final selection of visiting professors and research scholars and their assignment to Norwegian and Netherlands universities and institutions will be made also upon the basis of the appropriateness of their fields of teaching or study to the needs of the two countries and the facilities available there for their research.

The awards are offered under Public Law 584 (79th Congress), the Fulbright Act, which authorizes the Department of State to use foreign currencies and credits acquired through the sale of surplus property abroad for programs of educational exchange with other nations. Agreements have been signed with the following countries: China, Burma, Greece, the Philippines, New Zealand, Belgium and Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway. The Fulbright program is expected ultimately to embrace more than 20 countries and may involve an expenditure in foreign currencies of 140 million dollars during the next 20 years.

Graduate students interested in the possibilities for study in Norway or the Netherlands should make application to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York, before July 15, 1949.

Persons interested in the opportunities listed above for visiting professors and research scholars should write immediately to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C., for application forms and additional information concerning fields of teaching and research, sponsoring institutions, and conditions of award.

United Kingdom

The Department of State announced on June 16 that a limited number of grants for research in the field of British postwar economy will be made available under the Fulbright Act to Americans in the United Kingdom. These awards are in addition to the previously announced program for 1949–50 in the United Kingdom. The grants, which are paid in pounds sterling, ordinarily include round-trip travel, a stipend in lieu of salary, a supplemental living allowance, and an allowance for purchase of necessary books and equipment.

Advanced research scholars whose professional training and experience qualify them for an independent study of economic problems are eligible to apply for awards. Candidates will be selected on the basis of merit by the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Veterans will be given preference provided their qualifications are approximately equal to those of other candidates. No limitation is placed upon the nature of the research studies, which may be proposed within the general field of British postwar economy, including the educational and administrative aspects of the subject. Individuals selected for awards will be attached to British universities for the purpose of conducting their research. Opportunities will be provided for consultation with government officials and leaders in industry as well as with university specialists.

Requests for further information regarding these openings or for application forms should be addressed to the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C. Applications should be submitted as promptly as possible and to insure consideration must be mailed not later than midnight July 10, 1949.

International Wheat Agreement Enters Into Force

[*Released to the press July 5*]

The International Wheat Agreement, which was drawn up at the International Wheat Conference held in Washington early in 1949 and was signed between March 23 and April 15 on behalf of 41 governments, entered into force on July 1, 1949, in accordance with article XX thereof.

Article XX of the agreement provides for acceptance by the signatory governments, their respective instruments of acceptance to be deposited with the United States Government. It is provided further that the agreement, with the exception of part 2, shall enter into force on July 1 provided that the governments of countries responsible for not less than 70 percent of the guaranteed purchases (i. e., the importing countries listed in annex A to article III) and the governments of countries responsible for not less than 80 percent of the guaranteed sales (i. e., the exporting countries listed in annex B to article III) have accepted the agreement by that date. Part 2, relating to rights and obligations, will enter into force on a date, not later than September 1, to be fixed by the International Wheat Council established under the agreement.

Annex A to article III lists 37 importing countries (one of which did not become a signatory) with guaranteed quantities totaling 456,283,389 bushels for each crop year. Instruments of acceptance have been deposited by the following signatory governments, responsible for well over the required 70 percent of that total: Austria, Belgium, Ceylon, Denmark, Greece, India, Ireland, Israel, Lebanon, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

Annex B to article III lists five exporting countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, France, and Uruguay) with guaranteed quantities totaling 456,283,389 bushels for each crop year. Instruments of acceptance have been deposited by the following signatory governments, responsible for well over the required 80 percent of that total: Australia, Canada, France, and the United States.

Under article XX any signatory government which has not accepted the agreement by July 1 may be granted by the Council an extension of time after that date for depositing its instrument of acceptance.

The objectives of the agreement, as set forth in article I thereof, are to assure supplies of wheat to importing countries and markets for wheat to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices. The agreement will have an effective duration of 4 years, applying to the 4 crop years 1949–53.

The agreement specifies certain guaranteed quantities and also maximum (ceiling) and minimum (floor) prices. The importing countries which become parties to the agreement guarantee to purchase from the participating exporting countries, when requested by the latter, designated quantities of wheat at the minimum prices established by the agreement. Conversely, the exporting countries parties to the agreement guarantee to sell to the participating importing countries, when requested by the latter, designated quantities of wheat at the maximum prices established by the agreement. Provision is made in the agreement for the adjustment of guaranteed quantities under specified conditions.

The International Wheat Council is established to administer the agreement, with each party to the agreement being a voting member of the Council, the votes being distributed in proportion to the respective guaranteed purchases or guaranteed sales for the current crop year during each of the 4 crop years, with the total votes of the importing countries equal to the total votes of the exporting countries.

It is provided in article III of the agreement that the participating countries shall be free to fulfill their guaranteed quantities through private trade channels or otherwise and that nothing in the agreement shall be construed to exempt any private trader from any laws or regulations to which he is otherwise subject.

Except to the extent necessary to fulfill the guaranteed quantities, transactions for the sale and purchase of wheat, whether between private traders, between governments, or between any private trader and a government, are not affected in any way by the agreement.

New Unified State of Vietnam Formed

[*Released to the press June 21*]

The formation of the new unified state of Vietnam and the recent announcement by Bao Dai that the future constitution will be decided by the Vietnamese people are welcome developments which should serve to hasten the reestablishment of peace in that country and the attainment of Vietnam's rightful place in the family of nations.

The United States Government hopes that the agreements of March 8 between President Auriol and Bao Dai, who is making sincere efforts to unite all truly nationalist elements within Vietnam, will form the basis for the progressive realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

Inter-American Juridical Committee Member Appointed

On June 9, 1949, the President appointed Alwyn V. Freeman to serve as a member of the Inter-American Juridical Committee at Rio de Janeiro. He will fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. Charles Fenwick to become director of the Department of International Law and Organization of the Pan American Union. It is expected that Dr. Freeman will depart for Rio de Janeiro on July 15.

The Inter-American Juridical Committee grew out of the Inter-American Neutrality Committee, which was established in 1939 by the First Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics of Panama. It was given its present name by the Third Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers held at Rio de Janeiro in 1942.

The Ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogotá in 1948, provided that the Inter-American Juridical Committee should be the permanent committee of the Inter-American Council of Jurists.[1] The Juridical Committee has been requested by the Council of the Organization of American States to do necessary preparatory work on proposals that will be considered by the Council of Jurists, which is scheduled to hold its first meeting in September of this year.

Expedition to Joint Weather Stations in Canadian Arctic

[*Released to the press June 29*]

Sailing from United States and Canadian east coast ports in July, three United States ships will spend about 2 months in northern waters this summer supplying fuel and provisions for the joint weather stations in the Canadian Arctic that have been established there since 1947. The stations are maintained by the Canadian and United States Governments and representatives of Canadian Departments will take part in the expedition.

The ships, the U.S.S. *Edisto*, an icebreaker, the U.S.S. *Wyandot*, a transport, and the U.S.S. *LST–533*, serving as a cargo vessel, will be under the command of Capt. Basil N. Rittenhouse, USN, embarked in the *Edisto*.

[1] BULLETIN of Nov. 14, 1948, p. 591.

The expedition will carry north the yearly stock of Canadian and United States supplies required by the four joint weather stations now in operation at Prince Patrick Island, Ellef Ringnes Island, Cornwallis Island, and Ellesmere Island. If conditions are favorable, the icebreaker may also endeavor to land additional supplies at Alert, the site near Cape Sheridan (northern Ellesmere Island) chosen last summer for a weather station to be put into operation at some future date. This site has been given its name in honor of H.M.S. *Alert*, one of the ships of the British explorer, Sir George Nares, who in 1875–6 carried out the first survey of the north coast of Ellesmere Island.

The U.S.S. *Edisto* will carry helicopters to facilitate navigation through the ice and, if time permits, will investigate routes to and sites for possible future weather stations.

The *Edisto* will be commanded by Commander W. F. Morrison, USN, the U.S.S. *Wyandot* by Commander T. S. Webb, USN, and the U.S.S. *LST–533* by Lt. J. E. Vautrot, USN. The senior Canadian representative will be J. W. Burton of the Northwest Territories Administration, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.

Air Force Mission Agreement With Mexico

[*Released to the press July 5*]

There was signed on July 5, 1949, by Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, and Rafael de la Colina, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States, an agreement providing for the detail of officers of the United States Air Force, to serve as liaison officers to the Secretary of National Defense of the United Mexican States. The agreement was also signed on behalf of their respective governments by Maj. Gen. Robert L. Walsh, Senior United States Air Force Member, United States Section, Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission, and Lt. Gen. Leobardo C. Ruiz, Chief, Mexican Section, Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission.

The agreement is similar to numerous other agreements in force between the United States and certain other American Republics providing for the detail of officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps to advise the armed forces of those countries. The provisions of the agreement pertain to the duties, rank, and precedence of the liaison officers.

U.S.–Costa Rican Tuna Convention Transmitted to the Senate

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a convention between the United States of America and Costa Rica for the establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, signed at Washington May 31, 1949.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report which the Acting Secretary of State has addressed to me in regard to this convention.[1]

The purpose of this convention has my approval and I recommend the convention to the favorable consideration of the Senate.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 22, 1949.

Tariff Rates on Potatoes From Cuba Amended

[*Released to the press June 30*]

Pursuant to the Cuban request announced by the Department of State on June 11, 1949,[2] the United States, Canada, and Cuba have renegotiated the Cuban tariff rate on potatoes at the third session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) now being held at Annecy, France, and have agreed on certain changes in the Cuban rates.

Effective July 1, the duty on potatoes imported into Cuba from the United States during July will be increased by $1 per hundred kilograms, bringing the total duty to $3. In return, a reduction of $1 per hundred kilograms will be made on potatoes shipped to Cuba during October and November, making the rates $1 instead of $2 during October and $3 instead of $4 during November. These changes in the Cuban preferential tariff schedule (schedule IX, part 2 of GATT) were negotiated by the United States delegation.

Similar changes were agreed to between the Cuban and the Canadian delegations at Annecy, and corresponding adjustments will be made in the Cuban general tariff schedule (schedule IX, part 1 of GATT). These changes will also become effective on July 1, 1949.

[1] Not printed.
[2] BULLETIN of June 19, 1949, p. 803.

Exchange of Visitors With Latin America

Venezuelan Treasury Officials

Antonio Delgado Gomez, Secretary of the Tariff Classification Board, and Pablo Romero Diaz, Consultant to the Commission for Financial and Administrative Studies, both of the Ministry of the Treasury of Venezuela, have arrived in Washington for a 2-month visit for the purpose of consulting with officials of the Bureau of the Budget and attending the special training course to be given by the Bureau in June. Their visit has been arranged in cooperation with the Bureau of the Budget.

Argentine Editor-Publisher

Roberto Jorge Noble, editor and publisher of *Clarin*, one of Buenos Aires leading daily newspapers, has been invited by the Department of State to visit the United States for three months to study modern trends in the field of journalism.

Dr. Noble, who is scheduled to arrive in Washington the first of July, plans to visit New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities during his stay in the United States.

Haitian Entomologist-Zoologist

Leonce Bonnefil, Chief of the Section of Zoology and Entomology, Department of Agriculture, Haiti, has arrived in Washington for a three-months visit in the United States for the purpose of studying problems of fish and wildlife conservation. He is especially interested in studying the hunting laws of this country as a preliminary step in a proposed plan for formulating similar laws for Haiti. His visit has been made possible through a grant-in-aid from the Department of State awarded in cooperation with the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior.

Communications Engineer To Visit Argentina

Leo L. Beranek, Associate Professor of Engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been awarded a grant-in-aid to enable him to accept an invitation to lecture on electro-acoustics at the Institute of Radio Technology, Buenos Aires, during June, July, and August.

Agricultural Economist Visits El Salvador

William E. Schenk, Associate Professor of Economics, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been awarded a grant-in-aid to enable him to serve for a year as visiting professor at the University of El Salvador. Professor Schenk left Washington for San Salvador on June 4.

THE DEPARTMENT

Reorganization Changes

[*Released to the press July 8*]

Effective immediately, the Secretary of State has reassigned responsibility for several existing areas of the Department to Assistant Secretaries. Appointments as Deputy Assistant Secretary and Executive Director have also been made. They are:

Office of European Affairs

George W. Perkins, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
Llewellyn E. Thompson, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Arthur G. Stevens, Executive Director

Office of Near East and African Affairs

George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near East and African Affairs
Raymond A. Hare, Deputy Assistant Secretary
John W. Jago, Executive Director

Office of American Republic Affairs

Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs
Willard F. Barber, Deputy Assistant Secretary
William P. Hughes, Executive Director

Office of United Nations Affairs

John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs
Durward V. Sandifer, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Calvin J. Nichols, Executive Director

Messrs. Perkins and Hickerson are on leave, and their deputies will act in their absence.

In addition to their responsibilities for the above activities, the Assistant Secretaries will work with the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, John E. Peurifoy, to carry out the approved plan of reorganization for the Department.

Appointment of Officers

On July 7 the White House announced the resignation of Richard Porter Butrick as United States Minister to Iceland to accept the position of Director General of the Foreign Service. Mr. Butrick will transfer to Washington to replace Christian M. Ravndal, who was recently named the new United States Ambassador to Uruguay. In his new duties, Mr. Butrick will serve as staff adviser to Deputy Under Secretary John E. Peurifoy on matters pertaining to the administration and organization of the Foreign Service.

Rex E. Greaves as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, effective May 26, 1949.

Confirmations

On June 23, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nominations of John D. Hickerson, George C. McGhee, Edward G. Miller, Jr., and George W. Perkins to be Assistant Secretaries; George F. Kennan to be Counselor; and Adrian S. Fisher to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State. The oaths of office were administered by Stanley Woodward, Chief of Protocol on June 28.

On June 13, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of John J. McCloy to be United States High Commissioner for Germany and Chief of Mission.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

On July 5, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Mrs. Perle Mesta to be American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Luxembourg.

On July 8, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Jefferson Caffery to be American Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Egypt.

On June 13, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Milton Katz to be Deputy United States special representative in Europe, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

On June 23, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nominations of Joseph Flack, George P. Shaw and Christian M. Ravndal to be American Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Costa Rica, El Salvador and Uruguay, respectively.

Appointment of Officers

On June 30, the White House announced the resignation of Stanton Griffis as United States Ambassador to Egypt effective June 30, 1949. For the texts of Mr. Griffis' letter to the President and the President's reply, see White House press release of June 30, 1949.

President Truman has named Jefferson Caffery, former Ambassador to France, to succeed Mr. Griffis. The President sent the nomination to the Senate on June 30, for confirmation.

Embassy and Consular Offices

The office at Poznan, Poland, was raised to the rank of Consulate, effective June 6, 1949. This is in accordance with the Department's policy of eliminating the post category of Vice Consulate.

The office at Puerto la Cruz, Venezuela, was raised to the rank of Consulate, effective May 16, 1949, in accordance with Departmental policy of eliminating the post category of Vice Consulate.

The office at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was raised to the rank of Embassy, effective June 28, 1949.

PUBLICATIONS

Booklet on Exchange of Persons Released

[*Released to the press July 6*]

The Department of State announced on July 6 the release of a 72-page booklet entitled *Building Roads to Peace.*

The publication is designed to show the average citizen how he as an individual or a member of an organization can best further the exchange of students, teachers, and other leaders between the United States and other countries as a means of promoting mutual understanding among the peoples of the world. Such private exchange programs are encouraged by the Department of State as implementing the aims of the United States Government's program of educational exchange and those of international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

In discussing the publication of *Building Roads to Peace* George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, said:

"I know from the thousands of letters and inquiries which come to my area of the Department how keenly interested the American public is in promoting peace through personal contacts with the peoples of other lands. I hope that this handbook will provide a practical guide to the many people who wish to take advantage of these opportunities themselves or who desire to help others to do so."

The booklet was prepared by the Institute of International Education for the Office of Educational Exchange of the Department of State. Copies of the booklet may be obtained from the Division of Publications, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Proceedings of the International Civil Aviation Conference, Chicago, Illinois, November 1–December 7, 1944. International Organization and Conference Series IV, International Civil Aviation Organization 3. Pub. 2820. In two volumes: vol. I, 774 pp.; vol. II, 774–1509 pp. $2.50 (Buckram) each.

Complete list of all documents issued at the Conference with specific references to those that have been omitted has been included in an appendix. An extensive index to both volumes follows at the end of vol. II.

Military Obligations of Certain Persons Having Dual Nationality. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1876. Pub. 3435. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and France Superseding Agreement of Feb. 25, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Paris Dec. 22, 1948; entered into force Dec. 22, 1948.

International Labor Organization: Amendment of the Constitution. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1868. Pub. 3436. 104 pp. 25¢.

Instrument of Amendment adopted at Montreal, Oct. 9, 1946, by the General Conference of the International Labor Organization—Acceptance by the United States deposited with the International Labor Office, Aug. 2, 1948.

United States Educational Commission for France. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1877. Pub. 3439. 11 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and France—Signed at Paris Oct. 22, 1948; entered into force Nov. 18, 1948.

Recruitment of Voluntary Labor for France in the United States Zone of Germany. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1878. Pub. 3444. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and France—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Paris Oct. 25, 1947; entered into force Oct. 25, 1947.

Mineral Resources: Cooperative Survey Program in Brazil. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1880. Pub. 3448. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Brazil—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Rio de Janeiro Nov. 26, 1948; entered into force Nov. 26, 1948.

Germany: Economic Fusion of American and British Zones of Occupation. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1883. Pub. 3456. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Extending the Agreement of Dec. 2, 1946, as amended—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington Dec. 31, 1948; entered into force Dec. 31, 1948.

Trade: Application of Most-Favored-Nation Treatment to Areas of Western Germany Under Occupation or Control. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1886. Pub. 3460. 11 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Other Governments, Western Germany—Dated at Geneva Sept. 14, 1948; entered into force, with respect to the United States, Oct. 14, 1948.

Passport Visas: Waiver for American Citizens and Extension of Period of Validity for Belgian Citizens. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1891. Pub. 3468. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Belgium—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Washington Oct. 12 and 26, 1948; entered into force Oct. 26, 1948.

Army Mission to Colombia. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1892. Pub. 3469. 12 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Colombia—Signed at Washington Feb. 21, 1949; entered into force Feb. 21, 1949.

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Contributors

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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RADIO IN U.S. ZONE OF GERMANY [1]

Stations Achieving Independence

Ruby A. Parson, Deputy Chief, Radio Branch Information Services Division, OMGUS

With the turnover of Radio Stuttgart to German management on June 30, one of the major asks of the occupation in the information field went into its final phase. Independent community radio will have been established by law in every state of the US Zone, with German management in control. American radio officers will continue liaison with the stations only as consultants and observers to watch the progress of free, democratic radio in the new Germany.

Some of these Americans are the same men who came into Germany with the army and began the work of rebuilding German radio while battles were still being fought. It was imperative then to get radio going as a medium through which occupation officials could reach the German people with instruction and information. There was no time for leisurely surveys, planning and construction.

The radio teams who came in with the US Army moved first to locate the former German stations and decide what could be done with them. Some of them they found without difficulty in various stages of damage from total destruction to "extensive but superficial damage."

The studio building of Radio Munich, for instance, was bombed out, without windows and roof and with all the delicate studio equipment shattered. The transmitter, however, was found some 5 miles out of town, virtually undamaged. The US radio men wheeled up a portable studio van, built for use by the Psychological Warfare Division, SHEAF, got the lines to the transmitter hooked up and in two days Radio Munich was on the air.

There was somewhat similar luck at Stuttgart where the transmitter, also located out of the city was found with "extensive but superficial damage" and was quickly patched and restored to use. Once again, however, the studios were gone. They had been stripped first by the Germans as they got out and then taken over as a bivouac by Moroccan occupation troops. Nothing but the walls was left.

So another army studio van was brought up for use and '45 old timers at Radio Stuttgart like to tell now how at one time they had developed the technique of jackknifing performers into this cell-like studio until they managed a broadcast with 16 participants in the 6-by-8-foot box. That, they agreed, was the full capacity. Today Radio Stuttgart has modern roomy studios not only at Stuttgart but at Heidelberg as well.

Radio for Frankfurt proved the knottiest problem. For a time, the former studios couldn't be found at all. After several months they were discovered buried under the ruins of what had been the office building of the radio station. Today that studio building has been restored and is in full use, although at first, studios were improvised in a house in Bad Nauheim.

The transmitter in the meantime had been located but it lay in jagged ruins. No amount of improvising with string, wire and scrounged

[1] Reprinted from *Information Bulletin* of U.S. Military Government in Germany, July 12, 1949.

equipment would put that together again. So this time a mobile transmitter was moved in—a United States one kilowatt transmitter built on six vans. This was later supplemented with a powerful sender which had been installed in a train for projected use by the German army. The latter is still in use at Radio Frankfurt and is emitting 60 kilowatts, 18 hours a day.

So the three big stations in the US Zone grew up out of war ruins. Today they are modern, smoothly operating installations, each with more broadcast power than any individual transmitter in the United States. A smaller station also was set up under US auspices to service the state of Bremen. And at the same time, RIAS—Radio in American Sector, Berlin[2] was being developed from its modest Drahtfunk (wire service) beginning into the powerful multiple transmitter station which is now the only remaining MG station and the only United States outlet in "iron curtain" country.

These are the foreshortened facts of the physical reconstruction of radio in the US Zone of Germany. The full story, which could fill a book and probably will one day, is a saga of scrounging, adapting, improvising and getting on with a big job. It has been a new kind of American pioneering, with German help.

In this hurly-burly of repair and construction, the major task of radio—the reorientation of a demoralized people—went forward. Originally all stations were manned with German-speaking Americans, but very early in the occupation began the task of training German newscasters and announcers. (No one worried about entertainment in those days.) The problem was where to find Germans with some radio experience, but politically unobjectionable.

There was no desire to go back into business with the Goebbels clan but obviously unless a radio man belonged to that persuasion he hadn't been getting any experience in radio in Germany in the last dozen years. Many came, protested purity and were hired. Almost as many, as quickly as their Fragebogen (political questionnaires) were received, were fired again. For a time it was 100 percent turnover with the American radio team scrambling to gain a little ground—and staff.

[2] See "RIAS" in *Information Bulletin*, Issue No. 146, Oct. 19, 1948.

Eventually the new German news and commentators' staffs were built up largely of men and women without previous experience in these fields. Even so they have been trained by experienced American news and radio men serving with military government and are now stout champions of objective news presentation, of freedom of the air for all responsible opinions, of on-the-spot broadcasting of community activities and of independent radio stations.

These men and women are perhaps the most important product of four years of occupation in radio. They must constitute the nucleus of future free radio, taking the place of tradition, professional books and college courses in educating the next crop of radio workers in the democratic concept of free information.

An attempt has been made to write the free, independent character of these stations into law. With the encouragement of American Military Government, each state has adopted a radio law which sets up a public radio council to be responsible for broadcasting. The laws all aim to keep the council free from domination by government or any special interest and to provide full representation of all the significant elements of community life—politics, culture, religion, agriculture, industry, labor and special youths' and women's groups.

Broadcasting codes stipulate the obligation to present news objectively and to afford equable air time for divergent views on public matters. With reservations only to protect the security of occupying powers and to prevent advocacy of militant nationalism or totalitarianism, commentators are assured the right to air their views. Thus a legal skeleton for free radio has been provided. Whether or not it takes on flesh and blood depends, of course, on how much value is placed on freedom of expression by the Germans themselves and how vigilant minorities will be to protect their legally granted rights.

The "community" character of radio has likewise been given a legal basis in the laws enacted in the US Zone. Since the first days of the occupation, it has been the goal of American Military Government, to see established a decentralized broadcasting system which would be difficult for a central regime to seize, as the Nazis did, for a one-voiced propaganda instrument.

Ideally, from an American point of view, there should be numerous, independently-owned st

tions. But up to now this has not been possible in postwar Germany. In addition to the difficulty of securing equipment and the expense of operating individual stations, the basic limiting factor has been and will continue to be shortage of frequencies. Establishment of state stations consumed all frequencies available and there is furthermore some question if all of these wavelengths can be retained.

The Copenhagen conference on European frequencies held last summer proposed drastic cuts in the facilities now in use in Germany. The United States entered into the record a formal reservation stating it would not be bound by this agreement threatening the high-powered transmitters in the US occupation areas in Germany.

While holding firmly to the reservation and making no preparations to conform with the Copenhagen agreement, US radio officials have encouraged the development of Frequency Modulation as the only solution of the frequency shortage problem. US-sponsored stations are already operating experimental FM transmitters to test their suitability for wide use and German manufacturers are studying the prospects for providing both transmitters and receivers necessary for such development. If this is the turn German radio takes, it opens the possibility of expanding and diversifying the present radio setup along a number of lines, including that of financing.

At present, German stations with the exception of those in Berlin are financed by the collection of listener fees as is customary in European countries. This fee system is conducted on a state basis and the public radio council in each state administers the funds for radio uses. It is apparent that such a system, while it has ardent proponents in Europe and has worked out admirably in many cases as the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), lacks the incentive which is provided by commercial competition in American radio.

It is too early to say if commercial radio will ever come to Germany. With Frequency Modulation opening up more frequencies, perhaps it will be possible to grant licenses to small commercial stations which will furnish competition to the state radio system and to each other. There is considerable interest evident among Germans anxious to experiment in such a venture.

There is also a constant stream of requests for installations to be subsidized and used by special groups, *i. e.* labor, political parties, religious organizations, etc. These requests have been refused by Military Government, which still retains responsibility for frequency allocation, because of the lack of frequencies and the feeling that if one or two low power channels should become available, so powerful an advantage should not be given to any one special interest.

If however, commercial radio does become feasible in Germany through development in FM, it will not only offer the advantage of opening up the field to a "multiplicity of voices" but will probably be regulated under the public radio council to serve the general public interest. These, however, are still questions of the future.

At present, Americans who work in the field of radio feel that there is considerable ground for satisfaction with the progress that has been made in four years toward sound, democratic radio in the US Zone of Germany. (There is no illusion, however, that it has the stability, the toughness and the deep roots which support the structure of free radio in the United States.) The present staffs are those who have been schooled with Western democratic concepts of free expression. An attempt has been made in these years also to educate the community to what it should demand of its radio station. And courses of indoctrination were provided for newly-elected members of the public radio councils.

As a result of these measures and probably because of some genuine German desire and respect for unrestricted information, free radio is operating well and apparently with public approval. Nevertheless, there are occasional signals of future problems, such as a high German official requesting that a commentator be prohibited from criticizing a current policy of the government. "We might want to change this policy," he explained, "and we wouldn't want it to appear that we had done so as the result of public pressure."

But that incident reveals a basic weakness in the German attitude that affects much more than merely democratic radio. On the other hand it is known that one German commentator, vigorous and effective in his attacks on Communism, stubbornly remains on the air though one member of his family in the East Zone has been imprisoned as a result and he himself has been both threatened and offered bribes to stop his broadcasts.

(*Continued on page 115*)

VENEZUELA: "LITTLE VENICE" OF SOUTH AMERICA

by John L. Mutz

On May 14, 1948, the Commissioner of Reclamation forwarded a letter to "All Regional Directors" advising that the Department of State had received a request from the Venezuelan Ambassador, Señor Dr. Gonzalo Carnevali, for the services of an engineer. The assignment would be for a period of 2 months; the purpose to assist in the study and determination of the most adequate and economical method for the conservation and maintenance of canals in his country and to aid in the selection of the type of equipment and machinery required in connection therewith.

The author was selected for the assignment and arrived at Caracas, Venezuela, on October 29, 1948.

As is the case with many "Norte Americanos," I had only a very general conception of what lay ahead because, after all, is not Venezuela in the tropics and is it not a country of plentiful rainfall where bananas, coffee, sugar cane, and other crops requiring rather moist conditions are grown? Also, does not the name Venezuela mean "Little Venice," which in itself implies many lakes, which exist only where there is ample precipitation?

Venezuela is a country of many contrasts and only two well defined seasons. The annual precipitation varies from 10 inches along the northern seacoast to 140 inches in some of the jungle areas in the southern part of the country. It has a definitely dry season known as "Verano" and a wet season known as "Invierno." The wet season is from April to October, and the dry season is from November through March. In many areas there are extended periods during which the rainfall is less than 0.2 of an inch. Because of this low rainfall, a plant for distilling fresh water from sea water is being constructed on the Peninsula de Paraguana by the Caribbean Oil Company, in connection with a refinery it is building. Fresh water shortage also is a problem on the island of Margarita, located off the northeast coast of Venezuela and noted for its pearls and native artwork. Here, water is provided by tankers from the mainland. With a 12-month growing season and erratic precipitation, it was evident immediately why there is a need for irrigation in Venezuela.

The country has a total area of 352,000 square miles with a population of 3,500,000. The area is slightly less than that contained in the states of Texas and New Mexico and has a population density about that of Colorado. Nearly two thirds of the country is mountainous, leaving only one-third which is sufficiently level for farming.

The Venezuelan Government is well supplied with funds derived largely from its fabulous oil resources—and it has the world's greatest oil producing reserve. The Government has recognized the need for developing the irrigation potentialities and is now pursuing a well-planned course of action in carrying out a much needed irrigated agricultural program by using funds which are obtained from a fifty-fifty split of the oil produced.

During the past 8 years a number of American technicians have been employed to aid in developing Venezuelan irrigated agriculture. Among them are W. L. Powers, Department of Soils, Oregon State College; J. B. Bond, consulting engineer; A. W. Newcomer, Bureau of Reclamation and M. R. Lewis. Many Venezuelans have visited the United States to study our irrigation and conservation methods. Some of whom are Dr. Gustavo Padilla, chief of the Division of Agroeconomica; Pedro Castillo, head of operation and main

tenance; and Henry Delgado, head of conservation, all in the Ministry of Public Works.

The Venezuelans have made detailed and semi-detailed land classification studies on several hundred thousand acres of land, and interestingly enough the Bureau of Reclamation standards are used as well as its Land Classification Manual.

The table below lists the projects completed by the Government, those under construction, and some of those under study.

The crops which are and can be grown are numerous. In part they are bananas (about 14 varieties), sugar cane, coffee, corn, tobacco, cotton, rice, many citrus fruits, practically all types of vegetables, with the exception of head lettuce, and many tropical fruits and vegetables such as, oyster plant, soursop (the fruit is pear-shaped with a slightly acid, fibrous pulp), guava, sapodilla (its latex yields chicle and the fruit has a sweet brownish pulp), avocado, mango, papaya (oblong fruit has a pulpy flesh eaten raw, but is boiled and used as vegetable), cacao, and bread fruit.

In addition to the work undertaken directly by the Venezuelan Government in the production of food, the Venezuela Basic Economy Corporation has been established by Nelson Rockefeller. This corporation obtains contributions from Creole, Caribbean, and Mene Grande Oil Companies for the production and distribution of fish, poultry, cattle, and agricultural products.

The particular purpose of this visit in Venezuela was to assist in determining the proper type and amount of equipment required to mechanize the operation and maintenance of the irrigation projects of Tuy, Suata, San Carlos, Cumana, and El Cenizo in order to reduce the operation and maintenance costs. Contracts have been made between the national government and individual land owners within the irrigation projects for the reimbursement of construction costs and payment of operation and maintenance costs. As the maintenance is largely accomplished by hand labor, the cost is now running between 65 and 90 bolivares (a bolivar is worth about 30¢) per hectare, or between $8.00 and $11.00 per acre. At the same time, the operation and maintenance contract in one case provides for a payment of 12 bolivares

(*Continued on page 118*)

Name	Location	Acres	Type of works
Construction:			
Tuy	Miranda	3, 700	Direct diversion.
Suata	Aragua	8, 500	Storage.
San Carlos	Cojedes	12, 000	Direct diversion.
Cumana	Sucre	6, 200	Direct diversion.
Guanare	Portuguesa	63, 700	Direct diversion.
Subtotal		34, 100	
Under construction:			
Taguaiguai	Aragua	22, 000	Off-stream storage.
Guataparo	Carabobo	7, 500	Storage.
El Cenizo	Trujillo	20, 000	Direct diversion.
Neveri	Anzoatequi	3, 500	Direct diversion.
Subtotal		53, 000	
Under study:			
Carora	Lara	15, 000	Direct diversion.
El Cenizo	Trujillo	200, 000	Storage.
Subtotal		215, 000	
TOTAL		302, 100	

Excerpts From Comparative Review of Activities and Work Programmes of the U.N. and the Specialized Agencies in the Economic and Social Fields

submitted by the Secretary-General

U.N. doc. E/1351
Dated June 7, 1949

PART I

Introduction

A Comparative Review of the Activities and Work Programmes of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the Economic and Social Fields (E/848 and E/848/Add. 1) was presented to the seventh session of the Economic and Social Council in accordance with a proposal made by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination at its third session.[1]

The twofold purpose of the review was stated as follows:

1. to assist the Economic and Social Council, under General Assembly resolution 125 (II) "to give constant attention to the factor of the relative priority of proposals, and to consider as a matter of urgency the further steps which should be taken to develop effective co-ordination of the programmes of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs on the one hand and the specialized agencies on the other";

"to promote the most efficient and practical use of the resources of the United Nations and the specialized agencies by recommendations concerning the definition of responsibility for specific projects and concerning priorities for action";

2. to assist the Co-ordination Committee, under Economic and Social Council resolution 128 (VI) "to draw the attention of the Council to any apparent overlapping or duplication of activities of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in the economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields";

The Council at its seventh session[2] considered the review and agreed that the Secreary-General should prepare the Comparative Review for the ninth session in a smilar form as a reference document, with an indication of priorities, where ever possible, specific questions requiring the special attention of the Council to be treated in separate documents.

This Comparative Review is based[3] primarily on the statements regarding work programmes in (a) the reports of the specialized agencies submitted in pursuance of the agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies, (b) the reports of the Commissions of the Economic and Social Council[4] and (c) the report of the Secretary-General on the Work Programmes of the Commissions of the Council 1949 and 1950

[Editor's Note: Part II of the review includes an analytical outline of the principal questions in the economic and social fields and the work of the U.N. and specialized agencies related to each; Part III is made up of three annexes, including documents, resolutions, and organizational structure of the agencies and the U.N. commissions and departments included in the review.]

[1] Second report of the Co-ordination Committee to the Economic and Social Council, E/625, chapter V. The new title of this committee, Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, was adopted at its sixth session, Nov. 12, 1948, (see E/1076, p. 3).

[2] Report of the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly, A/625, pp. 69 and 70.

[3] See annex I for a list of documents used in the preparation of this review.

(E/1344 and E/1344/Add. 1).[4] This information has been supplemented by material from the *Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects*, from budget statements supplied by some of the agencies and from other documents dealing with specific subjects and with inter-relationships of the United Nations and specialized agencies. Representatives of specialized agencies have also supplied additional information and informal memoranda and have given innumerable suggestions regarding the interpretation and organization of the material.

A comparison of the work programmes of the various commissions and specialized agencies is difficult, partly because the information provided in their reports to the Council is not comparable.

The agencies are requested in Council resolution 128 (VI) to provide in their reports an account of (a) activities of the agency for the past year, including conferences and meetings, actions taken (conventions, recommendations, expert assistance rendered, studies and publications), and relations with United Nations and its various organs, matters referred by agencies to United Nations, participation in meetings and co-operative projects, (b) activities and work programmes for the current calendar year, including the items mentioned above, and an indication of priorities, if any, or major modifications of previously submitted work programmes, and (c) as far as possible, an account of the proposed activities and work programmes for the subsequent year.

Concerning the Commissions of the Council and the Divisions of the Economic and Social Council, the same resolution requests from the Secretary-General an account of the current work programmes, with a description, where applicable, of their relationship to similar activities carried on by the specialized agencies and by other organs of the United Nations.

Thus the periods of time to be covered in the various reports are not specified in comparable terms. Furthermore the reports of the agencies deal largely with past activities and vary greatly in the extent to which they meet the Council's request for information in terms of the current calendar year, and of the subsequent year, or distinguish clearly among completed, continuing or future activities. The reports of the commissions review the activities of the past year but they, as well as the work programmes of the Commissions and corresponding secretariat divisions,[5] present outlines of work somewhat generally in terms of 1949 and 1950.

The Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in its report to the seventh session of the Council[6] stated that in the Comparative Review special attention would be devoted to the future work programmes contained in the reports of the various agencies and to the information available concerning any priorities within agencies. This review, therefore, does not describe the 1948 activities reported by the agencies, United Nations Commissions and divisions of the secretariat, except when these past activities are part of a continuing programme. It is concerned with 1949 and 1950, including all continuing work and new work in progress or to be undertaken during those periods.

The Commissions of the Council, like the specialized agencies, are requested in section D of Council resolution 128 (VI) "to establish priorities of work, in their respective programmes, based on the urgency and importance of projects in fulfilling the purposes of Article 55 of the Charter and to indicate these priorities in their reports to the Council."

Again the agencies and the Commissions vary in their interpretation and application of the term "priorities." In some work programmes priorities or major emphases are indicated in terms of broad divisions of their respective total fields; in others priorities are expressed in terms of specific projects within each division of the over-all programme.

In the following sections of this review the manner in which each agency or commission has dealt with the problem of priorities will be briefly described and the general areas or specific projects selected for special emphasis will be indicated.

General Review of Programmes and Priorities

A. UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONS AND DIVISIONS

A final statement regarding the programmes and priorities of all the United Nations commissions and divisions cannot be made at this time because the reports of several commissions which have recently met are not yet available and other commissions have not yet had their pre-council session. For the convenience of Council Members, this document, though necessarily incomplete, is being circulated before the opening of the ninth session of the Council and a revision of this document including changes, when necessary, and new information not now available will be distributed at the beginning of the ninth session.

Since the work programmes of the Commissions of the Council and the Economic and Social Affairs Departments will be found in the Secretary-General's report, E/1344, the following paragraphs will only review briefly the information now at hand on the manner in which certain commissions deal with priorities.

[4] Note: Since a number of the commissions do not complete their sessions and submit their reports until shortly before the opening of the ninth session of the Council, the report listed under (c) and the final version of this review (to be issued as E/1351/Rev. 1) cannot be completed until early in July.

[5] E/1344 and E/1344/Add. 1.

[6] E/846, p. 6.

1. *Transport and Communications Commission and Division*

The Transport and Communications Commission at its third session refrained from trying to establish an order of priority among the various matters on its work programme as this was not considered practicable.[7] The difficulties preventing the establishment of an order of priorities as pointed out in the Commission's report on its second session, are inherent in the character of its activities which are advisory, stimulative, coordinating and organizing. No priority, in the opinion of the Commission, could be given to work in connexion with any of these functions, nor to one region over another nor to one means of transport or communications over another.

2. *The Fiscal Commission and Division*

The Fiscal Commission in its report on its second session[8] stated that the limited resources available require the establishment of an order of priority. The items of the work programme were listed in the order considered appropriate, an order to be followed, as far as practicable, by the Secretariat, with due regard to the needs of other organs of the Secretariat. The items were given in the following order:

(a) the rendering of technical assistance to Governments as and when required (par. 19);

(b) the work of collation and synthesis covered in paragraphs 15–18 and paragraph 20, with particular reference under 18 to extra-territorial taxation (par. 30);

(c) the study of the effects of taxation on international trade and investment (par. 23);

(d) the examination of the Model Conventions of Mexico and London (par. 29) and, in particular, the problems arising on the taxation of company profits and dividends and problems arising from dual domicile in estate taxes (par. 27);

(e) the study of the scope of arrangements for reciprocal administrative assistance between revenue authorities in tax matters (par. 31);

(f) at the instance of, and in co-operation with, other organs of the United Nations, the study of the economic influences of taxation (in addition to the work proposed at (c) above) continuing the work of the League of Nations Fiscal Committee in this field (par. 24) with particular reference to:

(i) fiscal measures to prevent depressions (par. 33),

(ii) the influence of taxes upon consumption, the standard of living and production.

. . . . .

[7] E/CN.2/65/Rev. 1, par. 12 (h).
[8] E/1104, pars. 36 and 37.

3. *The Statistical Commission and Statistical Office*

The Report of the Statistical Commission on its fourth session[9] does not specifically set forth an order of priorities in the work programme to be dealt with by the Commission and the Office. However, at its 1949 session special attention was given to the revision of the international classification for international trade statistics, the progress of plans for the 1950 census of agriculture and population and the development of an international standard classification of occupations. Looking toward the improvement of international statistics, specific recommendations were made on measures to be taken to remedy deficiencies in national statistical services.

4. *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*

At its fourth session the ECAFE took no action to establish priorities.[10] Its programme as a whole is given in the Secretary-General's report on work programmes, E/1344.

5. *Population Commission and Division*

The report of the fourth session of the Population Commission[11] recalled that the Commission at its second session had given priority to the development of basic population data and stated that this work should be continued together with work on international census plans. The Commission also considered that increased emphasis should now be laid on the provision to Ecosoc of the basic information and analyses necessary for taking demographic factors into account in the development of economic and social policies, with work on the inter-relationship of economic, social and population changes receiving first priority. Studies directly related to the above in the fields of migration, the population of Trust Territories, infant mortality and recent trends in birth rates should also have high priority.

6. *Commission on the Status of Women*

At its third session,[12] the Commission on the Status of Women decided to request the Secretary-General to give priority, in the preparation of his work programme, to the following projects in the order listed:

(1) Collection of supplementary information on nationality (Part C (b) of resolution 154 (VII) of the Economic and Social Council), and preparatory measures for a Draft Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

(2) Preparation of documentation on the Property Rights of Married Women (E/615, paragraph 25), including the preparation of sections of the Questionnaire which are pertinent to the property rights of married women.

[9] E/1312.
[10] E/1329, par. 42.
[11] E/1313, pars. 38 ff.
[12] E/1316, par. 59.

(3) Study of access of women to education in various countries, in law and practice, in collaboration with UNESCO.

(4) Report on posts in the Secretariat, and delegations to organs and agencies of the United Nations, occupied by women.

(5) Examination of the possibility of proposing a Convention on the Granting of Political Rights to Women.

(6) Preparation of materials, from governmental and non-governmental sources, on the application to women of penal law, police statutes, and prison administration.

(7) Publication and dissemination of biographies of women.

(8) Preparation and publication of a quarterly account of pertinent activities of the various organs of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies relating to the status of women.

7. *International Children's Emergency Fund*

The ICEF is an emergency organization with an operational programme in which it is not possible to establish in advance priorities for specific parts.

Allocation of funds is made on the application of countries on the basis of need, in view of the terms of General Assembly resolution 57 (I) under which ICEF was created "to be utilized for the benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were the victims of aggression. . . .".

(a) "For the benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression and in order to assist in their rehabilitation;

(b) "For the benefit of children and adolescents of countries at present receiving assistance from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration;

(c) "For child health purposes generally, giving high priority to the children of countries victims of aggression."

I. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. *International Labour Organisation*

The three reports of ILO to United Nations have covered virtually the entire field of action of ILO.[13] The first report included topics which it considered of immediate concern to United Nations at the time: employment and unemployment, social security, the protection of children and young persons, women's work, labour inspection, maritime labour, social policy in non-metropolitan territories and migration. The second report contained chapters on industrial safety, agricultural labour and statistics.

The third report of ILO to the United Nations covers the period from April 1948 to February 1949 and indicates under the subjects dealt with the activities to continue during the remainder of 1949 and, insofar as possible, those to be extended or undertaken in 1950.

It brings up-to-date the account of the activities of ILO in the principal fields included in the previous reports and deals with additional topics, thus covering manpower, wages, freedom of association and industrial relations, social security, industrial safety, maritime labour, agriculture, co-operation (co-operative organizations), the protection of children and young persons, women's work, the functioning and plans of ILO's industrial committees, statistics, publications of ILO, regional activities, advisory missions, administrative questions and relations with other international organizations. It points out that there still remain other fields, in which ILO has been and will continue to be active, to be covered in future reports, such as industrial health and welfare, the protection of salaried and professional workers, and working conditions in general.

The ILO has provided the following statement regarding the process by which the content of their work programme and the items for the agenda of the International Labour Conferences are determined:

"In the case of the International Labour Organisation, the Constitution, the Standing Orders and the constitutional practice of the Organisation to a large extent preclude a situation in which precedence should be awarded among simultaneous and rival claims of subjects requiring treatment by its representative organs.

"The scope of the activities of the organization is defined by its Constitution and by the Declaration of Philadelphia.

"Although this scope is wide, the number of subjects which can practically be selected for treatment at the same time is more limited.

"The main task of the International Labour Conference is the consideration of these subjects with a view to the establishment of international standards embodied in conventions which tend to restrict the number of subjects which may be selected for simultaneous treatment.

"The first is that the adoption of international instruments is regulated by the Constitution and the Standing Orders which provide for a number of consecutive stages of the process between each of which a prescribed interval should elapse. Therefore, the agenda of each session of the Conference includes the continuation or the conclusion of work already initiated.

"The second is that the action of the Organisation is of a continuing character. Each convention is subject to periodical revision. In addition, each session of the International Labour Conference is called upon to study information and reports on the application of conventions and recommendations. As an illustration attention might be drawn to the fact that the Governing Body has decided to instruct the Office to request States

[13] E/586, E/586/Add. 1 and 2 and E/1362.

Members to submit in 1950 reports under Article 19 of the Constitution on the following conventions and recommendations:

Protection against accidents (dockers) Convention (revised), 1932 (No. 32)
Protection against accidents (dockers) Reciprocity Recommendation, 1932 (No. 40)
Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939 (No. 57)
Apprenticeship Recommendation, 1939 (No. 60)
Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81)
Labour Inspection Recommendation, 1947 (No. 81)
Labour Inspection (mining and transport) Recommendation, 1947 (No. 82)
Labour Inspectorates (Non-Metropolitan Territories) Convention, 1947 (No. 85)

"Besides, as the Organisation has already studied a considerable number of subjects coming within its scope, it is not faced with an entirely unexplored field. Rather, it is called upon to consolidate, widen and adapt to changed circumstances its achievements by treating new but related subjects, with a view to ensuring in the light of experience, the existence of a coherent body of international standards.

"Therefore, the agenda of the sessions of the International Labour Conference also comprises items relating to questions which, in the judgment of the Governing Body, have reached a stage at which international action is deemed feasible and desirable and for the study of which enough information on the experience already acquired in the field has been accumulated and sound preliminary work has been undertaken.

"As an illustration of these processes, attention should be called to the agenda of the forthcoming sessions of the International Labour Conference which includes items which have been placed upon it either in accordance with the Standing Orders, such as the discussion of the Director-General's Report, the discussion of financial and budgetary questions and information and reports on the application of conventions and recommendations, or items concerning the completion of work already undertaken, or again the study of questions which are of such a nature that their consideration by the International Labour Conference will contribute to the effective development of the existing body of international standards. The items so included on the agenda of forthcoming sessions of the International Labour Conference are as follows:

32nd Session, 1949

I. Director-General's Report.
II. Financial and budgetary questions.
III. Reports on the application of Conventions.
IV. Application of the principles of the right to organize and to bargain collectively (second discussion).
V. Industrial relations, comprising collective agreements, conciliation and arbitration, and cooperation between public authorities and employers' and workers' organizations (first discussion).
VI. Labour clauses in public contracts (second discussion).
VII. Protection of wages (second discussion).
VIII. Wages: General Report.
IX. Vocational guidance (second discussion).
X. Revision of the Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention, 1933.
XI. Migration for employment: Revision of the Migration for Employment Convention, 1939, the Migration for Employment Recommendation, 1939, and the Migration for Employment (Cooperation between States) Recommendation, 1939.
XII. Partial Revision of the Social Security (Seafarers) Convention, 1946 (No. 70), the Paid Vacations (Seafarers) Convention, 1946 (No. 72), the Accommodation of Crews Convention, 1946 (No. 75), and the Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) Convention, 1946 (No. 76).

33rd Session, 1950

1. Report of the Director-General.
2. Financial and Budgetary Questions.
3. Information and Reports on the application of Conventions and Recommendations.

(These three items will be included in the agenda in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Conference)

4. Industrial Relations (an item which the 32nd Session of the Conference will probably place on the agenda of the 33rd Session for second discussion).
5. Equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value (first discussion).
6. Agricultural labour: General report.
7. Minimum wage regulation in agriculture (first discussion).
8. Holidays with pay in agriculture (first discussion).
9. Vocational training of adults, including disabled persons (single discussion, preceded by preparatory technical tripartite conference).

34th Session, 1951

"The following items will necessarily be included in the agenda of the 34th Session of the Conference:

Report of the Director-General
Financial and Budgetary Questions
Information and Reports on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations.

"The 33rd Session of the Conference has on its agenda for first discussion the following questions which the Conference may be expected, under

Article 16, paragraph 3, of the Constitution, to place upon the agenda of the 34th Session for second discussion:

Equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.
Minimum wage regulation in agriculture.
Holidays with pay in agriculture.

"In addition, the Governing Body has been invited to consider the possibility of including in the agenda, to be dealt with under the double discussion procedure: The revision of the conventions and recommendations relating to social security, with a view to the adoption of such new conventions as may be found necessary, the guaranteed wage, the status and conditions of employment of domestic workers.

"All suggestions of subsidiary organs are made to or through the Governing Body and the latter, in light of the above consideration is in a position to decide in what manner, and which of these suggestions can best be given effect to and be incorporated in the overall programme of the Organisation, as circumstances and experience may warrant.

"By the same token, the Governing Body is also in a position to seek the advice of the advisory bodies of the Organisation on those specific questions which are brought to the attention of the Conference, or the consideration of which is part of the continuing work of the ILO.

"Furthermore, the activities of the International Labour Office are under the control of the Governing Body. A number of these are directly related to the preparation of the work of the representative organs and therefore follow exactly the same pattern.

"Other activities are undertaken in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution or of International Labour Conventions which vest specific tasks of a permanent character with the International Labour Office.

"Tasks which do not derive from the preparation of the work of the principal or subsidiary organs of the ILO or from specific statutory provisions are undertaken where and as in the judgment of the Director-General, they are likely to round out the work of representative organs, to pave the way for future action by these organs or to fulfill a function which a representative organ may not be equipped to fulfill.

"In view of these facts, the International Labour Organisation, in the establishment of its programme of work, is not faced with problem of choosing among a number of new subjects of equal importance and urgency which categories shall be treated first as, in view of the limitations of a physical, technical, financial or political character which attend upon international organizations, they cannot all be treated at the same time, or cannot be so treated with reasonable expectation of success, but rather to endeavour so to subordinate each activity to the main purposes and aims of an enduring character as to bolster the effectiveness of the ILO's action and thereby to enable it to discharge the functions which have been entrusted to it by its constituent instruments."

2. *Food and Agricultural Organization*

Information on the work programme of FAO utilized in this review is taken from the FAO Programme of Work for 1949 and Activities of FAO in the Field of Economic Development both of which are appended to the Report of FAO to the United Nations prepared for the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council.[14] Access was also had to a draft of the as yet unpublished Programme of Work for 1950.

The Programme of Work for 1949 points out that the specific proposals therein included are not limited to that year but are framed in the light of a policy covering periods from three to five years. The 1950 programme is, therefore, largely a continuation and extension of that for 1949.

The wide range of FAO's activities is indicated in the 1949 programme in a detailed list of the projects of the FAO divisions: economics, marketing and statistics, nutrition, agriculture (including agricultural services, animal industry, land use, plant industry, rural welfare, fisheries, forestry and forest products, distribution and information). A separate section indicates plans for regional representatives.

This year, as last year, FAO has based its programme on a series of specific projects rigorously selected from a very large number of recommendations made by its annual conferences. The criterion for this selection has been which projects, in terms of FAO's resources, can be most effective in assisting member Governments in the solution of the production and distribution problems with which they are confronted. The main objectives of its work remain essentially the same as previously outlined:

(1) assisting member Governments to increase the production of food, fibers and timber—the primary goal;

(2) improving distribution, particularly doing what it can to see that food surpluses in one country are made available to the hungry in another; this includes the promotion of the adoption of international policies with respect to commodity arrangements;

(3) bettering the conditions of rural populations.

Its work in measures to deal with losses caused by insects, pests and other diseases including

[14] E/1321.

losses in storage and transit is related to both (1) and (2) above.

The report further points out that FAO's threefold task in working toward its main objectives is:

(1) the collection, analysis and dissemination of information including statistical, factual, technical and educational information;

(2) the promotion of international consultation and co-operation;

(3) the provision of technical assistance to member Governments.

3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations*

UNESCO has submitted to the United Nations its regular report [15] on activities covering the year 1948, and, in its Annex IV, the year 1949. In addition, the Director-General of UNESCO has communicated to the Secretary-General a statement on its "Priorities within the programme for 1949." The latter points out that the programme adopted in Beirut is comparatively permanent, and that the Executive Board has marked out within the permanent programme certain activities on which the Organization should concentrate its main energies during the coming months. The selection of these priorities has been based upon their value in raising general educational, scientific and cultural standards and their appeal to those whose co-operation is necessary for carrying them out, and upon the likelihood of achieving tangible results fairly quickly.

Priorities thus determined are as follows:

RECONSTRUCTION: "Since the ruins of the world have not yet been rebuilt," UNESCO again this year gives priority to the whole of its reconstruction programme, while listing certain activities in the Middle East, such as relief to refugees, as particularly urgent.

EDUCATION: In this field, emphasis is laid on the following projects:

Clearing house, with educational missions to be sent, as a new experiment, to four countries during 1949 (Afghanistan, the Philippines, Siam and Syria).

Educational seminars (one in Brazil, one in India).

Improvement of textbooks and teaching materials.

Fundamental education, including pilot and associated projects.

Education for international understanding, with special stress laid on the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

International Charter for Youth.

Adult education (International Conference in Denmark).

War-handicapped children.

NATURAL SCIENCES: The following projects receive priority:

Field science co-operation offices.

Collaboration with the United Nations, particularly in connection with the project on "International Research Laboratories".

Assistance, with WHO's collaboration, in the establishment of a Permanent Bureau for the Co-ordination of International Conferences of Medical Science.

Conservation of natural resources and the protection of nature, in collaboration with the United Nations.

International Institute of the Hylean Amazon, and possible establishment of an adult institute for arid zones.

Social and international implications of science.

SOCIAL SCIENCES: The following projects receive priority:

Establishment of international organizations concerned with social sciences.

Studies on tensions affecting international understanding.

Study by social scientists of methods and problems in international collaboration.

PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES: In this field, priority is given to the following projects:

Co-operation with non-governmental organizations in the field of philosophy and humanistic studies.

Philosophic round-tables.

Human rights (essays and pamphlets).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES: In this field, the following projects receive priority:

Reproductions in visual arts and music.

Translations.

Copyright problems.

Service for cultural liaison in the Middle East.

International Book Coupon Scheme.

EXCHANGE OF PERSONS: Priority attention will be given here to:

(a) the collection, compilation and publication of information about the availability and conditions of scholarship and fellowship areas and similar facilities;

(b) the analysis of obstacles to the free movement of persons between countries, and the sending of recommendations to member States for eliminating these obstacles;

(c) the stimulation of additional governmental and private fellowships and the administration of the limited number of fellowships financed and sponsored from UNESCO's funds.

[15] E/1349.

MASS COMMUNICATION: In this field, the whole programme of UNESCO receives priority, with special emphasis laid on the technical needs of press, radio and film, the removal of obstacles to the free flow of information, and action through radio, films and press to popularize subjects of an educational, scientific and cultural character or related to the work of the United Nations.

The documents submitted by UNESCO indicate that the 1950 programme will again be based on the permanent programmes adopted at Beirut. Possibly the question of priorities will again be reviewed and restated for 1950.

4. *International Civil Aviation Organization*

"Report of Council to the Assembly" (volume I), covers ICAO's activities from March 1948 to March 1949. In addition, "Budget Estimates 1950" (volume II), presenting ICAO's future activities has provided information used in this review.

As last year's Comparative Review pointed out, the work of the ICAO is both technical and economic in its scope. Again this year, no series of specific priorities has been given, but some indications have been found in ICAO's first two documents (Volumes I and II) as to the particular importance of certain projects.

In the field of Air Navigation, priority has been given:

(a) to a continuing review of the implementation of the eight sets of International Standards and Recommended Practices (designated as Annexes to the Convention on International Civil Aviation) which were adopted by the ICAO Council in March 1949. (These annexes pertain to (1) personnel licensing (2) rules of the air (3) meteorological codes (4) aeronautical charts (5) dimensional units to be used in air-ground communications (6) operation of aircraft-scheduled international air services (7) aircraft nationality and registration marks and (8) airworthiness of aircraft;)

(b) to the provision of assistance to member States concerning problems of implementation, and

(c) to the co-ordination of proposals for the amendment of the Annexes.[16]

The major economic studies of the Air Transport Bureau are the development of multilateral agreements on commercial rights in air transport, international air mail, the economics of air navigation facilities, air transport statistics, study of technical training for increasing safety of flight, study of multiple taxation, study of burdensome insurance requirements, study on an "International agency for communications facilities and ground aids," study on the "Provision and Manning of indispensable air navigation facilities", studies of custom procedures, sanitary health and quarantine regulations, financial and monetary regulations, police and immigration requirements and regulations of national and international aeronautical charts. Though no specific priority has been given to any of these projects, the "Study of the economics of Air Navigation Facilities" has been emphasized as of an urgent nature,[17] and work on "Multiple taxation," and likewise work on "Burdensome insurance requirements" have been recognized by the ICAO Council as of major importance.[18]

The principal task of the Legal Bureau is assistance in the development of aviation law. Among the studies to be pursued in 1949–1950 are the consideration of proposed amendments to the Chicago Convention, the revision of the Warsaw Convention and the revision of the Rome Convention. As stated in last year's Comparative Review, the Bureau is also responsible for filing agreements concluded between States or airlines which the Contracting States of ICAO are obligated to register with the Council. The Bureau also handles the legal work required by any organ of ICAO.

5. *World Health Organization*

The report of WHO to the Ninth Session of the Council consists of two documents:

(1) *Official Records of the World Health Organization No. 16*, Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations 1948 (April 1949).

(2) *Official Records of the World Health Organization No. 18*, Programme and Budget Estimates for 1950. Budget Estimates for the Regular Operating Programmes and the Supplemental Operating Programme of Advisory and Technical Service for the Financial Year 1 January–31 December 1950 (April 1949).

These present the WHO programmes in great detail.

The following statement prepared by WHO regarding its priorities, however, is based on the third report of the Programme Committee.[19]

"The First World Health Assembly in adopting the third report of its Programme Committee, gave the same top priority already given to malaria, maternal and child health, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, to nutrition and environmental sanitation (sanitary engineering).

"The Assembly further agreed to give the following priorities to certain other outstanding problems of public health.

"Second priority was given to public health administration, which includes:

[16] See vol. II *Budget Estimates 1950*, p. 8 and p. 16.

[17] See vol. I *Report of the Council to the General Assembly*, p. 24.

[18] See vol. II *Budget Estimates 1950*, p. 17.

[19] Official Records of the World Health Organization, no. 13, pp. 306–10.

(1) hospital and clinics, medical care, and medical rehabilitation
(2) medical social work
(3) nursing
(4) public health administration, health education and industrial hygiene, and
(5) hygiene of seafarers.

"Third priority was given to work on the parasitic diseases, including ankylostomiasis, filariasis, leishmaniasis, schistosomiasis, trypanosomiasis

"Fourth priority was given to the group of virus diseases including:

(1) poliomyelitis
(2) influenza
(3) rabies
(4) trachoma

"Fifth priority went to mental health, which in addition to mental health proper, includes the problems of alcoholism and drug addiction.

"Certain other subjects including cancer, rheumatoid diseases, leprosy, technical education, brucellosis, a proposed bureau of medical supplies, and work on penicillin and insulin, received sixth priority. This action was taken on the advice of the expert committees established by the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization, and on the recommendation of the Assembly's Programme Committee. It was felt that the public health problems of the world of interest to the WHO outnumbered those listed. Nevertheless, the World Health Organization, in view of the prevalence and effects of these problems, the means of combating them at the disposal of public health authorities and the degree to which the WHO could be of assistance, felt that it could contribute most widely to the achievement of early and enduring results through such a priority programme."

6. *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund*

The Bank and Fund cannot draw up "work programmes" nor establish "priorities" in the sense that these terms might apply to other specialized agencies and to United Nations divisions. Their principal function is, of course, the carrying through of financial transactions. In connexion with these transactions they have extensive activities in research and in providing missions and technical assistance as indicated in the analytical outline in Annex I.

7. *The Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunications Union.*

The work of UPU and ITU is highly specialized and technical. Although some of their activities touch upon those of other bodies in the field of transport and communications they present no problems relating to priorities from the point of view of this review.

The UPU deals with the clearance of postal accounts, publishes *L'Union Postale* and various technical publications, statistical summaries and maps, and continues the study of the rights of transit and calculation of fees.

The ITU deals with the establishment of regulations in the field of telephone, telegraph and radio communications and publishes the *Journal*, various statistical series and other technical materials.

8. *International Refugee Organization*

The International Refugee Organization, a nonpermanent operational agency, presents no separate list of priorities because its entire programme is concentrated on fulfilling the purposes of its Constitution, namely the care, protection, and repatriation or resettlement of the displaced persons and refugees under its jurisdiction.

Procedure for Classification of Activities

Possibly the most useful function of this Comparative Review is to provide in convenient form, within the compass of one document a compact but comprehensive outline of the work programmes contained in the reports of twelve commissions and ten specialized agencies, and to classify and bring together under headings representing the main sectors of the economic and social fields the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies related to each sector. The analytical outline, found in Part II, presents such a classification and constitutes the principal part of this review.

The series of subject headings under which activities are listed in this outline has been drawn up after consultation with representatives of the specialized agencies and with directors of divisions within the Department of Economic Affairs and the Department of Social Affairs of United Nations. It is difficult to devise a list of categories for the classification of so vast an array of activities which will be entirely satisfactory from the point of view of all agencies concerned. The present list, which represents a compromise and remains experimental, is as follows:

A. *Economic Questions*

1. Economic Surveys
2. Economic Stability and Employment
3. Economic Development and Reconstruction
4. Industry and Raw Materials
5. Food and Agriculture
6. International Trade
7. Monetary and Financial Questions
8. Fiscal and Public Finance Questions
9. Transport and Communications

B. *Social Questions*

1. Human Rights
2. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Activities
3. Health (including nutrition)
4. Social Security (unemployment, old age, disability, sickness insurance)
5. Social Welfare (including rural welfare and standards of living)
6. Narcotics (international control)
7. Prevention of Crime
8. Relief and Refugees

C. *General Questions*

1. Statistics
2. Industrial Relations (including labour legislation, and conditions of work)
3. Wages and Other Forms of Remuneration
4. Population (including demography, migration and manpower)
5. Housing and Town and Country Planning
6. Technical Assistance

It is obvious that many of the above headings are closely interrelated and it is often difficult to draw a line between them. Furthermore many activities or projects touch upon more than one field. Wherever possible, relationships of projects to several fields are indicated by cross references, but occasionally, for the sake of clarity, the same project will be found listed under a number of headings. A certain amount of repetition is inevitable and even desirable in an analysis of this kind and those making use of this outline are cautioned not to mistake this repetition in listing for duplication of work. Furthermore, when similar items for two or more organizations appear under any one heading, these projects usually complement rather than duplicate each other.

The determination of the proper classification projects frequently requires more intimate knowledge of their nature than is given in the reports. The assistance of representatives of the agencies and divisions concerned has, therefore, been sought, in grouping activities under the various subject headings. Nevertheless it has not been feasible to check all entries, and it cannot be assumed that the agencies have concurred in all decisions made.

Since the General Assembly in resolution 125 (II) requests the Economic and Social Council "to promote the most efficient and practical use of the resources of United Nations and the specialized agencies by recommendations concerning the definition of responsibility for specific projects", this review lists the items appearing in the work programmes, insofar as possible, in terms of specific projects. This, again, is difficult, because of the variation among agencies and United Nations units in the definition of the term "project" and in the degree of detail with which their respective work programmes are described. One agency may report in general terms and as a single project work analogous to that reported in detail by another as two or three separate but related projects.

It is not the purpose of this document, nor would it be possible, to give a full description of each project listed. This review is a key to, not a substitute for, the reports of the agencies and commissions in which further information regarding the work programmes can be found. For many of the projects mentioned here, detailed descriptions, including statements concerning their origin and scope, and the content of resulting reports or publications, as well as information on the procedure for obtaining such published or mimeographed material as is available, are given in the Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects, No. 1, March 1949.[20]

The Catalogue and the Comparative Review are designed along different lines to serve quite different purposes. The Catalogue lists the studies and projects under the relevant secretariat divisions of various organizations, gives much more detailed information (obtained by questionnaires) regarding each project than can be found in the annual reports to the Council, but makes no attempt to analyze the work programmes or classify the projects; Part II of the Comparative Review classifies the activities of the work programmes reviewed bringing together all the work of the various bodies concerned with each subject, in order to show where these activities touch upon or are related to each other; but it provides only a brief reference to each project mentioned in the work programmes in the annual reports to the Council. The first issue of the Catalogue includes all work completed, undertaken, or planned by the various bodies as of January 1949 and thus gives descriptions of many continuing projects which constitute part of the 1949, 1950 and longer range programmes of United Nations and the specialized agencies and which are listed in this review.

For purposes of convenience, United Nations undertakings for which the Secretary-General is responsible are listed under the secretariat divisions where the work is primarily done.

At the end of the section under each subject in the outline in Part II are brief lists of co-operative action [21] taking place among the United Nations

[20] Sales no. 1949. II. D. 1., 271 pp.

[21] A number of documents prepared for the Council describe the co-ordination aspects of certain problems of interest to several specialized agencies. Documents presented to the ninth session include: report by the Secretary-General on Housing and Town and Country Planning, E/1343; report of the Secretary-General on Co-ordination of Fellowship Programmes, E/1342; report of the Secretary-General on Co-ordination of Migration Activities, E/1341; report of the Secretary-General on Technical Assistance for Economic Development, E/1327; communication from the Director-General of the International Labour Office on Manpower Programmes, E/1347 and measures devised by the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies to promote economic development and raise standards of living of under-developed countries, E/1345.

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and the specialized agencies. Joint or co-operative actions on the part of two or more bodies in any given field are usually listed here as one item, instead of being shown separately under each of the organizations concerned. Exceptions are made when chief responsibility for undertakings falls clearly on one organization or United Nations department. In these cases the item is listed under the body bearing main responsibility and the entry under "co-operative action" lists other participating or contributing organizations. These outlines omit countless secretariat contacts, exchange of documents, and the representation of various organizations at the meetings and conferences of the others, but they indicate the types of joint committees, joint studies, surveys, and missions through which constant efforts are being made to co-ordinate work in fields where two or more bodies share interest and responsibilities.[22]

It should be noted that the first category "Economic Surveys" includes only those surveys which deal with so many economic problems that, if not grouped under a separate heading, they would require listing under virtually all of the economic subject headings. General surveys in specific fields, but less broad in scope than those listed here, are grouped under the appropriate headings.

It should also be noted that the final section, entitled "Technical Assistance", does not cover the co-operative programme of the United Nations and the specialized agencies under Economic and Social Council resolution 180 (VIII) in the field of technical assistance for economic development. This large and interrelated programme is set forth in the special report of the Secretary-General on this subject to the ninth session of the Council.[23]

A number of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council include recommendations or requests to the United Nations commissions or the Secretary-General or of the specialized agencies to undertake certain tasks, provide information or submit reports in the economic and social fields. These resolutions, which thus influence to a considerable extent the various work programmes, are listed in Annex II under subject headings corresponding to those used for classifying the work projects in the outline in Part II.

Although the preparation for the meetings of its regular bodies constitute a large part of the programme of each organization, such regular work is not included among the projects listed in Annex I. Special conferences organized to deal with problems under the main subject headings, however, are listed as separate undertakings.

Lists of the councils, commissions and committees in which the various bodies are organized and the departments and divisions of their secretariats cast considerable light on the nature and scope of their work programmes. Annex III contains such lists for each agency and the United Nations Department included in this review.

[22] This review thus provides information on the relationship between the current work programmes of the Economic and Social Departments and Council Commissions with similar activities of specialized agencies, as requested in Council resolution 128 (VI) B. C. 2.

[23] Technical assistance for Economic Development: Plan for an expanded co-operative programme through the United Nations and the specialized agencies, E/1327/-Add.1 and Sales no. 1949.II.B.1.

U.S. Representative on Inter-American Economic and Social Council Appointed

The Secretary of State announced on July 15 the appointment of Albert F. Nufer as representative of the United States on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. He assumes the duties of this position from Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, who formerly served in this capacity.

H. Gerald Smith will continue as alternate to the United States representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

Paul A. Porter Appointed to Palestine Conciliation Commission

The appointment of Paul A. Porter as United States representative of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission was announced by the White House on July 16, 1949. Mr. Porter recently served as Chief of the American Economic Mission to Greece with the personal rank of Ambassador.

The Palestine Conciliation Commission is charged with the task of facilitating settlement of all issues outstanding between Israel and the Arab States under the General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948.[1] This government attaches great importance to a speedy solution of these issues and offers its unqualified support in the fulfillment of the Commission's task.

This government welcomes the resumption of the Lausanne meetings, which represent a further advance in the direction of peace between Israel and the Arab States. The recent discussions at Lausanne were of material benefit in clarifying the respective positions of the two parties. In the opinion of the United States as a participating member of the Commission, the groundwork has now been laid for constructive negotiations in which both parties must cooperate to the full if the area of disagreement is to be progressively narrowed and a final settlement obtained.

[1] BULLETIN of Dec. 26, 1948, p. 793.

National Citizens Committee for U.N. Day Named

[*Released to the press July 14*]

The Secretary of State on July 14 announced the formation of the National Citizens Committee for United Nations Day. He called for widespread participation by the American people in observing United Nations Day on October 24.

Malcolm W. Davis has accepted Secretary Acheson's invitation to serve as chairman of the Committee. Mr. Davis is Executive Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in New York.

The National Citizens Committee for United Nations Day, with offices at 700 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C., will coordinate the activities of private citizens, organizations, and groups in promoting Nation-wide observance of the fourth birthday of the United Nations.

In a statement issued on his acceptance of the chairmanship at a meeting of the Executive Committee on July 14, Mr. Davis said:

> We look forward to the cooperation of all Americans n making of United Nations Day, next October 24, a time for increasing our understanding of the United Nations dea and of the achievements of international organization n the four short but crowded years since the United Nations came into being. We are too often prone to criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of the past and to expect too many results in a very brief time. For the sake of world peace, and for the sake of security and progress, t is essential that we acquaint ourselves with the positive achievements of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.
>
> For this reason, we hope that all Americans of many varied heritages and in every walk of life—both individually and through their organizations—will join with us n making this year's United Nations Day a dramatic and meaningful anniversary.

United Nations Day was officially established in 1947 by a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which invited all member governments to cooperate in giving their citizens an opportunity to take part in the observance. This resolution stated that the day "shall be devoted to making known to the peoples of the world the aims and achievements of the United Nations and to gaining their support for the work of the United Nations."

The first such observance on an international scale was held in 1948. In the United States, the President issued a proclamation setting aside October 24 as United Nations Day, and the National Citizens Committee developed a widespread program for meetings and special events throughout the country.

Certain organizations and groups are joining together to devote the preceding month's activity to a better understanding of the United Nations, culminating their activities on October 24. The Department of State believes that all such efforts will strengthen national and world-wide understanding of the importance of the United Nations in building a constructive and peaceful world.

This year the National Citizens Committee for United Nations Day plans to intensify and broaden its program by encouraging numerous activities in communities in every state, by churches, schools, labor organizations, farm groups, business institutions, and many other organizations, as well as in the press, radio, television, and motion pictures.

The Department of State, which will coordinate governmental activities on United Nations Day, believes that the United States role in furthering the work and solving the problems of the United Nations will be strengthened by the participation of private citizens and groups in the anniversary observance.

Serving as vice-chairmen of the Committee are Mrs. Anne Hartwell Johnstone of the National League of Women Voters, W. R. Ogg, Director of International Relations, American Farm Bureau Federation, and Frank Frederick, lawyer, Boston. The Right Reverend Monsignor Frederick C. Hochwalt of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, is treasurer. Members of the Executive Committee include:

Finance Committee—Thomas C. Boushall, President, Bank of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia

Press and Publications Committee—Miss Christine Sadler, Washington Editor, McCall's Magazine

Radio and Television Committee—A. D. Willard, Executive-Vice President, National Association of Broadcasters

(*Continued on page 105*)

The United States in the United Nations

[July 16–22, 1949]

Atomic Energy

A proposal for suspension of further discussion in the Atomic Energy Commission until the six permanent members report that there exists a basis for agreement was presented by the United States Deputy Representative to that Commission on July 20. The United States resolution pointed out that the impasse as analyzed in the third report of the Commission between the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the other members of the Commission still exists, that these differences are irreconcilable at the Commission level, and further discussion would be neither practicable or useful and would only tend to harden these differences.

The resolution refers to the Soviet proposals, "which provide among other things for national ownership of dangerous and explosive atomic materials, and for national ownership, operation and management of dangerous atomic facilities. This, in the opinion of the other members of the Commission, would not remove causes for suspicion, fear and distrust among nations, would render ineffective the prohibition of atomic weapons and would continue dangerous national rivalries in the field of atomic energy." These proposals have been repeatedly rejected by the Atomic Energy Commission and by the General Assembly last November.

Reference is also made to the majority plan of the Commission endorsed by the General Assembly "as constituting the necessary basis for an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission."

The Commission will discuss this draft resolution at its next meeting July 29.

United Nations Field Service

The Special Committee established to consider the Secretary-General's revised proposals for a Field Service and Panel, in two meetings during the week, considered in detail the legal aspects of the proposal and began point-by-point consideration of the rapporteur's working paper. The Polish representative gave an hour-long analysis of the plan during which he criticized its legal basis, stating among other things, that the Field Service was really an "international gendarmerie" which it would be illegal to introduce into any state. The Secretariat representative refuted his detailed arguments, denying that the Field Service was a "police force," and adding that in any case "police forces" are not barred by the Charter.

The United States representative fully endorsed the Secretariat representative's refutation of the Polish charges of illegality and suggested that a statement be added to the working paper that the Committee's majority felt the Panel was entirely distinct in nature and function from forces envisaged in article 43.

In the point-by-point consideration of the working paper, the United States representative proposed that the Field Service personnel should be recruited in accordance with usual secretariat practice rather than by secondment from member governments. With regard to interchangeability between the Field Service and Field Reserve Panel the United States representative explained that flexibility rather than interchangeability was intended, since it was clear different qualifications were necessary for both services.

As to the possibility of merging of the Field Service and Headquarters Security Service, the United States representative felt that the Committee should recommend no decision on merging, but should leave this to further careful study by the Secretary-General. The question of the use of security forces of member states elicited the comment of the United States representative that the Secretary-General should always recruit as many local personnel as possible, but that past experience showed many difficulties.

Technical Cooperation and Economic Development in Caribbean Area

RESULTS OF EIGHTH MEETING OF THE CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

The eighth meeting of the Caribbean Commission was held at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I., on June 13–18, 1949. Sir Hubert Rance, co-chairman of the British Section, presided in accordance with the established system of rotation. The Commission agreed upon several new fields of major activities and authorized the continuance or extension of reporting services in the fields of plant, animal, and human diseases and issuance of a series of publications dealing with research, trade statistics, population and migration, and other subjects of importance in the economic and social life of the Caribbean area.

All sessions of the Commission were open to the public with the exception of those involving administrative arrangements within the Secretariat. Trinidad is the seat of the general headquarters of the Commission, and this meeting afforded new commissioners their first opportunity to observe at first-hand the functioning of the Secretariat.

Major fields in which the Commission will concentrate its energies were outlined by the Commission, and the Secretary General was authorized to proceed. The Commission has developed a plan for the development of primary and secondary industries as supplementary to the improvement and increased efficiency of the basic agricultural activities of the region, the development of forestry and fisheries, and the application of modern technology to the primary processing of the organic resources on which the economy of the Caribbean is based. Under this plan, the Commission among other things will collect and distribute information on markets, marketing opportunities, supplies and equipment; will develop special panels to which scientific and technical inquiries may be referred; develop records relating to efficiency in organization, management, operations, and productivity of industries; and sponsor interchange of visits from one territory to another for detailed studies of well-organized and operated industries. In carrying out these activities, the Commission will be assisted by an industrial consultant who was added to the staff of the Secretariat.

Recording its complete agreement with President Truman's program for technical cooperation and the encouragement of the investment of private capital in the underdeveloped areas of the world, the Commission requested each national section to consult with its government at the earliest possible moment as to the role which the Commission might play in such a program. Further, the Secretary General was authorized to prepare a report with suggested orders of priorities on technical cooperation assistance required in the area on matters within the scope of the Commission's activities. It was felt that problems of agricultural diversification and mechanization, soil conservation, land settlement, water control, industrial development, and basic problems affecting the socioeconomic conditions of the Caribbean could well be within the scope of the Point-4 program and of practical benefit to this underdeveloped area.

In the field of fundamental and long-range research, the Commission authorized the undertaking of socioeconomic surveys, covering such basic studies as costs and levels of living in the various territories, the Caribbean employment pattern and factors affecting industrial productivity, population trends, and national incomes. The Commission recognized that the existence in the Caribbean area today of an articulate demand for a higher standard of living, coupled with its limited natural resources, the pressure of population, and the failure to achieve a satisfactory social pattern,

presents a socioeconomic problem of magnitude. With these studies, the Commission will begin the collection of basic and comparable data on social and economic conditions for the area.

Another important item on the agenda of the eighth meeting dealt with the recommendations of the Caribbean Research Council, an auxiliary body to the Commission, which held its second annual meeting in Trinidad May 27–30. Technical research committees, reconstituted to meet the requirements of the present program of the Commission, were authorized in the following fields: (1) agriculture, fish, wildlife and forestry, (2) medicine, public health and nutrition, (3) sociology and education, (4) economics and statistics, (5) engineering, and (6) industrial development. A series of recommendations concerning research and technical services was approved. These include the publication of trade bulletins and economic leaflets, the circulation of educational films, a reporting service for animal pests and diseases, all of which are now functioning, and the approval of the inauguration of new reporting services on plant pests and diseases. It was also agreed to establish similar services on human diseases to coordinate information on the communicable and noncommunicable diseases occurring in Caribbean territories, on medical facilities available within the territories, and the collection, collation, and publication of annual statements of diseases and causes of death, following a uniform classification such as that prescribed for adoption by the World Health Organization.

The Commission gave final consideration to the recommendations of the West Indian Conference (third session) which had been held in Guadeloupe, F.W.I., in December 1948, most of which had been acted upon by the Commission. One recommendation which had been deferred for further study called for the establishment of a coordinated hurricane warning system in the Caribbean. The Commission requested the Secretary General to solicit the International Meteorological Organization, through its Regional Commission IV, to convene a meeting of meteorological and telecommunication experts, preferably before the 1949 hurricane season, for the purpose of improving and coordinating the hurricane warning system in the eastern Caribbean area. Another conference resolution urged territorial governments to expand programs for vocational education and to coordinate systems of apprenticeship with vocational training. The United States Section announced that the Government of Puerto Rico had already implemented this recommendation with the award of 30 scholarships to students of other parts of the Caribbean region to pursue vocational studies in the School of Industrial Arts of the University of Puerto Rico. Ten of the scholarships, offered to the most meritorious cases, will carry in addition to the tuition a subsistence allowance of $300 a year. The Commission is working out arrangements for the first group of these scholarship students to enter the university's summer classes. Puerto Rico's generous action may well form the nucleus of a trained corps of skilled workers in the rest of the Caribbean region.

Appointments were made in the posts of three senior offices. Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad was named to the post of Deputy Chairman of the Caribbean Research Council. Clovis Beauregard of Guadeloupe was appointed as Deputy Secretary General and Jan Eliza Heesterman of Surinam was appointed to the recently created post of industrial consultant.

The Commission accepted an invitation from the Government of the Virgin Islands of the United States to hold its next meeting there in December 1949.

ECA, U.K., and The Netherlands Discuss Expansions of Foreign Crude Oil Production

[*Released to the press by ECA July 7*]

Officials of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the British and The Netherlands Governments have launched a series of exploratory meetings to discuss the estimated expansion of foreign crude oil production and refining facilities in the next few years and the resulting increased supply of petroleum.

The meetings, first of which was held this week, will assist the interested agencies of the governments concerned in obtaining a comprehensive picture of oil developments. The estimates also will help ECA in considering petroleum programs of the Marshall Plan countries.

Representing the British Government at the meetings are Keith Stock of the Ministry of Fuel and Power, London, and Edward Jones, Petroleum Attaché of the British Embassy, Washington. Representing The Netherlands Government are Evert Green, of The Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs, The Hague, and Max Moerel, Adviser to The Netherlands Embassy, Washington. The meetings are being conducted by Walter J. Levy, Chief of the ECA Petroleum Branch.

Representatives of the United States State, Treasury, Interior, and Commerce Departments, the Munitions Board Petroleum Committee, and the National Security Resources Board were present at the initial meeting and will collaborate with ECA as the work progresses.

Major Steps Taken at ILO Conference on Trade-Union Rights and Industrial Relations[1]

SUMMARY OF THIRTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

When the International Labor Organization's 32nd general conference closed on July 2, it left behind a volume of work unequalled in the ILO's 30-year history. The conference opened its session at Geneva on June 8.

In three and a half weeks of deliberations, the 550 delegates and advisers from 50 countries adopted three new international labor conventions and revised five others. It approved three new recommendations and revised another, and voted resolutions charting ILO policy in several fields.

The conference approved a budget of $5,983,526 to finance the Organization's operations in 1950 and scrutinized the manner in which countries are applying the ILO conventions they have ratified. The delegates also debated at length the report of Director-General David A. Morse on economic and social trends and on the work of the Organization.

The three new conventions and the five revised conventions, approved by the session, brought to 98 the total number of such international instruments adopted to date. The new and revised recommendations voted by the meeting raised to 90 the total of these texts.

Among the conference resolutions was one authorizing the ILO's Governing Body to make any necessary arrangements to enable the Organization to initiate an expanded program of technical assistance for the economic development of underdeveloped areas, and to obtain the funds for it. This expanded program would be part of the cooperative program of the United Nations and its associated specialized agencies now under consideration by the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Regarded by many delegates as the most important of the three new international labor conventions was one which will require ratifying countries to assure to workers the right to organize into trade unions without interference and to bargain collectively. This convention complements the Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize adopted by the 1948 session of the conference in San Francisco.

These two instruments constitute major parts of the program of action in the field of trade-union rights and industrial relations upon which the Organization embarked two years ago.

Another step forward in this program was taken during the conference by the Governing Body when it went on record as approving the establishment of "a fact-finding and conciliation commission on freedom of association for the purpose of international supervision of freedom of association." At the same time, the Governing Body requested Director-General Morse to continue consultations with Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, "with regard to the manner in which such a commission can most appropriately be established."

The conference also adopted new conventions designed: (1) to assure that workers employed in the execution of contracts entered into by public authorities shall have wages, hours of work and working conditions not less favorable than those generally prevailing in the industry; (2) to protect wages by assuring that they are paid in cash, promptly, in full, and directly to the workers.

The revised conventions approved by the session: (1) Established international minimum standards to protect persons migrating from one country to take employment in another. This replaced a convention adopted in 1939. (2) Provided for the gradual abolition or, alternatively, the regulation of employment agencies which charge fees and are operated with a view to profit. This replaced a convention adopted in 1933. (3) Established vacation holidays with pay for seafarers. (4) Set standards for the accommodation of crews on board ship. (5) Fixed minimum wages for seafarers, established maximum hours, and set requirements for the manning of ships. These last three replaced conventions adopted at the Seattle Maritime Session of the conference in 1946.

[1] Printed from ILO News Service of July 8, 1949, prepared by the Washington Branch of the International Labor Office.

The revision of these five conventions was designed to meet objections to them which have impeded their ratification by governments and the application of their provisions.

The new recommendations adopted by the conference: (1) Supplemented the convention on labor clauses in public contracts, (2) supplemented the convention on the protection of wages, and (3) recommended standards governing vocational guidance for young persons and employment counseling for adults. The revised recommendation approved by the delegates supplemented the revised convention on migration for employment.

In addition to the decisions it took in the form of new and revised conventions and recommendations, the conference approved resolutions which: (1) Requested the Governing Body to instruct the International Labor Office—the ILO's secretariat—to prepare reports on laws and practices throughout the world governing paid annual holidays and on physical and cultural recreation facilities for workers; (2) requested the Governing Body to consider instructing Mr. Morse to prepare without delay a report on the problem of unemployment and to consider the desirability of placing the question of unemployment on the agenda of an early session of the conference.

Delegations from the following countries attended the conference: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ecuador, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Also attending the conference as official observers were a representative of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan and a complete Japanese delegation comprising government, employer, and worker representatives. Official international organizations represented included the United Nations, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization and the International Refugee Organization.

THE GOVERNING BODY

The Governing Body of the International Labor Office at its 109th session, which was held before and during the conference, took affirmative action on a lengthy agenda which included setting the dates of future meetings:

Technical Conference on Vocational Training, Singapore, September, 1949.
Third Session, Metal Trades Committee, Geneva, October, 1949.
Third Session, Iron and Steel Committee, Geneva, November, 1949.
110th Session, Governing Body, Mysore, India, December, 1949.
First Asian Regional Conference, Ceylon, Jan. 4–14, 1950.
Tripartite Preparatory Conference on Technical Training for Adults, Geneva, Late Jan., 1950.
33d Session, International Labor Conference, Geneva, June, 1950.

Dates late in 1949 and early 1950 were set for meetings of the following expert committees: Indigenous Labor, Women's Work, Juvenile Employment, and Recreation.

In other decisions, the Governing Body authorized the Director-General to open a manpower field office in Latin America and to undertake a fellowship program in 1950 in fields covered by the ILO.

It adopted a United Kingdom proposal instructing the Director-General to take all appropriate steps to associate representatives of Germany, including employers and workers, with those ILO activities and meetings which are of interest and concern to Germany.

The Governing Body also decided that the investigation of forced labor lay within its competence but agreed that this matter was also one of concern to the United Nations and therefore instructed Director-General Morse to establish close contact with Secretary-General Trygve Lie of the United Nations with a view to setting up an impartial commission of inquiry as soon as possible.

Radio Frequency Plan for Western Hemisphere Adopted

[*Released to the press July 11*]

A radio-frequency regional assignment plan for the entire Western Hemisphere was adopted at the joint meeting of the International Telecommunication Union Region II and the Fourth Inter-American Radio Conference, which ended in Washington July 9, 1949. This is the first complete radio-frequency-assignment plan under the provisions of the international radio regulations of Atlantic City, 1947, for any region of the world, and its adoption is regarded as an important step forward in world-wide efforts, under the auspices

of the International Telecommunication Union, to effect an orderly registration and utilization of frequencies throughout the radio spectrum. The conference also adopted a strong declaration of principles on freedom of information in the American region. Representatives of 24 nations participated in this conference, which has been underway since March 15. All delegations signed the inter-American radio agreement, report on frequency allotment for the aeronautical mobile service, and a resolution with respect to the preparation of national station lists at the final plenary session July 9, 1949.

The Western-Hemisphere plan covers assignments to bands of services including aeronautical, maritime mobile, standard-band broadcasting, tropical broadcasting, and amateur services in the portion of the radio spectrum from 10 to 4000 kcs. It is based on allocations made at the Atlantic City Telecommunication conferences in 1947, where over-all frequency assignments were made for the three regions of the world—covering Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and the Asia-Australasian area. The Region II phase of the conference was one of a series of regional conferences provided for at the Atlantic City meetings to formulate a plan of frequency assignments for all users of the radio spectrum in the American region. The plan it has completed will form the basis for incorporating American region-frequency requirements in the new International Frequency List to be prepared by the International Telecommunication Union at a special administrative conference scheduled to be convened in Geneva in October. The Fourth Inter-American Radio Conference continued the series of inter-American specialized conferences on this subject initiated at Habana in 1937.

Strong emphasis was placed on the principles of freedom of information in the American Region. The conference adopted resolutions covering the interchange and retransmission of radio broadcast programs and reaffirmed the Rio resolution on liberty of information in radio communications. A resolution urging liberalization of regulations for transmission of news for press was referred to the next inter-American conference for further study. One of these resolutions strongly appealed to the administrations and broadcasting organizations of the American nations, as a contribution to the culture and solidarity between their peoples, to adopt the necessary and appropriate measures to intensify as soon as possible the exchange and retransmission of cultural broadcasting programs and program materials of an artistic, educational, scientific, historical, and informative nature of both national and international interest. Member states were urged to promulgate the necessary measures to extend freedom of radio expression similar to freedom enjoyed by the press.

The adoption of an aeronautical frequency-allotment plan for the exclusive HF aeronautical mobile frequencies was generally regarded as a major accomplishment of the conference. It is a significant step leading toward improved safety of human life in aircraft. The International Civil Aviation Organization collaborated in its preparation. The plan will be sent to the second session of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference, which is to meet in Geneva on August 1, 1949, to consider a world-wide aeronautical radio-frequency plan. The first meeting of this group last summer had to be recessed to permit further work within the International Telecommunication Union regions in determining their specific frequency requirements. In the meantime, the International Civil Aviation Organization has coordinated the plan adopted for the Western Hemisphere (International Telecommunication Union Region II) with similar plans prepared by different regional conferences in the Eastern Hemisphere. It will be represented at Geneva, where the final coordination will be made.

Inasmuch as the next world-wide telecommunication conference is to be held in Buenos Aires in 1952, it was decided, upon the invitation of the Government of Uruguay, that the Fifth Inter-American Radio Conference will be convened in Montevideo 15 days following the adjournment of the Buenos Aires meeting.

Committee for U. N. Day—*Continued from page 99*

Speakers Committee—Mrs. Virginia Parker, Director of Publications, National Planning Association

Motion Picture Committee—Francis S. Harmon, Vice-President of the New York Office of the Motion Picture Association

Program Committee—Frank L. Weil, President, National Social Welfare Assembly and National Jewish Welfare Board

Nationality Groups—Reed Lewis, Executive Director, Common Council for American Unity

Advertising Committee—Sam Gale, Vice-President, General Mills

The National Citizens Committee will depend on private voluntary contributions for its support. Mr. Davis has announced the appointment of David Bernstein, author and former special adviser to the President of the Philippines, as executive director.

U.S. Delegations to International Conference

Ninth Session of ECOSOC

The United States delegation to the ninth session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which convened at Geneva, July 5, 1949, is as follows:

United States Representative

Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Deputy United States representatives

Leroy D. Stinebower, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State
Walter Kotschnig, Chief, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Advisers

M. Kathleen Bell, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
John W. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor
Haldore Hanson, Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Department of State
Dr. H. Van Zile Hyde, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Louis K. Hyde, Jr., Adviser on Economic and Social Council Affairs, United States Mission to the United Nations, New York
Frances K. Kernohan, Chief, Social Branch, Division of International Labor and Social Affairs, Department of State
Lewis L. Lorwin, Economic Adviser, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
Van R. Lorwin, International Labor Economist, Division of International Labor and Social Affairs, Department of State
Iver Olsen, Economist, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department
Paul R. Porter, Alternate United States Representative to the Economic Commission for Europe, American Consulate, Geneva
Keene A. Roadman, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor
Alvin Roseman, United States Representative for Specialized Agency Affairs, American Consulate, Geneva
Robert B. Schwenger, Acting Chief, Regional Investigations Branch, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture
Savilla M. Simons, Assistant Director, Office of Inter-Agency and International Relations, Federal Security Agency

Administrative Assistant

Marie Florence Rodgers, United States Mission to the United Nations, New York

Reporting Officers

Dan D. Levin, United States Mission to the United Nations, New York
Charles J. Merritt, United States Mission to the United Nations, New York

Press Officer

Gilbert W. Stewart, Jr., United States Mission to the United Nations, New York

Public Information Officer

Howard J. Garnish, Policy Information Specialist, International Broadcasting Division, Office of International Information, Department of State, New York

An officer from the Department of Agriculture will be named at a later date to serve as an adviser.

Third International Congress of Toponymy

The Department of State announced on July 8 that Meredith F. Burrill, director of the Division of Geography, Department of the Interior, and executive secretary of the Board on Geographic Names, and John G. Mutziger, chief linguist of the Division of Geography, Department of the Interior, have been named U.S. delegates to the Third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy. The Congress is scheduled to be held at Brussels July 15–19, 1949.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the latest developments in the field of toponymy (names of places) and of anthroponymy (names of persons). The Congress will bring together outstanding experts on the scientific study of nomenclature from more than 35 countries. These experts and specialists representing governments are meeting to arrange cooperative agreements for stimulating consistent name work.

The necessity for international cooperation and uniformity in the field of toponymy is indicated by the fact that the maps of all areas of the world now being produced in the United States require hundreds of thousands of place names which are new to the English language.

Labor Policy in Japan

Statement by Major General Frank R. McCoy, U.S. Member of the Far Eastern Commission

In response to press inquiries arising from the statement on the Japanese labor situation, made by Ambassador Panyushkin at the Far Eastern Commission this morning [July 13] and subsequently released by him to the press, I feel compelled to release the following statement which I made this morning on the same general subject. My statement preceded that of the Soviet representative and was addressed to a speech made by him 2 weeks ago.

At the meeting of the Commission on June 23 the Soviet member made a series of sweeping, misleading charges against the manner in which SCAP and the Japanese Government are handling the labor situation in Japan. The Soviet member specifically denounced the revisions of the Japanese labor laws enacted at the last Diet session and the action taken by the Japanese authorities in coping with the recent labor demonstrations at the Tokyo Municipal Assembly Building on May 30 and at the Hiroshima plant of the Japan Steel Company on June 12. It has not been—nor will it be—the practice of my government to answer charges of this nature which are so clearly of the propaganda variety. However, in order that this Commission may have the full benefit of the facts, there is being circulated to the members of the Commission a memorandum prepared by my government analyzing each of the specific charges made by the Soviet member, as they relate to the revisions of the Japanese labor laws.

I wish to point out at this time that the revisions of the Japanese labor laws enacted in the last Diet session are a direct implementation of FEC-045/5 (Principles for Japanese Trade Unions) which was issued after the original labor laws were enacted. In line with FEC-045/5, the revisions of the laws have strengthened the democratic character of Japanese trade unions through such measures as ensuring that the unions observe direct secret elections, annual general meetings, open financial reports, and protection of individual members against discrimination within the union. Special emphasis was placed on the practical workability of administrative procedures so as to preclude a breakdown which would prevent peaceful settlement of labor disputes. In many instances labor's interests have been further clarified and the rights of individual workers safeguarded.

The Soviet representative has attempted to associate the revisions of these labor laws with the incidents at Tokyo and Hiroshima. However, in neither incident were any labor laws involved and in the Tokyo case no trade union issues of any kind were at stake.

These and other recent incidents of the same nature have been characterized by certain features of disturbing implication. Seizing upon any pretext whatsoever, lawless elements have organized demonstrations for the purpose of exerting mass pressure to intimidate government authorities and others into doing the bidding of the demonstrators. The participants in these affairs have also sought to provoke the authorities into acts of force which could then be denounced as "repressive measures," "police brutality," or, to quote the Soviet member's phrase, "brutal mobbing by the police". In contrast to the acts of violence committed by the demonstrators—including illegal seizures, intimidation, and bodily attacks on company officials—the Japanese authorities have exercised care and restraint. Police have been used only when necessary to clear public buildings so that governmental functions could go on, to protect property and maintain order. Arrests have been made only where demonstrators resisted or even attacked policemen. In the Tokyo incident police action was not taken until after 5 hours of continued disruption of the Tokyo Municipal As-

sembly proceedings by a militant mob. At Hiroshima, there was no resort to police action until 48 hours after the steel plant had been illegally seized by the demonstrators.

It appears to us that these cases of mob violence are not designed to protect the rights of labor or to advance democratic tendencies, despite the use of democratic phrases by Soviet representatives here and in the Allied Council for Japan. On the contrary, it is clear to us that this is a centrally directed campaign to create fear, social unrest, confusion and disorder, which is intended to undermine the authority of the government, in the hope of creating a condition favorable to the seizure of political power.

It would appear to my government that the primary and central issue raised by the Soviet member at the June 23 meeting of the Commission is whether the legitimate rights and interests of the Japanese people are to be protected by duly constituted authority or to be placed at the mercy of a lawless few.

UNITED STATES ANALYSIS OF SOVIET STATEMENT, 158TH FEC MEETING

Revised Labor Relations Adjustment Law

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

10. First, the Prime Minister was given the right to include additional enterprises in the category of "public utilities" enterprises in order to restrict the rights of the workers in such enterprises in regard to acts connected with labor disputes. As a result of this revision, the Prime Minister had received the right to include any enterprise or any industry in the category of "public utilities" enterprises and to declare the labor conflicts of the workers in such enterprises illegal.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The new procedure for the designation of emergency public welfare industries is not an additional provision but replaces the old procedure which was unworkable in practice. The authority of the Prime Minister to designate such industries is strictly limited to those "the stoppage of which will seriously affect the national economy or seriously endanger the daily life of the general public" and may be exercised only with approval of the National Diet. Even after such designation, work stoppages are forbidden only for a 30-day period after a request for mediation to the labor relations committee.

REFERENCE : REVISED LABOR RELATIONS ADJUSTMENT LAW

Article 8

In this law public welfare work shall mean the following work which provides the services essential to daily life of the general public:

a. Transportation work
b. Post, telegraph or telephone work
c. Work for supplying water, gas or electricity
d. Medical treatment and public health work

The Prime Minister shall have power to designate, other than the work in any item, of the preceding paragraph, any work the stoppage of which will seriously affect the national economy or seriously endanger the daily life of the general public for a specified period of time not exceeding one year with approval of the Diet. . . .

Article 37

In public welfare works acts of dispute by the parties concerned should be disallowed until request for mediation under the provision of article 18, paragraph 1, items 1 to 3 has been made and 30 days have elapsed from the day the said request has been made or from the day the decision under item 4 of the same paragraph or request under item 5 of the same paragraph has been made, provided that such disallowance shall not apply to act of dispute at the works where acts of dispute have already been in progress even if the said works be designated as public welfare works pursuant to the provisions of article 8, paragraph 2.

As regards a public welfare work, in the event that a mutually acceptable proposal for settlement provides for continued negotiation on various issues, acts of dispute concerning the issues shall be disallowed until the prerequisites set forth in paragraph 1 have again been met.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

11. Secondly, a very important provision prohibiting the employer from discharging workers or discriminating against them from taking part in labor conflicts had been deleted from the Labor Relations Adjustment Law. Thus employers had received the right to discharge workers or discriminate against them because of their participation in labor conflicts.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The statement of the Soviet representative is completely misleading. The elimination of the blanket exemption in the Labor Relations Adjustment Law simply removes special protection from illegal or violent strike actions. Article 7 of the revised Trade Union Law now states "the employer shall be disallowed . . . to discharge or give discriminatory treatment to a worker . . . for his having performed proper acts of a trade union." It is clearly understood in Japanese law that a legal strike is contained within the category of "proper acts of a trade union."

REFERENCE: REVISED LABOR RELATIONS ADJUSTMENT LAW

Article 40

The employer shall be disallowed to discharge or give discriminatory treatment to worker ~~for having performed acts of dispute or~~ for the testimony he made at the proceedings of adjustment of labor dispute under this law, ~~provided that this shall not apply when agreed to by the Labor Relations Committee~~. (Deletions referred to in Soviet statement are indicated by canceled type.)

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 7

The employer shall be disallowed to do the following practices:

(1) To discharge or give discriminatory treatment to a worker by reason of his being a member of a trade union, for his having tried to join or organize a trade union or for his having performed proper acts of a trade union; or to make it a condition of employment that the worker must not join or must withdraw from a trade union. . . .

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

12. Third, there had been introduced additional provisions prohibiting workers from engaging in labor conflicts during a period established for the settlement of the differences with the employer in respect to the interpretation of the agreement reached, as well as a number of other restrictive provisions.

UNITED STATES REPLY

This statement apparently refers to article 37 of the revised Labor Relations Adjustment Law which provides that in the event that the 30-day "cooling off" period in a public welfare industry has resulted in an agreement, any conflict on interpretation or in further negotiation shall be treated as a new dispute with an additional 30-day "cooling off" period required prior to acts of dispute. This provision is aimed at preventing continuous dispute tactics which have been utilized by minority elements in the past to keep industrial relations in a constant state of turmoil and should assist the achievement and maintenance of stable labor–management agreements. This provision may be invoked only by prior mutual agreement of both parties.

REFERENCE: REVISED LABOR RELATIONS ADJUSTMENT LAW

Article 37

In public welfare works acts of dispute by the parties concerned should be disallowed until request for mediation under the provision of article 18, paragraph 1, items 1 to 3 has been made and 30 days have elapsed from the day the said request has been made or from the day the decision under item 4 of the same paragraph or request under item 5 of the same paragraph has been made, provided that such disallowance shall not apply to act of dispute at the works where acts of dispute have already been in progress even if the said works be designated as public welfare works pursuant to the provisions of article 8, paragraph 2.

As regards a public welfare work, in the event that a mutually acceptable proposal for settlement provides for continued negotiation on various issues, acts of dispute concerning the issues shall be disallowed until the prerequisites set forth in paragraph 1 have again been met.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

13. Fourth, besides other repressions, a worker who did not abide by these provisions might be subjected to a fine of ¥100,000, that is a sum exceeding the yearly wage of a Japanese worker.

UNITED STATES REPLY

There is no provision in the Labor Relations Adjustment Law for penalizing individual workers ¥100,000. Such penalty, which is provided in article 39, applies only to employers, labor or employer organizations, and outsiders who violate the 30-day "cooling off" required in public welfare industries. It cannot be contended that this fine is onerous when applicable to a labor organization as a whole.

REFERENCE: REVISED LABOR RELATIONS ADJUSTMENT LAW

Article 39

In case there is a contravention as under article 37, the employer or his organization, or the laborers' organization or other persons or organization who are responsible for such contravention shall be subject to a fine not exceeding 100,000 yen.

The regulations of the preceding paragraph shall when such employer or such organization or such labor organization who are responsible are juridical persons, apply to the trustees or directors or other officials discharging official duties of a juridical person. In case such persons, parties, or organizations are not juridical persons, the regulations shall apply to the representatives or some other officials discharging official duties.

The total fine imposed for one case of dispute shall not exceed 100,000 yen.

When applying the regulations of Paragraph 1 the dissolved juridicial persons, or the employer's organization or the labor union who are not juridical persons, or organizations of the parties in dispute, or other bodies, shall be considered as still in existence.

Revised Trade Union Law

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

15. As regards the revised Trade Union Law, Mr. Panyushkin continued, the new law had introduced provisions regarding the structure of the Labor Relations Committees as a result of which these Committees had been turned into government agencies under the Labor Ministry (chapter 4, article 19, and other articles). . . .

UNITED STATES REPLY

The functions of the Labor Relations Committee are twofold: Peaceful settlement of disputes and enforcement of the protective provisions of the Trade Union and Labor Relations Adjustment Laws. In the former function, the tripartite character of the committee has been fully maintained and labor's interests are completely safeguarded. In the latter function, its quasijudicial and operational nature have required a governmental rather than the tripartisan approach. In both functions, the committees are operationally independent and cannot be overruled by the Labor Ministry.

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 19

1. Labor Relations Committees shall be set up consisting of equal number of persons representing employers, workers and public interest.

2. The Labor Relations Committee shall consist of the Central Labor Relations Committee, the Maritime Central Labor Relations Committee, Prefectural Labor Relations Committees and Local Maritime Labor Relations Committees.

3. The members and the staffs of a Labor Relations Committee as provided in this Law shall be regarded as staffs engaged in official business under laws and ordinances.

4. Matters relating to Labor Relations Committees other than those laid down in this Law shall be fixed by a Cabinet Ordinance.

5. The Central Labor Relations Committee shall be under the jurisdiction of the Labor Minister.

6. The Central Labor Relations Committee shall be composed of seven members representing employer (hereinafter referred to as "employer members"), seven members representing labor (hereinafter referred to as "labor members"), and seven members representing the public interest (hereinafter referred to as "public members").

7. The Labor Minister shall appoint the employer members in accordance with the recommendations of the employers' organizations, the labor members with the recommendations of trade unions and the public members with the agreement of the employer members and the labor members.

8. Incompetent and quasi-incompetent persons and one who has been sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment and still under the execution of the sentence cannot be a member. When a member shall become disqualified as a result of this provision, he shall automatically be retired.

9. As to appointment of the public members, three or more of them shall not belong to the same political party. When a public member shall have by his own actions disqualified himself as a result of this provision, he shall automatically be retired.

10. In case the Labor Minister recognizes that a member of the Central Labor Relations Committee cannot perform his duties by reason of mental and physical defects or that a member has violated his duties in performing his functions or is guilty of misconduct as a member, the Labor Minister may discharge the said member with the approval of the Central Labor Relations Committee.

11. The term of office of the members shall be one year, provided that substitute members filling a vacancy shall remain in office during the remaining term of the predecessor.

12. The members may be re-appointed.

13. The members shall continue to perform their duties until their successor has been appointed.

14. Members shall receive such salaries, allowances and other pays as are fixed separately by laws and compensation for expenses necessary to perform their duties as fixed by a Cabinet Ordinance.

15. There shall be chairmen in the Central Labor Relations Committee.

16. The chairman shall be elected by all members from among the public members.

17. The chairman shall preside over the businesses of the Central Labor Relations Committee.

18. When the chairman has been prevented from performing his duties, one who has been elected according to the provision of Paragraph 16 shall perform the businesses of the chairman in lieu of the chairman, and when the chair has become vacant, a new chairman shall be elected in accordance with the provision of the same paragraph.

19. A Business Bureau shall be established in the Central Labor Relations Committee to handle the administrative affairs of the Committee, and the Business Bureau shall have a Director and necessary staffs appointed by the Labor Minister with approval of the chairman.

20. The provisions of this Article shall be applied mutatis mutandis to the Prefectural Labor Relations Committees; provided that the authorities of the Labor Minister shall be performed by the Governor and the Committee shall be composed of five employer members, five labor members and five public members; and two or more of the public members shall not belong to the same political party.

21. As regards the seamen covered by the Seamen's Law (Law No. 100, 1947), the functions of the Central Labor Relations Committee, the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee, and the Labor Minister or the Prefectural Governor as provided for in this Law shall be performed respectively by the Maritime Central Labor Relations Committee, the Maritime Local Labor Relations Committee and the Transportation Minister; and the provisions concerning the Central Labor Relations Com-

mittee and the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee shall be applied mutatis mutandis to the Maritime Central Labor Relations Committee and the Maritime Local Labor Relations Committee; provided, however, that "Prefectures" shall read as "Areas under the jurisdiction of the Maritime Transportation Bureaus".

Article 24

Only the public members of the Labor Relations Committee shall participate in the adjudication of cases arising under Articles 5, 7, 11 and 27 and Article 42 of the Labor Relations Adjustment Law; provided, however, that this shall not preclude labor members and employer members from participating in hearings held prior to a decision.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

15. . . . These government labor committees had received the right to interfere directly and control all the activities of trade unions and, besides that, to determine the question of the "constitutionality" of trade unions.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The statement that these committees have the "right to interfere directly and control all activities of trade unions and, besides that, to determine the question of 'constitutionality' of trade unions" is utter misrepresentation. The committees merely have the function of inspecting the written constitution of each union to assure that the requirements of FEC–045/5 ensuring democratic internal practices are contained therein, namely a provision for the election of officers and standing committeemen by direct secret elections, annual general meetings, open financial reports, protection of individual members against discrimination within the union, secret ballot for strike votes, and majority vote for revision of the union constitution. In these matters the committees do not go beyond the union constitution, the enforcement of which is left to the members themselves, with court action on the members' initiative only where their constitutional rights have been violated. The only other function of the committees is to investigate compliance with the requirement that the union is not dominated by the employer.

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 5

Unless the trade union has submitted evidence to the Labor Relations Committee and proved that it is in compliance with the provisions of Article 2 and Paragraph 2 of this Article, the trade union shall not be eligible to participate in the formal procedures provided in this Law and the Labor Relations Adjustment Law (Law No. 25, 1948) and to avail itself of the remedies provided therein. Provided that nothing herein shall be construed so as to deny any individual worker the protection accorded by Clause 1 of Article 7.

2. The constitution of the trade union shall include provisions provided for in each of the following clauses:

(1) Name.

(2) Address of the main office.

(3) Members of a trade union besides a federated trade union (hereinafter referred to as "local union") shall have the right to participate in all affairs of the trade union and the right to be rendered equal treatment.

(4) In no event shall any one be disqualified for union membership because of race, religion, sex, social status or family origin.

(5) The officials of a local union shall be elected by secret ballot directly by the members, and the officials of a federation or a national union may be elected by secret ballot directly by the members of the local union or by delegates elected directly by secret ballot of the members of the local union.

(6) General meeting shall be held at least once every year.

(7) Financial report showing all sources of revenues and expenses, names of main contributors and present financial status shall be made public to the members at least once every year, together with certification of its accuracy by a professionally competent auditor appointed by the members.

(8) No strike action shall be started without the decision made by secret ballot either directly by a majority of members voting or directly by a majority of delegates voting directly elected by secret ballot by all members.

(9) No constitution of a local union shall be revised except by a majority support by direct secret ballot of the members. No constitution of a national union or a federation shall be revised except by a majority support by direct secret ballot of the members of the local union or of the delegates directly elected by secret ballot by all members.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

16. According to the new law, the Central Labor Relations Committee, which was directly under the Labor Ministry, had received the right to reject and modify the decisions adopted by the local labor relations committees. It was absolutely clear that this new system of organization for labor relations committees, in which the role of the representatives of the workers' organizations had been reduced to nothing, could not secure the protection of the workers' interests.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The Central Committee can overrule local committees only on judicial questions, a provision which is indispensable if uniform interpretation of labor law is to be fostered and legal chaos avoided.

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 25

The Central Labor Relations Committee shall have authority to perform the functions prescribed under the provisions of Articles 18, 20, 26, and 27. The Central Labor Relations Committee may assume initial jurisdiction in all cases of conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and adjudication of cases which cover two or more prefectures or which present issues of national import.

2. The Central Labor Relations Committee may review the adjudications of the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee pursuant to the provisions of Articles 5, 7 and 27 with full authority to reverse, accept, or modify such adjudications, or it may reject appeal for review. Such review shall be initiated by the Central Labor Relations Committee or by appeal of either party from the adjudication of the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

18. Furthermore, according to Article 2, Section 1, several categories of Japanese workers were prohibited from joining trade unions. According to press reports, the adoption of this amendment to the law had deprived 30,000 workers of their right to join trade unions.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The "workers" prohibited from joining trade unions by the revision noted are supervisory employees. Such exclusion is necessary to prevent employer domination of the workers' organizations.

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 2

Trade unions under the present law shall be those organizations, or federations thereof, formed autonomously and substantially by the workers for the main purpose of maintaining and improving the conditions of work and for raising the economic status of the workers, provided that this rule shall not apply to those:

(1) Which admit to membership officers, workers at the supervisory post having direct authority to hire, fire, promote or transfer, workers at the supervisory post having access to confidential information relating to the employers' labor relations plans and policies so that their official duties and obligations directly conflict with their loyalties and obligations as members of the trade union concerned and other persons who represent the interest of the employer.

(2) Which receive the employers' financial support in defraying the organizations' operational expenditures. Provided that this shall not prevent the employer from permitting workers to confer or negotiate with him during working hours without loss of time or pay or to the employer's contribution for welfare funds; or benefit and similar funds which are actually used for payments to prevent or relieve economic misfortune or accident; or to the furnishing of minimum office space.

(3) Whose objects are confined to mutual aid work or other welfare work.

(4) Which principally aim at carrying on political or special movement.

U.S.S.R. STATEMENT

19. Moreover, for the violation of the provisions of this law severe repression measures had been established, including imprisonment for a period up to one year, and a fine up to ¥100,000.

UNITED STATES REPLY

The citation of the penal provisions in the Trade Union Law is completely inaccurate. None of the penal provisions in this law, whether fine or imprisonment, apply to workers or unions, but apply to government officials who violate official secrets, persons who interfere with Labor Relations Committee proceedings and employers who violate fair practice provisions of the law. Method of enforcement for unions violating the law is through their disqualification for assistance or protection through procedures established by the law.

REFERENCE: REVISED TRADE UNION LAW

Article 27

Whenever a complaint is filed that an employer has violated the provision of Article 7 with a Labor Relations Committee, the Labor Relations Committee shall make an immediate investigation and if it is deemed necessary shall have a hearing of the issues on the merits of the complaint. Such investigation and hearing shall follow the Rules of Procedures prescribed by the Central Labor Relations Committee in accordance with the provision of the preceding Article, and at such hearing, sufficient opportunity to present evidence and cross-examine the witnesses shall be given to the employer concerned as well as the complainants.

2. At the conclusion of the hearing provided for in the preceding paragraph, the Labor Relations Committee shall make a finding of fact and issue its order in accordance therewith either granting in full or in part the relief sought by the complainants or dismissing the complaint. Such findings of facts and such order shall be in writing, and a copy thereof shall be served on the employer concerned and the complainants. Such order shall be in full force and effect from the date of service. Proceeding under the provisions of this paragraph shall be in accordance with the Rules of Procedures prescribed by the Central Labor Relations Committee as provided for in the preceding Article.

3. In case the employer received the order of the Prefectural Labor Relations Committee according to the provision of the preceding paragraph, he may within a period of 15 days file a request for review by the Central Labor Relations Committee. However, such request shall not

have the effect of staying the order and it shall lose its force and effect only when the Central Labor Relations Committee reverses or modifies it as a result of review in accordance with the provision of Article 25.

Article 28

In case of violation of the order of the Labor Relations Committee when all or a part of the said order has been sustained by the fixed judgment of the court in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Article, those who commit such violation shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand yen, or to both.

Article 29

Those who contravene the provision of Article 23 shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding thirty thousand yen.

Article 30

Those who contravene the provisions of Article 22 and fail to present reports or make false reports or fail to submit the books or papers or contravene the provisions of the same Article and fail to present themselves or refuse, obstruct or evade the inspection under the provision of the same Article shall be liable to a fine not exceeding thirty thousand yen.

Article 31

1. When the deputy, co-habitant, employees, or others engaged for work of a juridical person or a person contravene the provisions of the first portion of the preceding Article, in connection with the business of a juridical person or of a person, the said juridical person or person shall not be immune from penalty on the ground of not having given order for such contravention.

2. The provisions of the first portion of the preceding Article shall apply to the directors, managers or other officers who execute the business of the juridical person in case the employer is a juridical person and to the legally fixed deputy in case the employer is a minor or a person adjudged incompetent; provided that this rule shall not apply to a minor that has the same capacity as an adult in the performance of business.

Article 32

In case an employer has violated the order of the Court under the provision of Paragraph 5 of Article 27, he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand yen (if the order concerned requires for positive action, the total amount of money made by multiplying one hundred thousand yen by the number of days of noncompliance, may be assessed as a fine). The same rule shall apply to the case when an employer has violated the order of the Labor Relations Committee which has become fixed according to the provision of Paragraph 7 of Article 27.

Article 33

The liquidator of a trade union which is a juridical person who has violated any of the provisions of the Civil Code which are set out in Article 12 of this Law and violations of which are made punishable by Article 84 of the Civil Code shall be subject to the same fine of the same extent and amount as provided for in the said Article of the Civil Code.

2. The provisions of the preceding paragraph shall be applied mutatis mutandis to the representative of a trade union which is a juridical person when such representative failed to register changes in the matters registered concerning the said juridical person as provided in ordinance as set out in Paragraph 2 of Article 11 of this Law.

U.S. Protests Yugoslav Currency Conversion in Trieste

[*Released to the press July 14*]

Text of note from the Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Federal People's Republic, Mr. Milenko Filipovic, handed to him by Mr. Llewellyn E. Thompson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, July 14, 1949:[1]

July 14, 1949

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and refers to the letter dated July 2, 1949, and transmitted by the Yugoslav Government to the Secretary General of the United Nations on July 6, 1949, concerning the loan by the Yugoslav Government of five hundred million dinars to the military administration of the Yugoslav Army for the Yugoslav Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste for the purpose of replacing the medium of exchange of the Zone with Yugoslav dinars.

The United States Government must again reject the Yugoslav allegations that the Allied Military Government in the United States-United Kingdom Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste has violated the Italian Peace Treaty through the conclusion of certain agreements with the Italian Government. These and similar charges have been made by the Yugoslav Government on previous occasions and have been brought to the attention of the Security Council of the United Nations which failed to sustain them. The United States and the United Kingdom Governments have set forth in detail and explained at length the nature of the agreements between Allied Military Gov-

[1] Text of U.S. note was also released as U.N. doc. S/1350 of July 14, 1949; the Yugoslav note of July 2, 1949, was released as U.N. doc. S/1348 of July 5, 1949.

ernment of the United States-United Kingdom Zone and the Italian Government. These agreements have been demonstrated to be in conformity with the provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty and indispensable to assure the well-being of the inhabitants of the United States-United Kingdom Zone. The United States Government deplores the fact that the Yugoslav Government continues to put forward these charges which upon objective examination have been demonstrated to be groundless.

In the course of the earlier discussion of the Yugoslav charges concerning the administration of the United States-United Kingdom Zone it was pointed out on several occasions that it is, in fact, the Military Administration in the Yugoslav Zone of the Free Territory that has violated the Treaty and has followed a policy clearly calculated to tie the Yugoslav Zone ever more closely to Yugoslavia. The recently announced currency conversion represents an additional move in this direction which can have the result only of further integrating the Yugoslav Zone into the Yugoslav economy.

The United States Government has not failed to note the statement of the Yugoslav authorities that they have been unable to reach agreement with the Italian Government upon the supply of Italian lira to the Yugoslav Zone, Free Territory of Trieste, in accordance with Article 11 of Annex VII of the Peace Treaty. Inasmuch as the Yugoslav authorities have not followed the procedures provided in the Treaty of Peace for the settlement of such questions, this statement cannot be accepted as a valid explanation for their unilateral action in introducing the dinar into the Zone under their temporary military administration.

The United States Government has previously recommended a solution of the Trieste question in the interests of international stability and the well-being of the inhabitants of the area and deplores any action which adds to the difficulty of achieving such a solution.

Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation With Italy Enters Into Force

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 13*]

The treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Italy is expected to enter into force within the next few days. This treaty, concluded in conformity with the Department's general program for governing economic relations with other countries through new and comprehensive instruments responsive to modern economic conditions, was signed at Rome on February 2, 1948. It was approved by the Senate on June 2, 1948, and ratified by the President on June 16, 1949. Two days later, on June 18, 1949, President Einaudi of Italy signed a law approving the treaty on behalf of his government. It is expected that the ratifications will be exchanged at Rome on or about July 15.

I have no doubt that this treaty will contribute effectively to the development of closer relations with Italy. It is based firmly upon the liberal principles of economic intercourse which we uphold and contains sound and reasonable provisions well designed to stimulate a mutually advantageous flow of capital and technology, which is in line with the basic objectives of the Point-4 program.

Bizonal Scrap Agreement

[*Released to the press July 15*]

The Department of State announced on July 15 that an agreement was recently concluded between the United States and the United Kingdom authorizing their Military Governors in Germany to suspend from time to time the provision that the price of scrap exported from Western Germany shall be uniform to all buyers, which is contained in paragraph 11 of article II of the U.S.–U.K. Ferrous Scrap Agreement of September 30, 1948.[1] Under this authority, the Military Governors have lifted their control over the export price of steel scrap, effective July 13, 1949, and until further notice. This change will not affect current contracts except insofar as such contracts may provide for renegotiation of price.

Location for Allied High Commission

[*Released to the press in Berlin by British Military Government Headquarters July 8*]

The following joint communiqué was issued after a meeting held at Bonn on Friday, July 8, 1949, at which General Sir Brian Robertson was in the chair and the following were present with their advisers.

Mr. John McCloy, United States Military Governor and High Commissioner designate.

Lieut. General F. J. C. Noiret, French Deputy Military Governor.

M. Rivain, representing M. Francois Poncet, French High Commissioner designate.

[1] BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1948, p. 467.

The following decisions were taken:

One. The decision of the Parliamentary Council that the provisional seat of the federal government shall be at Bonn was noted. It was recognized that the choice of the seat of the federal government is matter for German decision.

Two. In view of this decision, immediate preparations will be made to provide accommodation, communications and other necessary facilities for the Allied High Commission in the area adjacent to Bonn.

Three. Provisionally and subject to confirmation by the Allied High Commission, the following limits will define the area to be fixed in accordance with Article Two, Paragraph 3 of the Charter of the Allied High Commission:

Sieg River from its junctions with the Rhine to autobahn bridge S. E. of Siegburg-Frankfurt-Cologne autobahn from Sieg River bridge to French zonal border near Rederscheid—zonal border to Adendorf—Stadt Meckenheim—thence north along railway to its junction with border of Stadtkreis Bonn just north of Duisdorf—border of Stadtkreis Bonn to Rhine River.

Four. In view of the preparations to be made the meeting expressed its appreciation for the announcement made by the Belgian Government on 13th June, 1949 and confirmed the exception made regarding the residence of the General commanding the Belgian Corps and six houses required for his immediate staff.

Five. A small joint staff will be established forthwith in the area to take charge of the administrative preparations. The principal representatives will be:

U.K.: Brigadier C. H. Montague, OBE;
U.S.: F. Herman Schroeder;
French: Lt. Col. Gridel.

Six. The area will not be subdivided into sectors—for convenience accommodation will be arranged as far as possible in a certain general area with Stadtkreis Bonn generally reserved for German facilities and accommodation. The Hotel Petersberg, at least for the initial period, will be the site of the Headquarters Allied High Commission.

Seven. Preparations will be made at Whan Airfield to enable it to take the air traffic required for the federal capital.

Radio in U.S. Zone of Germany—*Continued from page 85*

Where some men exist who will thus fight to get facts to the public, there is hope that the idea of responsible freedom of expression will take deep root and that democratic radio will be protected by the Germans themselves as one of the means by which men remain free.

Agreement on Principles of Intra-European Payments System for 1949–50

[*Released to the press by ECA July 7*]

Features of the Agreement

The Council of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, on July 2, reached unanimous agreement on the principles upon which the intra-European payments system for 1949–50 shall be based. The Council has directed the Joint Trade and Intra-European Payments Committee of the OEEC to submit to the Council, by July 20, 1949, a draft of an agreement based on these principles. W. Averell Harriman, United States special representative, participated in the deliberations of the OEEC which led to the present agreement in principle and presented during the course of these deliberations the views of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

It is the view of ECA that the principles upon which agreement has been reached make possible an advance towards breaking down the bilateral trade and payments practices which have become so prevalent in the postwar economic relations of the participating countries. It is also expected that increased flexibility in intra-European payments arrangements will increase the competitive efforts of the participating countries in their trade with one another with all the attendant advantages which such a philosophy implies.

The principal features of the agreement reached by the OEEC are as follows:

1. Twenty-five percent of all drawing rights extended by the European creditors to their debtors will be freely usable anywhere in the ERP area. The actual use of these drawing rights will determine the distribution of the corresponding ECA conditional aid. The remaining 75 percent of drawing rights will have characteristics similar to those of the drawing rights established under the plan for the year 1948–49.

2. Provision has been made for the extension of $87.5 million of long-term credits by Belgium to the United Kingdom, France, and The Netherlands in the event that these credits are needed. This represents a significant and important contribution on the part of Belgium, which has already extended important credits to other participants in the postwar period.

3. The Council has also requested that safeguards be provided in the draft agreement for a healthy expansion of intra-European trade. It is the purpose of this provision to insure the abandonment of those restrictive trade practices which do not correspond to the increasing degree of freedom to be achieved in the payments system for 1949–50.

In the opinion of ECA, the principles upon which the intra-European payments system for

1949–50 is to be based represent substantial progress over the principles and methods employed in the year 1948–49. The adoption of last year's plan was dictated by the necessity of maintaining and expanding a useful trade among the participants. The urgency and importance of the task were such that it was necessary to devise a scheme which corresponded to the trade and payments policies and practices prevailing at that time. It was recognized, however, that these policies and practices were not those suitable to a multilateral trade and payments system which it is the purpose of ECA to foster. At this juncture in the recovery progress of Europe, ECA and the participating nations believed that a first step should be taken to break away from the rigid bilateralism of the first year's plan. It has been possible with the cooperation and understanding of all participants to take this first step towards the goal of multilateralizing of trade and payments within Europe.

The Administrator on July 7 formally advised the OEEC of his willingness to extend conditional aid in accordance with the principles agreed upon by the OEEC. The text of the Administrator's statement is as follows:

Statement by the Administrator for Economic Cooperation

7 July 1949

The Administrator for Economic Cooperation is pleased to take note of the decision of the Council of the OEEC regarding a new Intra-European Payments Plan, and believes that this decision constitutes a significant step toward the reestablishment of European trade on a sound basis. Last April the Organization was advised that this Administration attaches great importance to the encouragement and intensification of competition among European sellers and that the new payments agreement should be designed to contribute to this result. The decision of the Council that a quarter of the drawing rights received by each country will be made available in the form of whatever European currencies that country desires means that the pattern of trade need not be rigidly determined in advance by governmental decisions. Buyers can be given broader freedom than they have hitherto possessed to choose freely between competing sellers. This broader freedom of choice for buyers is a necessary condition for competition among sellers. It is the profound conviction of this Administration that more intensive competition, if it materializes, will exert a healthy downward pressure on costs and prices and will thus contribute both to the increase of European productivity and to the improvement of Europe's ability to earn dollars.

The achievement of freer competition within Europe requires not only that monetary arrangements permit buyers to exercise freedom of choice but also that narrow quantitative restrictions of trade be eliminated. The Administrator is pleased to note that this principle is recognized in the decision of the Council which paves the way for prompt drastic action to eliminate these barriers to European trade. Such action is especially necessary with respect to restrictions of imports by those countries that are creditors in their trade with Europe and the sterling area.

The Administrator is well aware that these creditor countries of Europe will be exposed to a real risk both by the new payments arrangements and by measures to remove the quantitative limitations on imports. Broadly, the risk is that if such a country turns out to have a weak competitive position in relation to the other participants, it will fail to receive the expected amount of conditional aid from this Administration. Such economic risk necessarily accompanies effective competition and, in the judgment of this Administration, the Council made a wise decision when it decided that these risks should be assumed.

Europe's most intractable economic problem is its dollar deficit. The deficit can be eliminated only if the participating countries earn more dollars from the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Accordingly this Administration's statement to the Organization concerning the broadening of competition through the payments plan also emphasized the necessity of providing the participating countries with the incentive to earn dollars from the Western Hemisphere rather than from one another. The new payments plan makes it possible for any participating country, by expanding its European exports or, in some cases, by restricting its European imports, to increase its ECA aid by as many dollars as it could earn from a corresponding increase of exports to the dollar area. For this reason, it is essential that efforts to develop surpluses in their trade with the rest of Western Europe and the sterling area should not divert the participating countries from the basic task of expanding exports to the Western Hemisphere.

The Administrator attaches especial importance to the provision in the Council's decision for a periodic review of the operation of the payments plan. The objectives referred to above define two criteria that should be applied in these reviews. The first is the extent to which, and the rapidity with which, the greater flexibility of the payments plan and the removal of quantitative restrictions on trade are successful in creating a far freer and more competitive European market. The second is the effectiveness of freer trade and payments within Europe in promoting European exports to the dollar area. Accordingly, the periodic review should cover not only the machinery of the payments plan but the commercial policies of the several governments, as well. It is hoped that the Organization will be satisfied with nothing less

than a drastic freeing of trade within Europe, the end of efforts by governments to protect or increase their European trade surpluses, and the intensification of the drive to export to the Western Hemisphere.

It is in the light of the foregoing considerations that the Administrator agrees to grant an appropriate proportion of ECA aid to the participating countries during the forthcoming year in the form of conditional aid in accordance with the principles adopted by the Council. In making this decision it is the Administrator's understanding that the Organization's periodic review of the working of the plan will be searching and that action will be taken to correct defects and weaknesses that may appear.

Distinguished Service of Bert Hulen as Newspaper Correspondent[1]

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 13*]

I think it might be appropriate for me to say a special word about one of these distinguished men because he was what might be called the dean of the State Department Corps—Bert Hulen. He was also a friend of many years standing and a neighbor in Georgetown. As a friend, he was a gentle and kindly person. I think all of us in Georgetown will find it very difficult to get used to missing that familiar figure of Bert with his peaked cap and his walking stick and his husky dog pulling him along when he took his walk in the morning. Almost every day on my way to the Department, I used to stop and chat with him, and I shall sadly miss those morning talks.

As a correspondent, he was able, thorough, and conscientious, and a true servant of the American public. I think the word that will come to the lips of most of you when you speak of Bert Hulen is the word "honorable." He was an outstandingly honorable person. He pursued his profession in a relentless pursuit of facts and the publication of facts with no desire for the limelight and with no tendency of any sort to be spectacular, and without allowing at any moment in his long career any shadow to fall over the integrity and honor of his character. I think I speak for all of you when I say we sadly miss him. I think he stands for the ideal of the newspaper correspondent.

[1] Mr. Hulen was killed on July 12 in India in an airplane accident.

Twenty-eighth Lend-Lease Report Transmitted to Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the Twenty-eighth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations.

This Report contains in Appendix V a "Report on Lend-Lease Fiscal Operations" prepared by the Treasury Department and submitted to the Secretary of State in accordance with Executive Order 9726. The period covered is from March 11, 1941 through March 31, 1949.

A settlement agreement was signed with Czechoslovakia on September 16, 1948, and appears in this Report as Appendix I.

Two agreements with France relating in part to Lend-Lease matters were signed on March 14, 1949. The texts appear in this Report as Appendices II and III. Under the terms of these agreements residual financial accounts and shipping matters arising out of Lend-Lease and other operations during and immediately after the war were finally agreed upon and settled in accordance with the principles set forth in the Memorandum of Understanding between France and the United States Regarding Settlement for Lend-Lease, Reciprocal Aid, Surplus War Property and Claims, signed on May 28, 1946, and published in the Twenty-third Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations.

A settlement of wartime claims and accounts between the United States and Canada was signed on March 14, 1949 by means of an agreement contained in an exchange of notes, which appear in this Report as Appendix IV.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 15, 1949.*

Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation for Fiscal 1950[1]

Of the funds appropriated to the President, $125,000,000 is estimated for continued assistance to the Republic of Korea. Legislation authorizing a program of assistance to Korea in the fiscal year 1950 is now before the Congress.

For the Department of State $30,800,000. This request includes $14,800,000 for the settlement of Swiss war damage claims; and $12,830,000 for international information and educational activities, the major part of which is for the construction and improvement of facilities for international radio broadcasting. Estimates of $3,150,000 are submitted to cover costs of retroactive

[1] Excerpts from a summary released to the press by the White House on July 12, 1949.

salary increases for Foreign Service employees, and to pay salary differentials to Foreign Service Staff Officers and employees serving at posts at which extraordinarily difficult living conditions exist. The sum of $200,000 is requested for the proposed International Claims Commission for expenses in connection with the settlement of claims of the United States Government and American nationals against foreign governments, involving property which has been nationalized or otherwise expropriated.

Budget for National Defense and International Aid

Excerpt From an Address of the President [1]

If we examine the items in the budget, we see, in dollar figures, the magnitude of the task which confronts this Nation in protecting the cause of peace and freedom. Over three-fourths of the budget is due to international events. Less than one-fourth arises from the domestic functions of the Government.

Let me explain to you why this is so.

The total of the whole budget today is about 42 billion dollars. Of this total, 32 billion dollars is the result either of past wars or our efforts to prevent another war. Three big items make up this 32 billion dollars.

The first is the national defense. That accounts for over 14 billion dollars. The armed services, at the start of this year, wanted a much bigger sum than that, but I cut it down to the minimum necessary for our protection and for the preservation of peace in this troubled world. It is expensive to keep up the forces necessary to prevent war, but in the long run it could be a lot more expensive not to have them.

The second big item is the cost of our international programs. They will cost this year about 7 billion dollars, and they are worth every penny of it. This sum includes the cost of the European recovery program and our occupation responsibilities. These programs have kept Western Europe out of the hands of the communists, and are helping to restore the economic and social strength of the free nations. If we were to cut these programs, it would weaken our efforts to bring about peace. That is a risk we must not take.

These two items, national defense and international aid, add up to 21 billion dollars—more than half the budget. These are the expenditures we are making to prevent future wars. If anybody thinks it extravagant to maintain the peace, let him remember that it cost us not 21 billion dollars a year but 100 billion dollars a year to conduct the last war.

I do not believe that our defense and international expenditures will have to remain at their present high level indefinitely. I hope that they may be reduced as our program for peace takes effect. But, as of today, I regard these expenditures as the most valuable insurance we can take out against the enormous expense and the terrible loss of another war.

[1] Delivered over the radio from the White House on July 13, 1949, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

Venezuela: "Little Venice" of South America—*Continued from page 87*

per hectare, or about $1.50 per acre. In spite of this fact, the government is doing an excellent job in maintaining the works. In some cases it was found that the canals and laterals were of inadequate size because of failure to anticipate the peak demands of crops for water. This is not an uncommon error and corrections can be made at a nominal cost.

I prepared individual reports and recommendations for equipment and operation organizations for the consideration of the "Direccion de Obras de Riego." These reports summarized my analyses of canal and lateral capacity requirements and made recommendations on means of making improvements. I also prepared an outline for drainage studies in an area of valuable lands which are highly impregnated with salts. This is a particularly interesting matter because it demonstrates the farsightedness reclamation of lands susceptible of irrigation.

It was my impression that the Venezuelans look upon technicians from the United States with considerable respect and wish to adopt our methods in so far as possible. I also found them not lacking in ingenuity in utilizing native plants and trees in erosion and sediment-control works. For example, a nursery has been developed for mahogany trees which will be transplanted to watershed areas for erosion control and utilized as a source of lumber of which there is a scarcity in the northern part of the country.

I left Venezuela with the feeling that my efforts were very much appreciated and that my recommendations would be given full consideration and probably would be carried out.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Air Force Mission to Colombia. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1893. Pub. 3470. 12 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Colombia—Signed at Washington Feb. 21, 1949; entered into force Feb. 21, 1949.

Biographic Register of the Department of State, April 1, 1949. Pub. 3471. 423 pp. $1.50 (paper cover).

Biographies of Department (including U.S. Mission to United Nations) and Foreign Service personnel.

Establishment of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1895. Pub. 3473. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Other Governments—Formulated at Baguio Feb. 26, 1948; entered into force Nov. 9, 1948.

Potatoes: Control of Exports from Canada to the United States. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1896. Pub. 3474. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington Nov. 23, 1948; entered into force Nov. 23, 1948.

Economic Cooperation With France Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1897. Pub. 3475. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreements between the United States and France Amending Agreement of June 28, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Paris Sept. 21 and Oct. 8, 1948; entered into force Oct. 8, 1948; and exchange of notes signed at Paris Nov. 17 and 20, 1948; entered into force Nov. 20, 1948.

Headquarters of the United Nations: Loan for Construction and Furnishing. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1899. Pub. 3477. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the United Nations—Signed at Lake Success, New York, Mar. 23, 1948; entered into force Aug. 30, 1948.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1888. Pub. 3482. 8 pp. 5¢.

Between the United States and Other Governments, Second Protocol of Rectifications to the Agreement of October 30, 1947—signed at Geneva Sept. 14, 1948; entered into force Sept. 14, 1948.

Report of the Joint Brazil–United States Technical Commission, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, February 7, 1949. International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 5. Pub. 3487. 321 pp. $1.00.

Analysis of the factors in Brazil which tend to promote or retard its economic development.

National Commission News, April–May 1949. Pub. 3494. 14 pp. 10¢ a copy; $1 a year domestic, $1.35 a year foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Foreign Service List, April 1, 1949. Pub. 3496. 110 pp. 30¢ a copy; $1.50 a year domestic, $2 a year foreign.

Includes the posts of assignment, the index of persons, and the geographic index.

The "Point Four" Program. Foreign Affairs Outline no. 21. Pub. 3498. 6 pp. Free.

Discussion of the philosophy, objectives, practical aspects of the Point Four program and current programs of cooperative technical assistance.

Diplomatic List, May 1949. Pub. 3504. 158 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

The Current Situation in Germany. European and British Commonwealth Series 7. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3506. 4 pp. 5¢.

Address by Secretary Acheson made before the American Society of Newspaper Publishers on April 28, 1949.

The U.S. Military Assistance Program. Foreign Affairs Outline no. 22. Pub. 3507. 7 pp. Free.

Gives the background of the United States policy and details of the military aid program.

Economic Policy and the ITO Charter. Economic Cooperation Series 19. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3511. 5 pp. Free.

Address by Secretary Acheson made before the National Convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on May 3, 1949.

Documents and State Papers, June 1949. Pub. 3525. 74 pp. 30¢.

With this issue, *Documents and State Papers* is being discontinued and is being combined with the BULLETIN beginning with the issue of July 4.

The Bonn Constitution: Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany. European and British Commonwealth Series 8. Pub. 3526. 52 pp. 15¢.

The text of the constitution is the agreed Anglo-American translation.

The Diplomatic List, June 1949. Pub. 3531. 159 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

Essential Elements of Lasting Peace. General Foreign Policy Series 12. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3553. 3 pp. Free.

Address delivered in Little Rock, Ark., by President Truman on June 11, 1949.

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THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

by Vernon McKay

During the 48 meetings of its 9-week fourth ession, held at Lake Success from January 24 to March 25, 1949, the United Nations Trusteeship Council adopted 40 resolutions [1] concerning the ten rust territories and the 17 million people under its upervision. A full agenda and a number of proedural snarls made the fourth session the longest hus far held. The Council completed its first eneral examination of five trust territories, dealt vith 30 petitions, undertook a preliminary examiation of the report of its first visiting mission to East Africa, and reached decisions on several aditional problems. At the end of the fourth sesion, only two of the ten trust territories, Nauru nd the Pacific Islands, were still unexamined.

TUDY OF WEST AFRICA

Although the Council devoted considerable atention to Western Samoa, Ruanda-Urundi, and anganyika, the main area of concentration at the ourth session was the humid, tropical region of Vest Africa lying just north of the equator. The our trust territories in this area—British Camroons, British Togoland, French Cameroons, and rench Togoland—are the homeland of approxiiately 5 million Africans. Formerly united in ie two German colonies of Kamerun and ogo, these four territories were divided between ie British and the French at the end of World Var I.

While many similarities mark these West Afrin countries, they are at the same time lands of ntrast. They contain peoples of many languages and customs, including highly educated Christians in the coastal towns, primitive tribesmen in the pagan interior, and Africans of Moslem culture in the north. Primarily an agricultural people who raise their own food, the West Africans now produce for export a number of tropical rain-forest crops including rubber, cocoa beans, hardwoods, palm kernels and palm oil, and bananas.

A unique sight in the widely varied scenery of the four trust territories is the Cameroon Mountain, which rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 13,350 feet within 14 miles of the British Cameroons coast—a volcano which was in active eruption as recently as 1922. Debunscha, on the southwestern side of the mountain, had 494 inches of rain in 1946.[2] It is one of the wettest places in the world. In contrast, the Sudan area in the northern section of the Cameroons usually has less than 30 inches of rain a year. Rain falls in West Africa when it is summer at Lake Success; the winter months are a long and often difficult dry season.

MEMBERSHIP

The 12 council representatives who tackled trust-territory problems in this area were presided over by Ambassador Liu Chieh of China, who served as President. When Ambassador Liu Chieh was absent, Vice President Sir Alan C. M. Burns, of the United Kingdom, took the chair.

[1] U.N. doc. T/328.

[2] *Report on the Administration of the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the year 1947* (London, H.M.S.O., 1948), pp. 1–3.

The remaining representatives were:

J. D. L. Hood	Australia
Pierre Ryckmans	Belgium
Alberto Canas Escalante	Costa Rica
Ambassador Roger Garreau	France
Abdullah Bakr	Iraq
Ambassador Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico
Sir Carl A. Berendsen	New Zealand
Judge Jose D. Ingles	Philippines
Aleksander A. Soldatov	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Ambassador Francis B. Sayre	United States[3]

During its discussions, the Council benefited from the participation of a number of special representatives, officials from the trust territories under consideration. Governor J. H. Cedile answered questions on French Togoland, Charles-Marie Watier on French Cameroons, D. A. F. Shute on British Cameroons, D. A. Sutherland on British Togoland, F. J. H. Grattan on Western Samoa, and Sir George R. Sandford on Tanganyika. Representatives of six specialized agencies of the United Nations also attended some of the Council's meetings.[4]

The membership of the Trusteeship Council, in accordance with article 86 (*c*) of the United Nations Charter, "is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not." At the fourth session the six administering members were Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States; the six nonadministering members were China and the Soviet Union, which are permanent members, and Costa Rica, Iraq, Mexico, and the Philippines, which are elected for 3-year terms by the General Assembly. The terms of Iraq and Mexico expire in 1949, and those of Costa Rica and the Philippines in 1950.

DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL

The Council's work was impeded by numerous tie votes in which the six administering members lined up on one side of a proposal and the six nonadministering members on the other. In such instances, in accordance with the Council's rules of procedure,[5] a second vote was taken after a brief recess. The cleavage between the two sides, however, was so sharp at the fourth session that the second ballot was almost a useless formality.

Despite this difficulty, the members of the Council were able to agree upon many forward-looking and constructive recommendations. The three principal functions of the Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, are (1) to examine annual reports on the trust territories submitted by the administering authorities on the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the Council, (2) to accept and examine in consultation with the administering authority oral or written petitions concerning the trust territories, and (3) to send periodic visiting missions to the trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority. On the basis of these detailed examinations the Trusteeship Council, like the Permanent Mandates Commission, makes recommendations to the administering authorities with the aim of promoting the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territories. The Council submits its own annual report to the General Assembly, where the work of the Council is regularly reviewed in the Fourth Committee.

Reports of the Administering Authorities

Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, of the United States delegation, on February 25 opened the general discussion of the five annual reports submitted by the administering authorities. Repeating a remark he had made at the third session, Ambassador Sayre commented that the Council's report to the General Assembly could "gain strength through brevity."[6]

The United States delegation hoped that the Council would limit its conclusions and recommendations to a small number of major problems, thus giving the administering authorities specific and practicable goals to work toward during the coming year. This hope was unrealized, however, for each delegation had observations, conclusions, and recommendations which it wished to include in the report. The Council consequently adopted 15 conclusions and recommendations concerning the British Cameroons, 14 on British Togoland, 24 on

[3] In addition to Ambassador Sayre, the U.S. delegation was composed of Deputy Representative Benjamin Gerig and Advisers Vernon McKay and William L. Yeomans.

[4] U.N. doc. T/262.

[5] U.N. doc. T/1/Rev. 1.

[6] U.N. doc. T/P.V. 142.

French Cameroons, 20 on French Togoland, and 11 on Western Samoa. In addition the report to the General Assembly contains a long section of comments and observations by individual representatives on each territory. In the drafting committee the administering members had attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the inclusion of these individual observations in the report. They believed that it was proper to include in the report to the Assembly only those conclusions and recommendations adopted by majority vote. Individual observations, they pointed out, were available in the Council's records.

BRITISH CAMEROONS

Adopted on March 25 by a vote of 8 to 0, the Council's report to the Assembly on the annual report on the British Cameroons made 15 recommendations to the administering authority to improve the political, economic, social, and educational life of the inhabitants.[7]

In the political field the Council recommended that the administering authority consider the possibility of establishing as soon as practicable such democratic reforms as would eventually give the people the right of suffrage and an increasing degree of participation in the executive, legislative, and judicial organs of government preparatory to self-government or independence. With regard to economic advancement, the Council was primarily concerned with the operations of the Cameroons Development Corporation, a government corporation which administers "for the use and common benefit of the inhabitants" certain lands formerly owned by Germans. In particular the Council recommended that the administering authority consider the possibility of shortening the period of 35 years during which, under present arrangements, the earnings of the corporation are partly employed to liquidate the purchase price of the lands. In the sphere of social advancement, the Council adopted a number of recommendations on the abolition of child marriage, the raising of wages and standards of living, the abolition of corporal punishment, the halting of deportation of indigenous inhabitants, and the increase of medical and health facilities. In the educational field, the Council urged the administering authority to press forward vigorously in its efforts to develop and increase educational facilities, particularly in the Northern Provinces.

The Council found that the examination of conditions in the British Cameroons was complicated by the fact that the trust territory was integrated for administrative purposes with the neighboring British territory of Nigeria. As a result, the Council recommended that, pending a final solution of the question of this administrative arrangement, the administering authority institute measures such as budgetary autonomy for the trust territory and provide more precise and separate data on its administration.

BRITISH TOGOLAND

The Council's report on British Togoland was adopted on March 25 by a vote of 9 to 0.[8] Since administrative arrangements and general conditions in British Togoland are similar to those in the British Cameroons, the Council's 14 conclusions and recommendations to the administering authority were largely identical with those adopted for the latter territory. By a vote of 8 to 2 the Council did add one recommendation to those already adopted by its drafting committee of the whole. Introduced by the representative of the Philippines, this proposal, as amended and adopted, recommended that the administering authority "review from time to time its policy with respect to the cocoa industry to the end that the cocoa producer may get the most direct benefits out of his cocoa produce." Cocoa beans are the main export in British Togoland. This was the only recommendation which the Council added to any of the five territorial reports formulated by its drafting committee of the whole.

FRENCH CAMEROONS

The two annual reports submitted by France reveal many differences between British and French policy in West Africa. The Council's report on the French Cameroons was adopted on March 25 by a vote of 7 to 0.[9]

Of its 24 conclusions and recommendations, 8 cover the subject of political advancement. The Council commended France for taking steps to

[7] U.N. doc. T/SR 164, p. 14. For text of report as adopted by the drafting committee, see U.N. doc. T/286.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 20. For text of report as adopted by the drafting committee, see U.N. doc. T/287.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 35. For text of report, as adopted by the drafting committee, see U.N. doc. T/277.

bring about universal suffrage and for establishing a representative assembly in the territory. The Council welcomed the assurance that the inhabitants would have the right at the appropriate time to determine for themselves whether they should remain in the French Union or assume a status of independence outside the Union. The administering authority was also commended for abolishing in 1946 the *indigénat*, a system under which administrative officers, rather than judges, sentenced Africans to fines or imprisonment for certain offenses. The administering authority was asked, however, to intensify its efforts to bring about greater participation of the indigenous population in responsible posts in the administrative and judicial services.

The Council expressed greater concern about economic conditions in the territory and recommended that the administering authority do everything in its power, by making grants and loans or giving other forms of assistance, to encourage and enable Africans to take a full part in industrial development. It also noted with concern that wage rates were frequently low and sometimes did not exceed the minimum subsistence level and recommended that the administering authority carry out a special study of wages and standards of living and take all possible measures to raise them. At the same time the Council expressed its appreciation for the administering authority's 10-year plan to improve economic and social conditions.

In the social field, the Council passed recommendations concerning the movement of population in the trust territory, the implementation of the administration's policy of eliminating racial discrimination, the enactment of suitable labor legislation, the need for doctors and nurses, and the prison system.

With regard to educational advancement, the Council commended the administering authority for establishing free public schools, but expressed the opinion that "the development of public education, permanent literacy, and higher education should be further intensified." The administering authority was also urged to study the possibility of relaxing the requirement of a knowledge of the French language for a holder of public office.

FRENCH TOGOLAND

By a vote of 6 to 6 the Trusteeship Council failed to adopt the report of its drafting committee on French Togoland.[10] The drafting committee's 20 conclusions and recommendations on French Togoland were very similar to those already adopted for the French Cameroons report. The Council's failure to approve a report on French Togoland, therefore, was not caused by any controversy over conclusions and recommendations. It was the result of a complicated procedural dispute which arose out of the action of the French and Soviet delegations. The French delegation, in protest against a number of sweeping Soviet allegations included in the individual observations in the report, submitted certain observations which in strong language contradicted the Soviet views. The Soviet representative then announced that if the Council decided to include these French observations in the report, he wished to formulate a number of counterobservations. However, when the nonadministering members voted against the French observations they failed to pass by a 6 to 6 ballot.[11]

The Council then voted on part II of the drafting committee's report, which contained the individual Soviet observations to which the French objected. This time it was the six administering authorities who voted "no," thereby rejecting part II and striking all individual observations out of the report. In retaliation the nonadministering authorities then united in voting down 6 to 6 the report as a whole since it contained only parts I and III.[12] In this connection, it should be noted that on the preceding day, March 24, the Council had voted 9 to 1 to reverse the order of parts II and III in the reports. In the future, part II will be the "Conclusions and Recommendations of the Council", and part III the "Observations of Individual Representatives." Part I is an "Outline of General Conditions as stated in the report of the Administering Authority and by the Special Representative." This change had been made as part of a compromise over the disagreement as to whether individual observations should be included in the Council's report. A further element in this compromise is contained in a statement by the President that the new part III could include "any counterobservations or corrections that members might deem necessary for accuracy . . .

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 37. For text of report, as adopted by the drafting committee, see U.N. doc. T/278.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

even if they were not immediately available, so long as the Council decided to include them."[13]

From what occurred later, it appears that the nonadministering members interpreted this statement to mean that both the French and the Soviet counterobservations would be included. In a previous vote on the French Cameroons report, however, the administering members voted to reject the Soviet counterobservations after the nonadministering members agreed to admit the French observations. It was this action which caused the nonadministering members to reject the French counterobservations on the French Togoland report, thereby precipitating the impasse which resulted in the Council's failure to adopt this report.

The administering members had a different understanding of the compromise. They had agreed to leave individual observations in the report, but felt that in return the nonadministering members should allow an administering authority, in this case France, to answer charges against its administration.

WESTERN SAMOA

The annual report of New Zealand on the administration of Western Samoa was more favorably received in the Trusteeship Council than the reports on the four West African trust territories. By a vote of 10 to 0, the Trusteeship Council on March 25 adopted 11 conclusions and recommendations expressing general satisfaction with conditions in the territory.[14] The Council recommended that consideration be given to the introduction of a system of universal suffrage in Western Samoa, that secondary industries be introduced in the territory, and that an over-all plan of economic development be elaborated. It requested the administering authority to intensify efforts to increase health and educational facilities.

SOVIET RECOMMENDATIONS

During the Council's voting on the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the drafting committee of the whole, the Soviet representative sought to add to each of the five reports a number of recommendations which had already been voted down in the drafting committee. All of these recommendations, 24 in number, were voted down by the Council. The six administering authorities voted against every Soviet proposal. On only one of the 24 proposals did a nonadministering authority vote with the six administering authorities. On seven of the Soviet recommendations, however, the other five nonadministering authorities joined the Soviet Union, thus making the vote 6 to 6.[15] The nonadministering vote on the remaining 16 proposals varied.

Decisions on Petitions

At its fourth session the Council adopted resolutions on 30 petitions for the improvement of conditions in trust territories. The Council took action on two of these petitions, decided that no action was called for on eleven others, and postponed action on the remainder. Two petitions were referred to the 1949 Visiting Mission to West Africa for further investigation. The two petitions on which the Council made recommendations to the administering authority were from Asians in the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. Alleging that Belgian authorities practiced racial discrimination against Asians, both petitioners protested against administrative orders to deport them from the trust territory. The first petitioner, Mulla Atta Muhammad, stated that he had been a resident of Ruanda-Urundi for over 16 years,[16] and the second petitioner, Mussa Kackesset bin Kalimba, asserted that he had lived in the territory for 8 years.[17] The observations of the administering authority, however, made it clear that both petitioners had been convicted by competent courts for offenses against the law.

The Council nonetheless recommended that the case of Mulla Atta Muhammad "be re-examined by the administering authority in a spirit of leniency," and that the case of Mussa Kackesset bin Kalimba "be re-examined with a view to determining whether it would be possible to allow the petitioner to return to the trust territory."[18] Moreover, at the thirty-eighth meeting on March 18, 1949, the Council by a vote of 7 to 0 adopted a joint Philippines-United Kingdom resolution recommending that Belgium "should review all

[13] U.N. doc. T/SR 162, p. 14.

[14] U.N. doc. T/SR 164, p. 14. For text of report, as adopted by the drafting committee, see U.N. doc. T/275.

[15] In certain instances the Soviet representative submitted the same proposals for different territories. For text of these Soviet recommendations, see U.N. doc. T/SR 163, pp. 2–11 and T/SR 164, pp. 7–10, 23–24.

[16] U.N. doc. T/PET. 3/2.

[17] U.N. doc. T/PET. 3/10.

[18] U.N. doc. T/328, pp. 13–14, 17.

legislation involving racial discrimination, particularly the law on residents, land tenure, alcoholic beverages, firearms, and the penitentiary system." [19]

In reply to a question of the Philippine delegate, the President stated that every petitioner who had raised the question of racial discrimination would be furnished a copy of this resolution. The Council also adopted, on March 23, a resolution urging the United Kingdom to further intensify its efforts to eliminate racial discrimination in Tanganyika.[20]

The Council's work on petitions at the fourth session was complicated by the fact that 22 petitions were included in the report of the Visiting Mission to East Africa. Since the final examination of this report was postponed until the fifth session, the problem arose as to whether or not petitions concerning Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika should also be postponed. In general the Council decided to take action on personal requests in those petitions included in the report of the Visiting Mission, but to postpone action on general questions raised by the petitioners.

Report of Visiting Mission to East Africa

Considerable disagreement arose at the fourth session over the action to be taken by the Council on the report of the Visiting Mission to East Africa. At the opening meeting, on January 24, the representative of the United Kingdom reserved the right to move at a later date that the examination of this report be deferred until the fifth session. The President, however, commented that in the interests of the international trusteeship system, reports of visiting missions should be considered at the earliest possible time. He also pointed out that a number of petitions examined by the visiting mission were included in the report and were now on the Council's agenda. After other delegates had expressed conflicting opinions on this question, the Council decided to accept the suggestion of the United States delegation that the Council should give the report of the visiting mission a preliminary examination during the fourth session and withhold its conclusions until the fifth session.[21] The observations of the administering authorities concerning the report might then be available to the Council. In accordance with this decision, the Council therefore gave the report a preliminary examination during eight meetings between March 3 and March 18.[22]

Selection of Visiting Mission to West Africa

In keeping with its practice of sending a visiting mission to certain trust territories each year, the Council selected four members of a 1949 visiting mission to the four trust territories in West Africa. When the United Kingdom and French representatives pointed out that the only period during which the territories to be visited could be traversed without difficulty was the dry season beginning in November, the Council decided that the visiting mission should leave for West Africa at the beginning of November 1949.[23]

After a statement from the Secretariat that the budget did not allow for more than four members of the visiting mission, Sir Alan Burns, of the United Kingdom, nominated Ambassador Sayre, of the United States, Ambassador Nervo, of Mexico, Mr. Ryckmans, of Belgium, and Mr. Khalidy, of Iraq. Mr. Soldatov, of the Soviet Union, then requested that his country be represented on the Mission. When Ambassador Nervo declined the nomination, Sir Alan, supported by the representative of France, suggested Mr. Noriega of Mexico. Ambassador Nervo explained that Mr. Noriega would also be unable to go but that, if the Council wished, the Mexican delegation would consult its government about the possibility of suggesting another Mexican for appointment to the Mission.[24] The election was then postponed until March 21, when Mr. Soldatov asserted that as the representative of France seemed to object to having a Soviet national on the mission, the U. S. S. R. would not insist on its candidacy. The Council then voted 10 to 0 to elect Ambassador Sayre or Benjamin Gerig, of the United States, Mr. Ryckmans, of Belgium, Mr. Khalidy, of Iraq, and Mr. Abelardo Ponce Sotelo, of Mexico.[25]

[19] U.N. doc. T/P.V. 154.
[20] U.N. doc. T/328, pp. 9–10.
[21] U.N. doc. T/SR 126, pp. 6–10.
[22] U.N. docs. T/SR 147, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157.
[23] U.N. doc. T/SR 121, p. 16.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[25] U.N. doc. T/SR 158, p. 18.

Problems Referred to the Council by the General Assembly

The agenda of the fourth session also included three matters referred to the Council in resolutions adopted on November 18, 1948, by the third session of the General Assembly.

INVESTIGATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIONS

Resolution 224 (III) of the General Assembly called upon the Trusteeship Council to investigate customs, fiscal, or administrative unions or federations between trust territories and adjacent territories under the sovereignty or control of administering authorities. The Assembly asked the Council to recommend safeguards to preserve the distinct political status of the trust territories and to request whenever appropriate advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice as to whether such unions are within the scope of, and compatible with, the stipulations of the Charter and the terms of the Trusteeship agreements as approved by the General Assembly.[26]

To deal with this resolution the Council on January 27 appointed a six-member committee on administrative unions made up of France, New Zealand, the United States, China, Mexico, and the U.S.S.R. This committee was asked to "draw up an outline of the various aspects of the problem." By March 1 it was to give the Council the documentation then available and was to "report to the Council not later than three weeks before the opening of the Fifth Session." [27] On March 8, 9, and 10 the Council discussed the committee's Interim Report on available documentation.[28]

The United Kingdom brought a special representative, Sir George Sandford, to answer questions on the East Africa Inter-Territorial Organization which links Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika in an administrative union. The Interim Report also presented material on administrative arrangements affecting British Cameroons, British Togoland, Ruanda-Urundi, and New Guinea. On March 10, the Council authorized the committee to study "the relations between France and the territories under French administration, as defined by French laws within the French Union." [29] Holding a total of 17 meetings, the committee continued to discuss the problem after the close of the fourth session. On June 3, it adopted a report which was a factual study of the problem and did not commit the delegations represented on the committee to any position on the question of administrative unions.[30] Any decisions and recommendations to be made were left to the Council.

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT IN TRUST TERRITORIES

A second of the three General Assembly resolutions of November 18, 1948, Resolution 225 (III), recommended that the Trusteeship Council request the administering authorities to intensify their efforts to increase educational facilities and to study the financial and technical implications of expanding higher education, "including the possibility of establishing in 1952 and maintaining a university." [31] Since this Assembly recommendation proved to be a controversial subject, it was dealt with in two parts. On February 9, by a vote of 10 to 0, the Council adopted a resolution transmitting to the administering authorities all the Assembly recommendations except that regarding the university.[32] To deal with the university problem, the United States delegation on February 17 submitted a draft resolution for the appointment of a four-member committee to make a preliminary study.[33] The delegate of the United Kingdom informed the Council that British, French, and Belgian representatives would discuss educational problems in their trust territories at a meeting in Paris in March. He felt that the proposed committee could do little good. If the Council wanted information regarding the proposal to establish a university, he suggested, the three powers could be asked to give it special attention at the Paris meeting.[34]

On March 1, however, the United States draft resolution was adopted 9 to 1 with two amendments accepted by Ambassador Sayre.[35]

The Committee was authorized to consult with the administering authorities concerned and "to call upon such technical experts as it may find desirable." It was asked to "report its findings and any recommendations before the end of the Fifth

[26] U.N. doc. A/810, pp. 86–87.
[27] U.N. doc. T/328, p. 25.
[28] U.N. doc. T/263.
[29] U.N. doc. T/328, pp. 25–26.
[30] U.N. doc. T/338.
[31] U.N. doc. A/810, pp. 87–88.
[32] U.N. doc. T/SR 129, pp. 25–26.
[33] U.N. doc. T/259.
[34] U.N. doc. T/SR 145, p. 12.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Session."[36] On March 25 the Council selected the United States, Australia, Mexico, and the Philippines for membership on this committee.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A third Assembly Resolution, 223 (III), was disposed of more easily. It asked the Council to take into account the comments and suggestions made by Assembly members during the discussion of the Trusteeship Council's report to the Assembly. In accordance with this resolution, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a document listing comments made in the Assembly on the report of the Trusteeship Council.[37]

By a vote of 5 to 0 the Council adopted a resolution taking note of these comments and suggestions and agreeing to take them into account during the consideration of agenda items to which they were related.[38]

Strategic Trust Territories

After the Security Council approved on April 2, 1947, the strategic area trusteeship agreement submitted by the United States for the former Japanese mandated Pacific islands, the Marshalls, Marianas, and Carolines, the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council held consultations on a working relationship for the supervision of this Trust Territory in accordance with paragraph 3 of article 83 of the Charter. On March 24 the Trusteeship Council adopted by a vote of 8 to 0 a procedure agreed upon with the Security Council which authorized the Trusteeship Council to undertake in strategic areas under trusteeship the examination of annual reports and petitions and the sending of visiting missions, subject to the terms of the relevant trusteeship agreement.[39] This action prepared the way for the Trusteeship Council to examine at its fifth session the Trust Territory of the Pacific islands under the administration of the United States. The United States had already submitted to the Secretary-General its first annual report on the Trust Territory.[40]

[36] U.N. doc. T/328, pp. 26–27.
[37] U.N. doc. T/230.
[38] U.N. doc. T/SR 121, p. 12.
[39] U.N. doc. T/SR 162, p. 13.
[40] *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (OP NAV–P22–100E), U.S. Navy Department, Washington, D.C., July 1948.

Relations With Specialized Agencies

Means of collaboration between the Trusteeship Council and the specialized agencies were discussed at the fourth session of the Trusteeship Council. Representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, and the International Labor Organization appeared at the Council table to make statements on this matter. On March 1 the Council adopted by a vote of 8 to 0 a draft resolution introduced by the Philippine delegation inviting the specialized agencies "to study the annual reports on the administration of trust territories with a view to making such observations and suggestions as they may consider proper in order to facilitate the work of the Trusteeship Council." The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to "keep in close touch with the specialized agencies with a view to seeking their counsel and assistance in regard to matters with which they were concerned."[41]

Rules of Procedure and Provisional Questionnaire

The Council also devoted attention to the problem of revising its rules of procedure and the provisional questionnaire which it submits to administering authorities as a basis for providing information in the annual reports. On January 26 it agreed to revise rule 72 in order to give the administering authority 6 months instead of 4 months in which to submit annual reports to the Council. Since the Council had decided earlier to make summary rather than verbatim records its official records, it also decided to strike out the word "verbatim" from rules 32, 46, 47, and 48.[42]

During this discussion of rules of procedure, the Council adopted four suggestions to guide the Secretariat in dealing with petitions. The first suggestion concerned confidential petitions. The Council decided that a petitioner asking for confidential treatment of his petition should be informed that normally his identity should be made known. If the petitioner still insisted that his name be withheld, the petition might be referred to the Council's *ad hoc* committee on petitions. If the committee felt that the subject matter should be considered, it would transmit the petition to the Council but withhold the name of the petitioner.

[41] U.N. doc. T/328, p. 2.
[42] U.N. doc. T/SR 119, p. 9.

The second suggestion adopted dealt with lengthy petitions. It was decided that the Secretariat should first circulate a summary of a lengthy petition. The original petition should be circulated only if so decided by the Council, or by the President during the recess of the Council. The time limit for observations on petitions by the administering authorities was the subject of a third suggestion adopted by the Council. It was agreed, in order to allow more time to the administering authorities in the formulation of observations, to send copies of petitions received by the Secretary-General to the local authorities concerned as well as to the metropolitan governments.[43] The fourth suggestion discussed by the Council concerned anonymous petitions. It was decided that anonymous communications sent in as petitions should not be circulated as unrestricted documents, unless the Council decided otherwise.[44]

The Council devoted several meetings to a long discussion precipitated by an unsuccessful Soviet proposal for a new rule which would have enabled representatives of the indigenous population to participate in the Council's examination of annual reports. Modified versions of this proposal were introduced by the representatives of the Philippines, China, and Mexico, but all were defeated.[45]

On March 25 the Council decided to defer the revision of its questionnaire until the fifth session.

PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

Conscious of the growing length of its discussions, the Council attempted at the fourth session to devise a time-saving procedure which would also improve the quality of its examination of annual reports. Previously the examination of reports had been conducted by oral questioning. By a vote of 8 to 1 the Council decided on January 25 to authorize its members to submit written questions which were to be classified by the Secretariat and transmitted to the special representative from each trust territory who appeared at the Council table during the examination of the report. Under this system, the special representative was required to submit written answers to these written questions. In order to reassure certain representatives who feared the plan might restrict the examination of the annual reports, the President pointed out that members might still ask the special representative oral questions.

At the fourth session, therefore, the procedure for examination of each annual report on the trust territories included seven steps: (1) an opening statement by the special representative; (2) the submission of written questions to the special representative; (3) the submission of written answers by the special representative; (4) supplementary oral questioning of the special representative; (5) general discussion of the annual report, including the expression by Council members of their individual observations, conclusions, and recommendations; (6) preparation by a drafting committee of the whole of separate reports on each trust territory, (7) approval by the Council of the drafting committee's reports for incorporation in the report of the Council to the General Assembly.[46]

It is perhaps too early to decide whether the new procedure will accomplish its objectives of saving time and improving the quality of the Council's work. During the examination of the report on the French Cameroons, the special representative submitted replies to 133 written questions, many of which had several parts. In addition, on February 10, 11, and 14, he answered more than 90 oral questions, some in several parts. The result was a detailed examination although the new procedure may not have saved time. There was little uniformity, moreover, in the conduct of Council members. The Soviet delegation, for example, submitted no written questions, but asked many oral questions of each special representative.

At the final meeting of the fourth session, on March 25, the Belgian representative proposed that written questions be submitted to the administering authority in the future through the Secretary-General as soon as possible after receipt of the annual reports. This change might speed up the Council's work. The President expressed the hope that members of the Council would follow the procedure proposed by the delegate of Belgium, but suggested that discussion of the proposal be postponed until the next session.[47]

New Type of Drafting Committee

In drafting reports to the Assembly on the trust territories of Ruanda-Urundi, New Guinea,

[43] U.N. doc. T/SR 122, pp. 5–10.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[45] U.N. docs. T/SR 122, 123, 124, 125. For text of Soviet proposal, see U.N. doc. T/235.
[46] U.N. doc. T/SR 118, pp. 3–14.
[47] U.N. doc. T/SR 164, p. 38.

and Tanganyika, the Council at its third session had employed small drafting committees of four members for each report. At its fourth session, however, the Council decided to form a drafting committee of the whole to prepare reports to the Assembly on each trust territory.[48] As a result, the 12 members of the Council, for three weeks during the month of March, met in the mornings as a drafting committee and in the afternoons at the Council table. This procedure gave every member of the Council an opportunity to express his view on each territory during the meetings of the drafting committee. The reports therefore took less time when they came before the Council for final adoption.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Despite controversies between administering and nonadministering members, the four sessions thus far held have demonstrated the Trusteeship Council's ability to improve conditions in the trust territories. As an agency which focuses world opinion on the problems of dependent peoples, the Council commands the attention of the administering authorities. Among constructive steps taken in response to Council recommendations are the granting of additional political rights to Western Samoans by New Zealand, and the beginning of steps to eliminate certain economic and cultural barriers dividing the Ewe people of French Togoland and British Togoland. Another promising development is the discussion of plans to improve higher educational facilities in the African trust territories, which took place at a conference of Belgian, British, and French representatives in Paris in March 1949.

The United States delegation has consistently endeavored to promote harmonious relations in the Council and to maintain a constructive, moderate position between the conflicting views of certain administering and nonadministering members. Other delegations have also expressed concern over the Council's tendency to split into two groups. As Ambassador Sayre remarked on February 3, "If the members of the Council sincerely desire to promote the progress of the population of the Trust Territories in an objective manner, they should not permit such a tendency to develop."[49]

[48] U.N. doc. T/SR 118, pp. 10, 13–14.

[49] U.N. doc. T/SR 125, p. 2.

The danger in such a split is well illustrated by the Council's failure to adopt a report on French Togoland. Perhaps the growing realization of this danger may lead, in future sessions, to a partial restoration of the atmosphere of harmony which characterized the Council's first session.

Resolution on Administrative Unions

U. N. doc. T/379
Adopted July 18, 1949

The Trusteeship Council,

HAVING RECEIVED General Assembly resolution 224 (III) of 18 November 1948,

HAVING ESTABLISHED in accordance with this resolution a Committee on administrative unions,

HAVING RECEIVED an interim report[1] and a report[2] from this Committee and having examined these reports at its fourth and fifth sessions;

Transmits to the General Assembly the report of the Committee, the replies of the administering authorities to questions prepared by the Committee[3] and other documentation collected by the Committee during its study;

Informs the General Assembly that in accordance with the penultimate paragraph of this resolution it will continue to study and examine the operation of existing or future administrative unions in all their aspects;

RECALLING that the General Assembly approved the Trusteeship Agreements upon the assurance of the Administering Powers that they do not consider the terms of the relevant articles in the Trusteeship Agreements "as giving powers to the Administering Authority to establish any form of political association between the Trust Territories respectively administered by them and adjacent territories which would involve annexation of the Trust Territories in any sense or would have the effect of extinguishing their status as Trust Territories",[4]

Notes the assurances by the Administering Authorities that the administrative arrangements under consideration do not extinguish the political identity of the Trust Territories;

Takes note of the assurances by the Administering Authorities that the administrative arrangements under consideration by the Council are not inconsistent with the objectives of the International Trusteeship System or with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements:

Decides that in order to safeguard the identity and status of the Trust Territories, the Council should continue to study during its regular examination of conditions in Trust Territories the effects of existing or proposed administrative unions on the political, economic, educational and social advancement of the inhabitants, on the status of the Trust Territories as such and on their separate development as distinct entities;

Requests the Administering Authorities concerned to make the fullest possible effort to furnish in their annual reports separate records, statistics, and other information on each Trust Territory in order to safeguard the effective exercise of the Council's supervisory functions.

[1] T/263.

[2] T/338, T/338/Add. 1.

[3] T/333, T/361/Add. 1.

[4] See *Official Records of the second part of the first session of the General Assembly*, Fourth Committee, part I, p. 300.

U.S. Report on Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

DISCUSSION IN THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Remarks by Ambassador Francis B. Sayre[1]

Mr. President, in opening the discussion of the first report submitted by my government on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, I should like to say just a word, if I may, as to the general nature of the problem before us.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, in physical and geographical characteristics, is unlike that of any other trust territory. The outstanding problem is one of immense distances by sea. From Tobi Island in the extreme west of the Carolines to Mili Island in the extreme east of the Marshalls is a distance of some 2,700 miles. The Trust Territory covers a sea area of some 3 million square miles—approximately as great as that of continental United States. In this vast archipelago lives a comparatively small population—not more than 53 thousand people—but widely scattered among some 64 different island groups.

Problems of transport and communication assume, therefore, a unique importance. Upon assured means of transport for island imports of living necessities and exports of copra and other island products, standards of living directly depend. Without assured means of transport and communication, schools cannot be established and coordinated and educational programs maintained; adequate sanitary standards cannot be enforced and disease successfully fought; social progress will be imperiled and emergency needs cannot be properly met. In other words, political, economic, educational, and social progress in this vast domain of scattered and far-flung islands is quite dependent upon adequate means of transportation and communication.

You see the physical nature of the task, then. It must be accomplished largely by means of ships and planes and barges and boats. In that sense it is essentially a maritime task, a sea job. It means the administration, not of a single land mass like Tanganyika or Togoland or the Cameroons, but of a multitude of far-flung islands, some large, some tiny, some mountainous with rugged scenery and considerable land areas, some low coral atolls, some with several thousand inhabitants, and others with only a few dozen, some characterized by a very primitive culture, others by a culture considerably more advanced.

The immense distances separating these various island populations make naturally for sharp diversities in language, in ways of living, in patterns of thought. Island groups separated through the centuries by great distances from each other are bound to develop diverse individual characteristics and peculiarities. As a result, as a study of the report makes clearly apparent, it is almost impossible to make generalizations applicable alike to all those island peoples. Each island people is a problem unto itself. Each island must be studied and understood individually. Also, as a result, the present natural loyalties and understandings of the people are distinctly local in character.

Nevertheless, all these island peoples have one general and common characteristic. They are likable. In spite of the succession of foreign rulers who have invaded their homes—Spanish, German, Japanese, and now American, each advancing new ideas of civilization—the people remain kindly, tolerant, patient of foreign ways, not resentful, but responsive and friendly. During my visit with them last month, everywhere I found unmistakable friendliness, a sincere appreciation

[1] Made on July 8, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

of American efforts and a ready response to the new vistas being opened up. I talked to the children in many of the schools and put questions to them; always I found them alert and eager and not slow of intellect. In the Teacher Training School at Truk and in the medical and nurses schools at Guam, I found again the same intellectual and friendly alertness. The people are to my mind of great promise.

The United States administration in setting out upon the task in hand seeks no financial gain or advantage for itself or its nationals. Under the trusteeship system—and I am sure I voice the thought of all of us—there is no room for colonial exploitation. The United States is seeking in every practicable way possible to assist the inhabitants in achieving through their own efforts a self-respecting position in the world and individual lives of increased personal dignity and broader individual opportunity.

During my recent trip to the Pacific Islands, I found in all the islands I visited faces turned toward the future and a prevailing atmosphere of hope. New things are astir. Directing and inspiring the work, under Admiral Radford, the High Commissioner, is Rear Admiral Leon S. Fiske, the Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, who, with his staff, is immediately responsible for the work. It makes me happy that he has been able to come to Lake Success, as the special representative of the United States, to make clear the picture and answer questions about the Trust Territory. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Admiral Fiske to the members of the Council. Mr. President, I suggest that as we now enter upon a discussion of the Trust Territory Admiral Fiske be invited to take a seat with us at the Council table.

Remarks by Rear Admiral Leon S. Fiske [2]

Mr. President and Members of the Trusteeship Council: It is a pleasure for me to meet the members of the Trusteeship Council as the United States special representative for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and to discuss with you some of the background and problems of the area.

Geographically, the islands present a series of incongruous figures. The total area contained within the perimeter of the islands is approximately the area of the United States—nearly three million square miles, of which, however, only 687 square miles are land, the rest being the extensive stretches of the Pacific Ocean separating the 96 distinct island groups. Of these 96 island units, 64 are inhabited; most of the rest are too small or lacking in resources to support a permanent population though they may be visited by neighbors from surrounding islands to gather coconuts, to fish, or to catch birds.

The islands constitute the major portion of Micronesia, literally, tiny islands. The name Micronesia distinguishes this area from Malaysia or Indonesia further west, Melanesia (black islands) to the south, and Polynesia (many islands) to the east. These distinctions are based not only on geography, but also on racial, linguistic, and ethnological factors.

The geology of the islands is very interesting. A vast submarine volcanic ridge stretches southward from Japan through the Bonins and Marianas, Yap, Palaus, and the southwest islands to the western edge of New Guinea. A branch from this ridge extends through the eastern Carolines. The highest peaks emerge from the ocean in the form of islands and island clusters. Along the east side of this ridge there are trenches with depths up to some 30,000 feet. On the west side of this ridge the depths range to 12,000 feet. The islands of the Trust Territory formed by this volcanic ridge are usually referred to as the high islands, as contrasted to the islands of coral, which are called the low islands. The Marianas are high islands; the Carolines contain both high and low islands; the Marshalls are all low islands.

The climate and weather of these islands are, in general, tropical and rainy, characterized by small seasonal changes of the various climatic factors. Both the temperature and barometric pressure are remarkably uniform throughout the year. The maximum temperature seldom ranges above 90° or below 70°. The relative humidity will vary from 85 percent to 75 percent. This humidity, plus the tropical temperature, combine to provide an area of heavy rainfall. Over 100 inches of rain per year is not uncommon.

The total indigenous population of the Trust Territory is approximately 52,000, primarily located on the seven principal island units of Saipan, Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, Kusaie and Majuro. In most of the island groups the people are relatively nongregarious, and are scattered in small settlements along the coast and to some extent in the interior of the islands, thus making visits from field officers to these individual people an arduous and time-consuming task. It has been difficult to determine the exact population. However, under United States administration, vital statistics are being kept and figures are being revised constantly. The density of the population does not present a serious problem at present, except on a few small islands. The shortage of arable land is particularly acute in parts of the eastern Carolines. For example, Pingelap has 685 people on a land area of a little over two thirds (0.676) of a square mile and Kapingamarangi has 511 people on one-half (0.521) square

[2] Made on July 7, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date. Admiral Fiske is Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Isles.

mile. The importance of this problem is intensified by the fact that traditionally and by force of circumstances the inhabitants are dependent to a great extent for their food upon agricultural products produced locally. This land problem is one that will shortly have to be faced by the administering agency, especially in view of the high survival and birth rate now in existence. Transferring parts of the population to less densely settled areas may well have to be considered in the forthcoming years. Fortunately, Ponape, Truk, the Palaus, and Marianas will accommodate tens of thousands of additional inhabitants in a good agricultural environment.

The people of these islands, separated as they are by vast distances and often living in inaccessible areas, have developed a number of local differences in physical characteristics, language, and customs. At least eight distinct cultural groups have developed, each with its own language. Several of these contain subdivisions which differ so widely it is a question whether some of them should not be considered as separate groups. Those eight are the Chamorros in the northern Marianas, the Palauans, the Yapese, the Trukese, the Ponapians, the Polynesians in Kapingamarangi and Hukmoro, the Kuseians, and the Marshallese. While there is visiting back and forth and several colonies of people from one group exist in areas predominately populated by another, each group tends strongly to preserve its own identity to an extent closely approximating a national continent. These separate groupings must be constantly borne in mind in considering the problems of the Territory. It is not as yet in any sense a cultural or social unit. Physically the average Micronesian is of medium stature—5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 5 inches for the males—with brown skin, straight to wavy hair, relatively little face and body hair, and rather high cheek bones. People in the western and central districts (Palaus, Ponape, and Truk) tend to have Mongoloid type characteristics. By contrast, those in the Marshalls to the east appear to resemble their Polynesian neighbors, with longer and narrower hands and faces and narrower noses and lips. Of these various combinations, which characterize the various island groups, there are many examples of intermediate mixtures.

The entire population of the islands are thought by scientists to have descended from canoe-voyaging immigrants who came from the marginal islands in Malaysia, possibly before the Christian era. Some may have made purposeful voyages of exploration, others were probably carried eastward by westerly winds and storms, or by the counter equatorial current which runs eastward throughout southern Micronesia. This Malaysian origin is clearly shown by the racial inheritance, language affiliations, and customs. It is also apparent from the useful plants and animals which the voyagers undoubtedly brought with them. The time of these migrations is obscure and even the islanders themselves have no clear knowledge of such migrations in their oral histories. Their myths and legends generally picture the people as originating in the areas they now occupy.

It takes very little imagination to picture the confused scene which existed in these islands upon their occupation by the United States. The conflicting and often diametrically opposed philosophies of the Spanish, the Germans, and the Japanese had been imposed on the native life in comparatively rapid succession. With each change of administration came new laws, new restrictions, and a different code of administrative principles; these changes and the effects of the war left the native mind confused, without loyalties, and certainly without ambition or initiative. It is easy to understand that, with these frequent uprootings of the accepted and the replanting of newer, untried philosophies, skepticism was the order of the day. With the inhabitants in this state of mind, ideas of industry, agriculture, transportation, and other sources of income were undeveloped and neglected. The people began to depend on foreign nationals who assumed control of the basic industries, and when the Orientals were repatriated and lifted from the economic scene, it left a vacuum which the inhabitants were not prepared to fill.

The Trust Territory is a land of anomalies and incongruities. Virtually any generalization concerning the peoples and conditions in the area has exceptions. A few people are highly educated. A few have surprising accumulations of wealth. Many have absorbed varying degrees of modern civilization. Predominantly, however, both the social and economic life of most of the inhabitants is organized on a clan, lineage, or extended family basis, each such group being largely self-sufficient, living close to nature and free of the complexities introduced by the industrial revolution. Under these conditions, the profit motive which stimulates action under a system of free enterprise, is looked upon with suspicion and disfavor and has little effect.

The Japanese added confusion to the normal easy tenor of the native existence by transplanting large numbers of inhabitants from their home islands to other areas. This was true of the Chamorros, about 250 of whom were moved from Saipan to Yap to act as labor supervisors and became an intermediate group working between the Japanese administrators and the less advanced Yapese. These displaced persons have recently voluntarily resettled on Tinian, an island adjacent to Saipan.

Educational problems were legion. Japanese

was the "lingua franca" of the islands. No textbooks existed in the native tongues. Under the Japanese, native instructors were not allowed to teach—they were merely glorified monitors—thus there were no trained staffs with which to reactivate an educational program. In addition, the schools and equipment had in most instances been destroyed by the war. Hence, the United States has been faced with building an educational program from the bottom up, including the restoration of school buildings, the training of teachers, and the printing and distribution of books and teaching aids. A curriculum had to be devised to fit the needs of the people and instructions issued to set the whole new educational system in motion.

During the Japanese regime, native agriculture suffered setbacks from which the inhabitants have not yet fully recovered. The Japanese took over the operation and management of the best lands and employed the Micronesians as laborers. Aside from copra production, agriculture was never an extensive source of income, but during the years prior to the war, the efforts of the local inhabitants degenerated into purely "subsistence farming." The breadfruit and banana trees, which required little attention, fortunately provided the bulk of the diet. The problems of rehabilitating devastated and neglected Japanese plantations, of reviving interest on the part of the inhabitants in commercial agricultural pursuits, of experiments in agronomy and plant selection have all been recognized and experienced personnel procured to provide the answers. In this connection it should be noted that a very intensive biological control program has been operating for approximately 2 years. This investigation into the control of injurious pests and insects by the importation of natural enemies was prompted by the very extensive damage done to the coconut trees by the coconut beetles. Wasps were brought by airplane from Zanzibar and the Malaysian peninsula in the hope that they would destroy the beetle grubs. A small beetle has been imported to counteract a scale which damages the breadfruit trees.

Another pest of the area is the giant African snail. This voracious destroyer, introduced by the Japanese, has damaged many of the crops upon which the local inhabitants depend. Breadfruit, papayas, vegetables of all kinds, in fact nearly all green foilage, fall to the appetite of this pest. It is a prolific breeder. Chemical measures of control have not proved entirely satisfactory due to the heavy rainfall. The importation of a small carniverous snail, thought to be capable of controlling the African snail, has been under study in Honolulu to determine whether it would accomplish the desired results without in turn becoming a pest. Controlled tests are being undertaken this summer.

All of these pests and many more, including mosquitoes and flies, are a problem which is constantly being attacked by quarantine officials, entomologists, and field scientists.

Another urgent problem faced by the civil administrators is the obviously important one of transportation. Before the war, the islanders enjoyed a great deal of freedom of movement through the media of their own outrigger sailing and paddle canoes. After the war, the islands were isolated because nearly all of their canoes had been destroyed. The administration is meeting the problem by furnishing surplus navy boat hulls to the inhabitants at a very nominal cost and assisting them to repair the boats and get them into operation. The canoe-building industry has been revived, and it is hoped that with some assistance from the administration, the islanders will eventually be able to transport the bulk of the copra, supplies, handicraft, and passengers now being carried in Navy bottoms within the territory.

Public health has received major attention from the administration. The inhabitants were found to be afflicted with many diseases. Yaws, intestinal parasites, skin infections and diseases, leprosy, and tuberculosis had made deep inroads into the general health level. With Navy doctors and corpsmen and indigenous nurses and laboratory technicians working often 15 to 18 hours a day and providing the islanders with every inducement to report for treatment and seeking out those who did not, the general health level is vastly improved. The incidence of yaws has been reduced from an estimated 90 percent to approximately 5 percent. A leprosarium has been established and a general health survey covering every inhabited island is now in progress, particularly to check on the exact extent of tuberculosis which is of great concern to the administration.

In the report submitted to the United Nations the administering authority has attempted to present a full and frank account of the conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and to answer the provisional questionnaire in a straightforward manner. We invite questions on any matters not entirely clear.

Closing Remarks by Ambassador Sayre[3]

Mr. President: I should like to comment, if I may, on the observations made in the Trusteeship Council on the United States report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.[4] I should like to express the appreciation of my government for the comments and suggestions which, with the exception of one member, have been for the most

[3] Made on July 13, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

[4] The Trusteeship Council on July 21 approved, 8 to with three abstentions, the report of its drafting committee

part helpful and constructive. My government will be happy carefully to consider and weigh these suggestions. My government, as I need scarcely repeat, is anxious in every practicable way to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory.

At the outset of the debate on the report submitted by my government, both the special representative and myself pointed out to the Council certain outstanding factors which we felt essential to bear in mind in a true understanding of the problem. The general situation has been ably summarized by the Republic of Iraq. From some of the questions which were asked, however, I fear that certain of these factors may have been overlooked. The first of these is the primitive nature of a large portion of the population of the territory and the fact that they live largely on the food which they themselves produce—on a subsistence economy—without any extensive dependence upon money. In fact, many of them use such money as they may acquire in limited amounts for the purchase of imported "luxury" items, rather than for their real needs. Also, one must keep constantly in mind the vast sea distances which separate the far-flung islands of the Trust Territory with the resulting infrequency of inter-island visiting. A third factor is the resulting marked diversity among the island peoples and their cultures.

Another factor is that after the war, which caused widespread destruction, the 70 thousand Japanese who had managed and administered the government, the businesses, and the educational programs were repatriated leaving the entire territory without a vestige of the former administrative organization. Thus the administering authority had to assume immediately the task of reconstructing the political, economic, and educational life from the ground up.

The great bulk of observations and criticisms made in the Council were by the Soviet representative. In commenting upon his observations, I should like to ignore many of his innuendos. My government believes that actions speak louder than words. We are content to let the record speak for itself. We believe that the Trusteeship Council was set up by the Charter of the United Nations not as a sounding board for propaganda but as an organization for the sincere consideration and promotion of the welfare of the inhabitants of trust territories. Upon that plane I should like to reply to the Soviet observations.

They manifested a profound difference of viewpoint and of philosophies with regard to the administration of trust territories. I should like to point out three of these fundamental differences, for they underlie much of the work of the Trusteeship Council and merit careful consideration and discussion.

The first of these is the problem of how best to serve the welfare of the inhabitants of such territories as are still dominated by the clan system in the gradual development of Western forms of democratic government.

The Soviet representatives declared (U. N. doc. T/P. V. 182, p. 51):

> On the basis of the information supplied by the special representative the conclusion must be reached that the Administering Authority not only retains the tribal system but utilizes it widely for purpose of administering the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. Instead of creating a system of self-government based on democratic principles, the Administering Authority has limited itself to a few purely bureaucratic measures for adjusting the tribal system to the purpose of local administration. . . .
>
> All that has happened is that new labels, new tags, have been hung upon these chiefs.

That is a fresh restatement of the Soviet representative's constantly recurring theme, i. e., criticism of any administering authority for not wiping out overnight the tribal or the clan system and slapping into its place Western forms of governmental processes and structures. Doubtless the Soviet representative does express in this criticism the Soviet philosophy of government, but it is a philosophy with which my government cannot concur. My government believes that democracy consists in building upon the desires and consent of the governed. Democracy consists in the gradual and progressive development of a government foundationed upon education and evolving understanding. But in my government's view, widespread and popular education offers the only sound foundation upon which a truly democratic government can be built. It is because my government has a profound belief and faith in democ-

on U.S. administration of trust territories in the Pacific. The report will be presented to the Security Council.

The Council noted "with approval the extent to which purely local forms of self-government have been fostered and encouraged" in the former Japanese mandated islands. It recommended that the United States continue its efforts "to develop regional governmental organs on a representative and elective basis, and that it endeavor to bring representatives of the indigenous population into the territorial government."

On the economic side the Council "welcomed the declaration of the United States that it seeks no profit or aggrandizement from the trust territory." It also praised U.S. efforts to protect the island peoples against loss of their land and to promote "a sound program of economic development."

The Council recommended that the United States take all possible steps to raise living standards which may be below prewar levels because of war destruction. It also commended the U.S. plan to send promising students from the islands to Hawaii and the United States for higher education.

The Soviet Union abstained in the final vote for approval, as did New Zealand and the United States. Costa Rica was absent.

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racy, rather than dictatorship, that it believes that the clan or tribal system in which a people has been bred for centuries should not be torn out by its roots and replaced overnight by Western forms of government which they do not understand or desire. The supplanting must be a gradual and progressive development, based on education; and this takes time. Remember that the Pacific Islands trust agreement is only 2 years old.

The administering authority believes that development toward self-government or independence, to be permanently satisfactory, must be based upon active and intelligent participation by the population; and that such constructive participation on a territory-wide basis at the present time is impracticable in view of the primitive state of the vast majority of the population and the wide divisions and diversities between different cultural groups, caused and accentuated in most instances by their geographical separation. The administering authority, while anxious to promote the political advancement of the population, believes that any attempt to impose this advancement arbitrarily by law would be in violation of the obligation imposed by article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement which requires the administering authority to give "due recognition to the customs of the inhabitants in providing a system of law for the territory."

This brings me to the second fundamental divergence in thought between the Soviet Government and my own. The Soviet representative said yesterday (p. 51)[5] that "no one should be confused and no one should be fooled by the statement that the Administering Authority has seemingly introduced a so-called system of municipalities." In his view, apparently, the promotion of the political advancement of the population demands the imposition overnight from above of a full-fledged territory-wide government, participated in, if not run, by the indigenous population, and that the institution of municipal organizations is not the way to go about it. With such a view my government profoundly disagrees.

I think it is clear that down through the centuries the development of self-government begins with local areas. Long before any feeling of national consciousness develops there must be a development of unity of thought and organization in local communities. The nation of Italy was a comparatively late development. Italy grew out of the earlier city states. The nation of France grew out of earlier feudal units and local organizations. So did most of the nations of Europe.

In the Pacific Islands it seems abundantly clear that if there is to be a sincere and honest attempt, in the words of article 76 of the Charter, "to promote the political . . . advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories and their progressive development towards self-government," the only possible practicable way to begin is through the organization of municipalities. Remember, as the report points out, that the inhabitants living in an area of some 3 million square miles and separated by wide cultural diversities today have no common national unity. They are separated by deep prejudices and local jealousies as well as by immense distances. Surely it must be clear that if the foundation is to be soundly laid for any system of self-government, one must begin with local areas, with individual islands, with municipalities. It is true that not all municipalities are now organized on a representative basis. We have endeavored to build upon the best of the existing indigenous governmental structure. However, many democratic elections have been held and the fact that approximately 80 percent of the indigenous inhabitants of voting age enjoy some form of suffrage it is a clear indication that progress is being made in gradually remolding the local government.

The administering authority has started self-government in the local communities—which is where self-government started in the great democracies of the Western world. It has already begun expanding this through regional advisory bodies such as the Palau congress, the conferences of magistrates in Yap and in Ponape, and has indicated its intention of progressively extending the sphere of indigenous participation as the population becomes prepared to assume such responsibilities.

The administering authority has accordingly already begun using the indigenous inhabitants in important regional and district positions, including the justice and superior courts, as has been explained by the special representative.

Yesterday in spite of this, the Soviet representative said (p. 47): "The Administering Authority has not taken the necessary steps to bring the indigenous population of the Territory into the political, legislative and judicial organs of the Territory at all stages and in all posts, particularly in the case of the judicial bodies. Not only has it not taken the necessary steps, but it has not taken any steps in this regard." This is clearly contrary to the facts.

The plan of the administering authority for developing self-government, as explained by the special representative, is, first, to develop self-governing municipalities; also, as it becomes possible progressively to increase the powers of regional or district bodies, and finally, in time, to develop territory-wide organs of self-government in which the indigenous inhabitants will play a substantial if not a major part.

Yet the representative of the Soviet Government calmly announced (p. 47) that: "From the report submitted by the Administering Authority,

[5] Page numbers in parentheses refer to UN doc. T/P. V. 182.

as well as from the replies given by the special representative, it becomes quite clear that the Administering Authority does not intend to introduce any measures which would provide for the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory in the executive, legislative, and judicial organs of the Territory." That is also a clear misstatement of fact.

There remains to consider the Soviet comments with regard to the economic and the educational fields. Much of what I have already explained applies to the economic field. In my opening statement I made clear that my government is seeking from the islands no financial gain or advantage for itself or its nationals. Not a single penny of profit goes from the islands to the United States Government. Instead, my government is spending large sums for the welfare of the inhabitants. To assist the people in the marketing of their copra and other island products and in the bringing in of such goods as they need, the Island Trading Company was organized. All the profits from this organization go to the welfare and support of the island peoples.

As more than once explained by the special representative and as set forth in the report on page 155, this is an interim arrangement until such time as the inhabitants of the various localities are in a position to carry on these functions on their own account. It is my government's desire to encourage and assist the local people to achieve this goal as soon as practicable. The island inhabitants are taking a very active part in economic activities on both the district and local levels, where they are conducting the retailing and have even organized wholesale companies to such an extent that the Island Trading Company has been able to withdraw completely from the Saipan District and to curtail its activity in other districts so that the inhabitants may themselves carry on the work. The company's prices, as stated on page 29 of the report, have been fixed so as to provide a full opportunity for private enterprise to enter the commercial field. It is again shocking to hear the Soviet representative declare, as he did yesterday (p. 52), that "the Administering Authority has not undertaken the necessary measures to bring the indigenous inhabitants into active participation in the economic life of the area."

As to the wage scales in force in the Territory, it must be borne in mind that the indigenous economy does not depend primarily upon a price or "money" system. Special wage rates have been authorized in particular islands, such as the Saipan District, Kwajalein, and certain islands of the Majure Atoll, where the cost of living is higher than in most parts of the Territory because of greater dependence on imported food. In most of the Territory, however, the supply of goods and services is integrated into the social system on a gift-exchange or community effort basis. Consequently, the comparison drawn between the average rates of wages and the money cost of certain items gives a totally unrealistic impression of the standard of living which a worker can maintain.

The statement of the Soviet representative (p. 53) that "it is impossible to conceive how a worker can live on such a beggarly wage" and again (p. 52) that the bulk of the population is doomed "to a beggarly self-starvation existence," are as unrealistic as they can be. The majority of workers do not live on wages, but on a subsistence basis. The inhabitants, as I can testify from personal observation, are living happy lives without shortage of food or other living necessities. Malnutrition is no longer in evidence in the Territory.

As to the ability of those receiving low wages to obtain education for their chidren, attention is invited to page 61 of the report, where it is stated that no school fees are required in the public school system and that the granting of scholarships calculated to cover living expenses of advanced students is a widespread practice.

The Soviet representative uses this same unrealistic approach to prove from the case of teachers the existence of racial discrimination. He makes much of this (p. 56), as he did in his similar comments on the other reports. May I stop for a moment to explain that if education is to be pushed at a rate which my government believes it should be pushed, it is an absolute necessity for an administering authority to bring to the Trust Territory teachers to give the necessary instruction at the indigenous teacher training school, the medical school, the dental school, or the nursing school. Apart from a few consecrated missionaries, unless the administering authority is prepared to pay the prevailing rate of wages of the country from which they are brought, none will consent to come. American teachers cannot be brought to the Pacific Islands unless they are paid wages no less than those they could get for jobs at home. Yet, through this interim period, to pay indigenous teachers the same rate of wages would completely upset their positions in the local economy and would raise the cost of education to such astronomical proportions that either the number of indigenous teachers must be cut to a ruinous and shocking level or else education would bankrupt the community. Of course, it is very clear that the imported and the indigenous teachers are performing services, each needed and valuable, but altogether different. The problem is clearly not one of racial discrimination nor of disregard of article 76 (*c*) of the Charter of the United Nations.

The representative of the Soviet Union has criticized the educational facilities in the Trust Territory. He said yesterday (p. 66): "It is quite obvious that in view of the beggarly wage paid to

teachers the entire question of education is at an unsatisfactory stage. . . . The Administering Authority further does not take the necessary steps to create conditions which would make it possible for the inhabitants of the Trust Territory to obtain a secondary or higher education."

A mere glance at the United States report makes clear that here is another misstatement. As shown by the figures on page 58, within the short time since the Trusteeship Agreement has come into force, the administering authority has established a free public school system. Elementary schools are located throughout the Territory and an excellent teacher training school has been established at Truk. As shown in the report, out of an indigenous population of some 50,000 people, no fewer than 9,300 children and others are at school. Not only has it established elementary schools, intermediate schools, and schools for advanced training of teachers, medical assistants, dental assistants, and nurses, but also, as explained by the special representative, the administering authority is assisting certain students in obtaining higher education in Hawaii.

May I say just a word with regard to the confusion which arose yesterday during the discussion by the representative of Iraq in considering the educational statistics appearing on page 104 of the report. As becomes evident from a study of these figures, the number of children of school age includes only those from 6 to 16 years. This is the age range served primarily by the elementary schools. The enrollment in the intermediate schools and the advanced professional schools naturally include students whose age is above 16. I think that this is the explanation of the confusion which arose yesterday.

In conclusion, may I refer successively to a number of unconnected comments and observations:

The suggestion that the head tax should be replaced with a "progressive" tax system or at least a tax system which would take into consideration the property qualification and the ability to pay of the population, does not, in the opinion of my government, give sufficient weight to the primitive nature of many of the communities in the Trust Territory. The head tax is one of the simplest and most practicable to assess and helps to bring home to all elements in the community their responsibilities and their participation in the expense of government. It should be noted that, as pointed out in the report, this is by no means the only form of tax in force in the Territory. The question of ability to pay has not been disregarded in building the tax structure nor even in the case of the head tax itself. As shown in answer to question 85 on page 36 of U.N. document T/359, provision is made for abatement of the head tax in the case of those not reasonably able to pay.

The representative from the Soviet Union has recommended that the budget for education and public health be increased. All of us would like to see education pushed. I submit, however, that my government has been generous in the amount it has already expended from its own funds for education and public health, as well as for other functions in the advancement of the Trust Territory, and that there is sound basis for the concern expressed in the Council over the risk involved in setting up more expensive governmental services than the people of the Trust Territory may be able to support.

The representative of the Soviet Union was slightly mistaken in his statement (p. 66): "The special representative has told us that there really is not a single individual in the Trust Territory who has obtained a complete secondary education, without even mentioning a higher education." I call the Council's attention to the statements of the special representative on this subject which will be found on pages 22–25 of U.N. document T/P.V. 181 and on pages 42–45 of T/P.V. 182. The special representative's words in the first instance were that there are "very few" and in the second instance that there are "comparatively few" of the indigenous inhabitants who have a higher education. As to the possibility of secondary education for qualified students beyond that offered in the intermediate schools, I call attention to the statement in answer to question 228 on page 81 of the report to the effect that qualified students may attend the United States Government high school on Guam.

Needless to say I cannot agree at all with the statements of the representative of the Soviet Union impugning the motives of my government and alleging that it has failed to submit sufficient information regarding the progress of the population. That there is room for still further improvement, we freely admit, but the question of our good faith and of the sufficiency of our accomplishments to date under the circumstances and the adequacy of the information submitted, I must leave to the judgment of the Council.

I appreciate the suggestion of the representative of the United Kingdom that larger type be used in the printing of the next annual report. I am inclined to agree with him. I shall be glad to pass this suggestion on to my government, and personally I hope that it will be possible to comply with the suggestion.

The manifest advantage of training indigenous nurses at the dispensaries where they would remain more nearly within their own environment has been apparent to the administering authority and carefully considered. To date, however, the possibilities of broader training at a large hospital have appeared to counterbalance the disadvantage of removing the nursing standards from their own environment. This is a question which we shall continue to study.

The suggestion of the representative of Iraq that the seat of government be transferred to the Trust Territory is one which has been under consideration by the administering authority for some time. The logic of it is clear. Initial practical difficulties of housing, transportation, and communications have prevented making the transfer as yet. The matter is now under very active consideration by the administering authority.

The bringing of representatives of the indigenous people into the central government in an advisory capacity is, as has been stated, in accord with the plans of the administering authority. The important thing is to make sure that the persons brought in are truly representative of the area. How soon this can be done will obviously depend upon the development of a broader community of interest and understanding of overall problems on the part of the indigenous inhabitants.

The suggestion of the representative of the Philippines that a stabilization fund should be created for the protection of copra producers is one involving the very delicate question of judgment. The complications of operating such a fund and the difficulty of forecasting the copra market on any accurate basis have made the creation of such a fund appear to the administering authority to date to be less desirable than the simpler method now followed. As indicated by the special representative, there has been a recent drop in the copra market which may have a very serious effect on this whole matter. I am sure, therefore, that the question of a stabilization fund will be further considered.

In connection with the concern of the Philippine representative over the proportion of the tax burden borne by the copra industry, I should like to call attention to the fact that copra is one of the most productive sources of cash income of the indigenous inhabitants as a whole, and that therefore in all justice it should bear a large portion of the tax burden and is in a better position to do so than less thriving, new industries which the administering authority is endeavoring to foster in order to broaden the economy.

I fear I have been unduly lengthy. My only excuse is that I have been dealing with problems which are not confined alone to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. These are fundamental problems. They must underlie our thinking in much of the work of the Trusteeship Council. I am sure all of us understand their importance.

For the close attention given by the Council to the explanations given by the special representative and for the constructive and helpful suggestions which have been offered, my government wishes to express its appreciation.

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[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United States in the United Nations

[July 23–29]

Point 4

In the Economic and Social Council, now holding its ninth session in Geneva, the major event of last week was discussion of economic development of underdeveloped areas. After completion of general discussion, the Council asked its Economic Committee to outline a workable procedure for putting into operation a technical aid plan, to be submitted at this session. Debate on the plan was marked by endorsements from all those participating in the discussion except representatives of Poland and the Soviet Union, who expressed opposition to the plan.

Willard Thorp, the United States representative, gave the Council a detailed outline of the United States viewpoint on the question, traced the preparatory work done in this field within the specialized agencies and in the United States, and the valuable insight gained as a result into the complexity of the problem. The United States, he said, did not believe that the United Nations could spend usefully 36 million dollars as suggested by the Secretary-General for the first year. It believed that a maximum of 25 million dollars could be usefully spent for the first year and felt sure that a minimum of 15 million dollars could be made available.

Mr. Thorp suggested with regard to the method of establishing and collecting contributions for the program that once the General Assembly had finally decided on a specific program for the first year, it might be advisable for the United Nations to sponsor "a general technical assistance conference." He further suggested that this conference sit during or immediately after the fourth regular General Assembly session, that governments of states, members of all or any specialized agencies be invited to attend, and that such a conference be responsible for the negotiation and commitment of contributions. Mr. Thorp supported the Secretary-General's proposal to set up a "technical assistance committee" to achieve maximum coordination of the program, the committee to be made up of representatives of participating agencies.

With regard to capital investment, Mr. Thorp declared, "We must accept as a principle that, over a time, local capital must play a dominant role in the development of underdeveloped areas" and he indicated that he considered a minimum of 80 percent of immediate development financing needs would come from the underdeveloped countries themselves. He stressed that it was essential, however, that foreign investment fill the inevitable gap. He felt that adequate investment funds were available and that the dearth of investment in past years was largely due to the fact that there had not been "adequate inducement to attract foreign capital into effective uses in underdeveloped areas."

Mr. Thorp declared that the United States would continue to promote foreign investment for economic development by supporting the activities of the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank, and by improving the climate for private foreign investment by negotiating conventions to relieve investors of the burden of double taxation. He stated that proposed legislation guaranteed United States private capital newly invested in productive enterprises abroad against some of the risks "peculiar to such investments," and he added that his government was studying possible changes of United States tax laws to further encourage the flow of capital abroad.

In conclusion, Mr. Thorp stressed that technical cooperation and capital investment processes were cumulative and that therefore an effective program was bound steadily to increase availability both of assistance and capital.

The Polish representative charged that the "bold new program" was an attempt to find outlets for United States private capital and would tend to deliver underdeveloped countries to the "mercies" of United States "monopolists." The U.S.S.R. representative charged that the colonial policies of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France were the reasons for "the core of the problem" of underdeveloped areas. The other countries taking part in the general debate pledged support for the proposed program.

Acting Mediator's Report on Palestine

Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche has reported to the Security Council that, now that the practical

application of the Security Council's truce has been superseded by effective armistice agreements voluntarily negotiated by the parties in the transition from truce to permanent peace and the Palestine Conciliation Commission is conducting peace negotiations, the mission of the mediator has been fulfilled. He suggested that the Security Council provide for the termination or the transfer to the Palestine Conciliation Commission, established by the General Assembly, of such functions as now remain to the position of mediator under Security Council resolutions.

Dr. Bunche included in his report suggestions as to the action which the Security Council might now consider it appropriate to take in the form of a resolution. If adopted, the Council would express the hope that the Arabs and Israelis would reach early agreement on all questions outstanding between them; would declare that the armistice agreement "renders unnecessary" the prolongation of the truce as provided in the Security Council resolution of July 15, 1948; would reaffirm the cease-fire order contained in that resolution; would request the Conciliation Commission with the assistance of the Chief of Staff of the truce supervision group to undertake the observance of the cease-fire and end the mediator's functions; and would request the Secretary-General to continue in existence such of the truce supervision organization as the Conciliation Commission requested.

Plan for an Arms Census

The Commission for Conventional Armaments began on July 25 the general discussion of the French plan for a census and verification of armed forces and armaments of member countries of the United Nations which had been approved by the Commission's Working Committee on July 18. An introductory statement by the chairman in which he appealed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cooperate in formulating an effective disarmaments plan was followed by an attack on the French plan by the Ukrainian representative, Dmitri Z. Manuilsky. He maintained that the plan was unreal, unfair, hopeless, and impossible to implement. The United States, the United Kingdom, and France, he stated, could not convincingly attempt to separate the problem of disarmament from that of prohibition of atomic weapons.

The United States representative, Frank C. Nash, said the record of the Commission was an "unimpressive and unproductive one, due entirely to the Soviets' unwillingness to extend even the lightest cooperation." He contended the Soviet opposition was "bottomed simply on the Soviets' unwillingness to let the rest of the world know how far they have gone in arming themselves for the world conquest which is their avowed goal." "Complete acceptance" of the scheme by the United States, he continued, followed careful consideration and recognition that any method which enabled exchange of precise and verified armed data and led to an atmosphere of real and lasting improvement in international relations "is worth any sacrifice or risks which may be involved in the disclosure of such information." Mr. Nash noted that atomic weapons had been placed outside the competence of the Commission for Conventional Armaments by a decision of the General Assembly, but that both questions were components of a related whole. The United States, he added, had gone far beyond the "mere exchange of information and verification" with its atomic energy proposals.

Trusteeship Council Round-up

The Trusteeship Council concluded its fifth session at Lake Success on July 22 and voted to hold its next session in January at Geneva. United States representative, Francis Sayre, abstained in the vote and pointed out that he did not favor holding meetings of the Trusteeship Council away from United Nations Headquarters.

As in previous sessions, the deliberations of the Council were concerned with how best to promote, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the trusteeship agreements, the welfare and progress of the peoples, numbering over 15 million, living in 10 former mandated territories which have been placed under its supervision as trust territories.

Specifically, most of the 29 meetings were devoted to detailed examination of reports on three of these territories in the Pacific—Nauru, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands administered by the United States as a strategic trust territory. This completed the Council's examination of the first annual reports on the administration of all of the ten trust territories under its supervision. The Council also considered 19 petitions submitted by individuals or groups appealing for Council intervention in their grievances. Other important subjects before the Council were the expansion of higher education facilities in the six trust territories in Africa, plans for visiting missions of the Council to go to West Africa in 1949 and to the Pacific area in 1950, the question of administrative unions involving trust territories and the reports of its first visiting mission to trust territories.

Agreement on Cease-Fire Line for Kashmir

Military representatives of India and Pakistan on July 26 reached full agreement on a cease-fire line of approximately 800 miles in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This is the first time that a cease-fire line has been clearly defined since the Governments of India and Pakistan agreed to a cease-fire on January 1, 1949. Formal ratification by the two governments is expected within 4 days.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference

The Department of State announced on July 20 that the United States delegation to the second session of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference, scheduled to convene August 1, 1949, at Geneva, is as follows:

Chairman

Arthur L. Lebel, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Edwin L. White, Chief, Aviation Division, Bureau of Engineering, Federal Communications Commission

Advisers

Aubrey E. Cole, Airways Operations Specialist, Civil Aeronautics Administration
Thomas N. Gautier, Assistant Chief, Upper Atmosphere Research Section, National Bureau of Standards
Donald Mitchell, Jr., Chief, Technical Branch, Aviation Division, Federal Communications Commission
Clinton A. Petry, Director, Frequency Division, Aeronautical Radio Incorporated
Robert H. Service, Captain, U. S. A. F., Directorate of Communications, Headquarters, United States Air Force
Edmond V. Shores, Airways Operations Specialist, Civil Aeronautics Administration
Walter Weaver, Frequency Engineer, Aeronautical Radio Incorporated

Secretary of the Delegation

Thomas J. Hunt, Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Called by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the second session of the Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference is expected to conclude a world-wide plan for the assignment of the channels in the high-frequency bands allocated exclusively to the aeronautical mobile service by the 1947 Atlantic City radio conference.[1] The first session of the Administrative Conference convened at Geneva on May 15, 1948, but adjourned for the purpose of permitting the individual nations to make a more thorough study of their domestic requirements.[2]

The plan agreed upon at the forthcoming session will be forwarded to the Provisional Frequency Board of the ITU for incorporation into a general International Frequency List. This general list will be considered by a special ITU administrative conference, tentatively scheduled for October 1949.

High frequency communications are used for the vast majority of safety operational messages between aircraft in flight and aeronautical stations on the ground. United States civil domestic air transport operations alone constitute about one fourth to one third of the world's total. Since air transport operations are dependent upon air-ground communications for their safety and regularity, the United States considers the sessions of the Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference of particular significance.

All member countries of the ITU have been issued invitations to attend the forthcoming session.

[1] BULLETIN of May 25, 1947, p. 1034.

[2] BULLETIN of May 16, 1948, p. 649.

Fourteenth International Veterinary Congress

The Department of State announced on July 22 the United States delegation to the Fourteenth International Veterinary Congress scheduled to be held at London, August 8–13, 1949, under the auspices of the Royal College of London:

Chairman

Dr. B. T. Simms, Chief, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture

Delegates

Brigadier General James A. McCallam, Veterinary Corps, U.S. Army
Dr. James H. Steele, Chief, Veterinary Public Health Division, Communicable Disease Center, U.S. Public Health Service, Atlanta, Georgia

(*Continued on page 157*)

Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy

Address by the President[1]

I am happy to be present at this Imperial Council Session of the Shrine of North America and to participate in your Diamond Jubilee celebration.

Among the many activities of the Shrine that have contributed to progress, I have always been especially interested in their program to aid crippled children. It seems to me that this program illustrates one of the best features of our way of life—concern for the unfortunate without discrimination as to race, color, or creed.

The people of the United States have never limited this attitude of concern for their fellowmen to the boundaries of our own country. As the activities of the Shrine in Mexico and Canada demonstrate, we join with the people of other countries in the relief of human suffering. Especially since the end of the war, Americans, through their churches and other organizations, and as individuals, have extended the hand of help and friendship to the unfortunate of many lands.

We do this because we think of the people of other countries as human beings, not as pawns in the game of power politics.

During the war, we established warm ties of comradeship and common purpose between ourselves and other peoples in the struggle against tyranny. We hoped that an enduring peace could be built on these ties of friendship. In part, these high hopes have not been realized. Leaders of some nations have cut off communications and built barriers of suspicion between their people and the outside world.

But, in spite of this, there persists in this country a sincere feeling of friendship and sympathy for those peoples who have been cut off from us by force or political intrigue. We are convinced that if they were permitted to know the facts they would return our friendship.

We shall therefore continue in our efforts to help them learn the facts. We believe that the people of the world should have the facts, not only about ourselves, but about all the things that concern them most deeply. Only if men know the truth are they in a position to work for a stable and peaceful world.

In this country, where the facts are readily available, we have a special obligation to inform ourselves concerning world affairs and important international issues.

This is vitally important if our country is to carry out the responsibilities of world leadership that it has today. For, in this nation, foreign policy is not made by the decisions of a few. It is the result of the democratic process, and represents the collective judgment of the people. Our foreign policy is founded upon an enlightened public opinion.

The importance of public opinion in the United States is not always understood or properly evaluated. Public opinion in a country such as ours cannot be ignored or manipulated to suit the occasion. It cannot be stampeded. Its formation is necessarily a slow process, because the people must be given ample opportunity to discuss the issues and reach a reasoned conclusion. But once a democratic decision is made, it represents the collective will of the nation and can be depended upon to endure.

Those who rule by arbitrary power in other nations do not understand these things. For this reason, they do not realize the strength behind our foreign policy.

[1] Delivered at the Imperial Council Session of the Shrine of North America in Chicago, Ill., on July 19, 1949, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

The major decisions in our foreign policy since the war have been made on the basis of an informed public opinion and overwhelming public support.

For example, in 1945, the people of our country were almost unanimously in favor of our participation in the United Nations. The Senate reflected that public sentiment when it approved the Charter by a vote of 87 to 2.

In 1948, after almost a year of discussion and debate, it was clear that a substantial majority of the people of this Nation approved our participation in the European Recovery Program. The Congress translated that approval into legislative action by a vote of approximately four to one.

Our people continue to support the United Nations as fully as they did 4 years ago, in spite of the fact that some nations have obstructed its work through the misuse of the veto. We want to improve the United Nations. This desire was expressed in Senate Resolution 239, which called for the strengthening of the United Nations and the development of regional and other arrangements for the mutual defense of the free nations. This resolution was approved by the Senate last year by a vote of 64 to 4.

As a means of carrying out these desires of the people for stronger support of the principles of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty has been negotiated and is before the Senate. The Senate is now engaged in discussing the treaty with the deliberation and close attention that is part of the democratic process. All points of view have been made known. Public opinion among our people is overwhelmingly in favor of ratification of the treaty, and I am sure that the Senate will give its approval.

These momentous decisions are the decisions not of the government alone, but of the people of the United States. For this reason, it is clear that this country will steadfastly continue, together with other nations of like purpose, along the path we have chosen toward peace and freedom for the world.

The formation of foreign policy on the part of the democratic nations may be a slow and painful process, but the results endure.

It is only in the totalitarian states, where all decisions are made by a few men at the top, that foreign policies can be reversed or radically altered in secrecy, or changed abruptly without warning. Between totalitarian states, disagreements can suddenly become open conflicts, and allies can change into enemies overnight. The democratic nations, by contrast, because they rely on the collective judgment of their people, are dependable and stable in their foreign relations.

Today, the great quest of mankind is for a world order capable of maintaining world peace.

Just as the democratic nations formulate their foreign policies after due consideration for the opinions of their citizens, so they formulate their plans for international order with due regard for the independence and the sovereignty of other nations.

The kind of world organization for which this nation and the other democratic nations are striving is a world organization based on the voluntary agreement of independent states.

We are familiar, in our own history, with this kind of organization. Our country began as a federation—an association of local, democratic sovereignties within a larger whole. The existing states, whether large or small, were brought together on the basis of voluntary agreement.

This principle of mutual respect and voluntary agreement is essential to the creation of a strong, world organization for maintaining a just peace. In this respect, associations of nations are like associations of individuals—they will not survive and prosper unless the rights and the integrity of the members are respected.

This is the principle on which the United Nations is based. The United Nations is designed to give every nation a share in forming decisions on world issues. Such an organization will have its difficulties. We all know, from our experience in business, in unions, cooperatives, or fraternal groups, how much hard work and honest give-and-take is required to make this kind of organization successful. But we also know that in the long run an organization based on voluntary agreement among its members will command greater loyalty, speak with greater authority, and have a greater chance for success than any other kind. We must therefore continue to support and continue to improve the United Nations as the way to lasting peace.

In contrast to the United Nations is the concept of a world order based on the rule of force. In the past, attempts to organize the world by force have always failed. The most recent failure was the attempt of Nazi Germany to establish European unity through the rule of force. This attempt to create an empire by conquest lasted only a few years.

In spite of the record of history, the leaders of some nations today appear still to be relying on force as a method of world organization. Their doctrine calls for the destruction of free governments through the use of force and the effort to create class warfare. To achieve their aims, they make a false appeal to men's sense of justice; they play upon the common desire of men to improve their condition of life.

But, in practice, this system of world organization is no better than the old tyrannies that have failed. It is incapable of satisfying the needs and desires of men for a better life. In its inner structure, it manifests the fatal weaknesses of all dictatorships. Within the circle of its control today, tensions and conflicts appear to be increas-

ıg. It may have temporary triumphs, but in the ɔng run it must either destroy itself or abandon ;s attempt to force other nations into its pattern.

Some people would have us believe that war is ıevitable between the nations which are devoted ɔ our concept of international organization and ıe concept which now bears the name of Commu-ism. This is not the case. I am optimistic as I ɔok toward the future, because I believe in the su-erior attraction for men's minds and hearts of the emocratic principles which have been tried and ;sted in free nations, and which are now winning ıe allegiance of men throughout the world.

In the battle for men's minds our faith is more ɔpealing, more dynamic, and stronger than any ɔtalitarian force. The world longs for the kind f tolerance and mutual adjustment which is rep-;sented by democratic principles.

This country has had a revolutionary effect in ıe world since it was founded. Our democracy as born in a world of absolute monarchies. The lea which we made a living reality spread ıroughout the world and brought the day of the ɔsolute monarchy to an end. We have always ;en a challenge to tyranny of any kind. We ;e such a challenge today.

Our idea prevailed against the absolute mon-;chies of the nineteenth century. It is prevailing ;ainst the new and more terrible dictatorships the twentieth century.

The reason is clear. Our idea of democracy ;eaks in terms which men can understand. It ;eaks of opportunity and tolerance and self-gov-nment. It speaks of the dignity of the indi-dual, his freedom of conscience, and the right worship as he pleases. It does not exact blind yalty to false ideas or improbable theories. It ;es not make a god out of the state, or out of an, or out of any human creation.

The world is tired of political fanaticism. It is ;ary of the lies, propaganda, and hysteria cre-;d by dictatorships. It is disgusted by the actice of torture and political assassination. It sick of the kind of political allegiance which is spired solely by fear.

Men want to live together in peace. They want have useful work. They want to feel themselves ited in brotherly affection. They want to enjoy at great privilege—a privilege denied to mil-ɔns throughout the world today—the right to ink their own thoughts and to have their own nvictions.

These desires of mankind are satisfied by the mocratic principles which we have put into actice. These principles are at work today as ;y were in the past. In the conflict that exists roughout the world, these are our greatest ad-ntages. They should give us confidence that we all eventually succeed in establishing the kind of international organization to preserve the peace for which men yearn.

In working toward this goal, we must act wisely and steadfastly. We must realize that many dangers yet lie ahead, and that there are many tasks and problems which will be difficult to master. We must also preserve in this country full enjoyment of those basic democratic principles which are our greatest assets.

In this period of history when our country bears the major responsibility of world leadership, our domestic and foreign policies are inseparable. We must maintain a strong and stable economy as the basis of our own well-being and as the primary source of strength of the free world. We must also support economic health and democratic ideals in other countries, if we ourselves are to remain strong and prosperous.

Both these objectives require action now.

We must take proper steps to see that our economy moves safely through the present transition period, and that employment and production start expanding again. If we were to make our plans on the assumption that employment and production will get smaller, we would only make matters worse and waste much of our potential economic strength. What we must do, instead, is to make all our plans, private and public, in such a way as to give us more jobs and more output. This is the way toward a stronger economy.

Furthermore, we must take action to insure that the hard-won economic recovery of other free nations does not revert to stagnation and despair. One of the most foolish things we could do right now would be to slash our appropriations for European recovery. If we did that, we would be deliberately throwing away gains for peace and freedom that we have painfully made. Only the Communists would profit if we took such a short-sighted course.

We have been making progress in working toward peace and freedom because we have been willing to make the investment that was necessary. It would be disastrous now to change our policy and settle for halfway measures.

It would be disastrous to lose or impair the understanding and support we have gained among the other democratic peoples. These are priceless assets in the great task of constructing a peaceful and orderly world.

The kind of peace we seek cannot be won at a single stroke or by a single nation. Peace worthy of the name can be assured only by the combined effort of many peoples willing to make sacrifices in the cause of freedom.

The peoples of the world look to the United States for the leadership of this great crusade for peace. We have not taken up this task lightly, and we will not lay it down.

We must go resolutely forward, step by step, toward the creation of a world in which we, and all people, can live and prosper in peace.

Senate Approves Ratification of North Atlantic Treaty

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 21*]

I am deeply gratified by the decisive vote given by the Senate in favor of the North Atlantic Pact.[1] The Senate's action follows months of vigorous discussion by the American people and weeks of searching, exploration, and debate by the Senate. I am sure that not only the Senate but the American people as a whole fully understand the Treaty and its implications for world peace. The decisive nature of the Senate vote makes clear to the world the determination of the American people to do their full part in maintaining peace and freedom.

Lausanne Negotiations Resumed

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 20*]

On July 18, 1949, the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, which is charged by the General Assembly under its resolution of December 11, 1948,[2] with facilitating final settlement of all issues outstanding between Israel and the Arab states, reconvened in Lausanne after a brief recess. It will be recalled that the President on July 16 named Paul A. Porter as United States representative on the Commission, to replace Mark Ethridge, who recently resigned that position in order to resume his activities as publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Since the military phases of the Palestine question are now at an end, this government is convinced that there is no issue outstanding between Israel and the Arab states which is not susceptible of solution by peaceful means. In fact, it was to facilitate such solution that the Conciliation Commission was established by the General Assembly.

Now that the positions of both parties have been fully defined in previous sessions of the Commission, it will materially advance the task of the Commission if both the Israeli and the Arab delegations return to Lausanne with full authority to enter into constructive and effective negotiations. It will also greatly facilitate the Commission's task if both sides will now extend their exchange of views to all problems covered by the General Assembly resolution of December 11, in order to make possible a simultaneous and balanced approach to the closely related problems of territorial settlement and disposition of the refugees from the hostilities.

The internal stability and the economy of both the Arab states and Israel have been adversely affected by the recent conflict in Palestine. An early settlement of the outstanding issues will speed the day when both sides are in position to devote their energies and resources to the restoration of conditions of equilibrium and stability. The United States Government, through its representative, Mr. Porter, stands ready to extend firm and impartial assistance to both sides to reach a settlement which will speed this objective.

[1] The vote in the Senate was 82 for and 13 against approval.

[2] BULLETIN of Dec. 26, 1948, p. 793.

Developments in Church–State Conflict in Czechoslovakia

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 20*]

During the past month the present regime at Prague has taken further measures in accordance with the system prevailing in the satellite states of Eastern Europe to suppress freedom of religion in spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia was an original signatory to the United Nations Charter. All members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to promote respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms. The United Nations has been engaged through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the draft Covenant on Human Rights in an effort to obtain agreed standards of those rights and freedoms. The acts of the present Czechoslovak regime directed toward the tyrannous domination of religious organizations by the police state are clearly contrary to these standards and as such are deplored by the Government and people of the United States.[1]

Address by George C. McGhee

On June 27 Assistant Secretary McGhee delivered an address on the subject of progress in Greece before the Pan-Laconian Federation, Washington, D.C. Text was issued as Department of State press release 491.

[1] BULLETIN of July 11, 1949, p. 30.

The Inter-American System in the World Scene Today

by Willard F. Barber[1]

Senator Vandenberg has said that the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro on September 2, 1947, is "sunlight in a dark world." Let us consider that document.

The Treaty has a triple aspect:

A. It is under the United Nations a regional arrangement for the maintenance of peace and security under articles 52 through 54 of the Charter. It invokes the right (in article 51) of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack, pending action by the Security Council.

B. It states that an armed attack by any state against one American State is an attack against all. An armed attack upon an American State within the area described in article 4 of the treaty or within the territory of an American State outside the area, obliges the signatories to assist in meeting the attack, as well as to consult. The nature of the help which they are pledged to render will be determined by each state pending a consultation to decide upon the collective measures required of all. Thus the right of self-defense in article 51 of the Charter becomes an obligation under the Rio treaty. Decisions taken by a two-thirds vote are binding on all parties, including those not concurring, except that no state is required to use armed force without its consent.

C. It provides for consultation in the event of an act or threat of aggression or of any other fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the Americas and affects the inviolability, territorial integrity, sovereignty, or political independence of an American State.

Years of Development

These forthright treaty obligations were not signed at Rio in an outburst of hemispheric sentimentality. On the contrary. The treaty was not an outburst, but an outgrowth which has been steady and cumulative in the more than 50 years of development of the Inter-American system. Furthermore, it is based on the trial-and-error method, hammered out through years of actual practical experience. It is an outgrowth, not an outburst. It does indeed offer sunlight in a dark world.

From our own national point of view, if I may be permitted a reminder, the bipartisan approach to the foreign policy of the United States, which is now so widely acknowledged and approved, has prevailed for some time in the Inter-American area.

The Practice of Consultation

It was at the Inter-American Conference of Buenos Aires in 1936 that the principle of consultation was agreed to in the event that the peace of the Americas was threatened. This was, therefore, an important milestone in establishing the machinery for implementing the basic policy of hemispheric solidarity.

The consultative procedure originating in 1936, confirmed at Lima in 1938, and manifested during the war years by meetings in 1939 at Panama, in 1940 at Habana, and in 1942 at Rio de Janeiro, contributed substantially to Inter-American security. It was also broadened to apply to other situations than those affecting security. In fact, under the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) consultation may be invoked, with the majority approval of the Council of the OAS, for any problem of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States.

The Doctrine of All for One And One for All

At Habana in 1940, the consultative procedure produced a resolution that an attack upon one

[1] Excerpts from an address delivered at the Round Table on Latin America of the first annual conference on American foreign policy at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., on July 23, 1949, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Barber is Deputy Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs.

American state by a non-American state would be considered as an attack upon all of them. This was none too early as a security measure, for it was in the very next year that Pearl Harbor was bombed.

Before the war was concluded, however, further steps to improve hemispheric security were taken. These steps reached a culmination with statements in the Declaration of Mexico and the Act of Chapultepec of 1945 that an attack upon an American State by any state constitutes an aggression against all the American States. The act went on to provide for consultation to decide upon the measures to meet such aggression, including the possible use of armed force. It was also recommended in the Act of Chapultepec that consideration be given to the conclusion of a treaty whereby attacks against an American State might be met by well-defined collective action.

It will be recalled that at the time of Chapultepec the Charter of the United Nations did not yet exist. Nonetheless that act provided that the treaty which might grow out of it should be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization, when established.

At Rio de Janeiro in 1947, the resolutions on consultation, accepted in 1936, and the doctrine of "all for one," agreed upon since 1940, were brought together and considerably advanced by their incorporation into the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. That it was not an isolated peak of inter-American solidarity is proved by the categoric repetitions of the same two concepts in the Charter of Bogotá signed in 1948.

The Rio Treaty

The all-for-one doctrine appears in articles 3 and 6. The Treaty establishes a clear obligation on the parties to take action in meeting armed attack; it requires consultation respecting other acts of aggression and any other situations affecting the security of an American State and endangering the peace of America. It specifies the procedure and organs through which the community of states will act and lists measures which may be taken against an aggressor. Each party is committed in advance to carry out decisions of the Organ of Consultation, although it may have voted against that decision, the sole exception being that its armed forces may not be used without a State's consent.

The Rio Treaty is open for signature by any American State. This includes Canada. Of the 21 American Republics, representatives of 20 have already signed. The life of the Treaty is indefinite.

The United States Senate approved the Treaty on December 8, 1947, 72 to 1. Our ratification, deposited on December 30, 1947, was the second. On December 3, 1948, the Pan-American Union received the ratification of Costa Rica, the fourteenth, bringing the Treaty into effect with respect to the ratifying states. It was a pleasure and an honor to attend in person that epochal event.

Cuba and Chile have since deposited their ratifications.

It does not suffice for there merely to be agreed upon documentation and established machinery in order to maintain inter-American security. As was stated by the United States representative on the Council of the Organization of American States, on October 12, 1948,

"that structure of peace will fail to achieve reality . . . if it does not receive a constant and devoted use. Every threat to use force . . . undermines the reality of our Organization, and deserves the united condemnation of all our peoples. Every successful solution of international disputes in accordance with our established procedures and principles, on the other hand, makes our inter-American structure more real, and deserves our united applause."

Membership in the United Nations

All of the American States are members and supporters of the United Nations. As I have indicated, every effort is made to assure that the regional activities carried on through the Organization of American States and the written documents which they adopt are consistent with the aims, purposes, and provisions of the United Nations Charter. But the relationship, in fact, is considerably more constructive than it would be if merely maintained on the even keel of consistency. As Secretary Acheson said to the members of the Council of the OAS on Pan-American Day of this year:

"The Organization of American States is an element of strength for the United Nations, and conversely, the United Nations is an element of strength for the Organization of American States. All of us belong to both and are active in both. There are no divided loyalties here. We can honestly and sincerely serve the same cause in both the regional and the universal system."

Inter-American success in developing a security system for the Western Hemisphere and the close relationship between the OAS and the United Nations are areas in which we who have responsibility for developing and carrying out United States foreign policy in relation to the Americas feel that much has been accomplished and encouraging progress continues to be made. We are familiar with the concept of the growth of law and order through custom and precedent. Hence the value of a century of experience by the American States in learning, often by the "trial and error" method, to live together not only in the negative

sense of absence of conflict, but in constructive cooperation toward international well-being, cannot but have special significance.

The North Atlantic Pact

With this in mind, let us look at one of the most recent forward steps toward greater international security and peace: I refer to the North Atlantic Pact. There are several ways in which this collective self-defense arrangement among the countries of the North Atlantic area has been strongly influenced by principles and procedures developed by the American Republics. Of these there are three which I should like specifically to mention.

First is the concept of regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations. The representatives of the American governments at the San Francisco conference on organization of the United Nations actively supported the inclusion of this concept in the Charter, basing their efforts in this direction on our hemisphere experience and aspiration. In doing so they expressed viewpoints which had been emphasized, shortly before the San Francisco meeting, at the Mexico City conference of American States. Both the Rio Treaty and the North Atlantic Pact represent tangible consequences of this inclusion of the principle that regional arrangements for collective self-defense can assure practical measures for maintaining peace and security in harmony with the Charter of the United Nations.

In the second place, the principle that, within such a regional security arrangement, an attack on one of the parties should be considered as an attack on all of them has been incorporated in both the Rio Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty. The significance of this concept for the countries of the Western Hemisphere had been increasingly recognized among them for a number of years and had been clearly expressed in the Act of Chapultepec of 1945.

Third, the principle that sovereign states with common problems should consult on means of dealing with them, which is incorporated in article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty (as I indicated above) has long been recognized among the American States. Much of the significance of the growth of the Inter-American system lies in the strengthening of that principle through the development and utilization of specific procedures for such consultation. It is worth remembering that the value, both of an informal exchange of views and, if necessary, of a formal consultation among governments, is so well recognized and so well accepted among the 21 American States that it forms an integral part of the framework of the Organization of American States.

These are a few, and only a few, of the ways in which inter-American factors have affected the creation of a security pact for the countries of the North Atlantic area. Let it be emphasized, however, that the underlying foundation on which all of these countries, North American, South American, and European, build their structures for peace is a common faith in the future of democratic government.

As Philip C. Jessup, Ambassador-at-Large, in an address to the Academy of Political Science on April 7, 1949, said:[2]

"It is worth noting that the criticisms of the North Atlantic Pact as a rival to the United Nations were not addressed to the Rio Pact of 1948. The Rio Pact had a very similar basis in terms of a regional arrangement relying heavily on Article 51 of the Charter. Perhaps when the Rio Pact was concluded, those interested in the United Nations remembered particularly that the conclusion of some such regional arrangement for the Americas was planned at the Chapultepec Conference of 1945 just before the United Nations meeting in San Francisco. The probability of its conclusion was very much in the minds of those who framed the Charter. The Rio Pact therefore seemed to many a reasonable development in no way in conflict with the Charter. It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the Rio Treaty just as it would be a mistake to minimize the importance of the North Atlantic Pact. But it would also be a mistake to assume that this Treaty dealing with the North Atlantic area endangers the United Nations any more than the Rio Treaty endangered the organization."

Effect of North Atlantic Pact on Inter-American System

What has been or is likely to be the effect of the North Atlantic Treaty on the Inter-American System and its Organization of American States? Before answering this question, I should like to quote from the remarks made by Secretary Acheson when, on April 7, he transmitted the North Atlantic Treaty to President Truman with the recommendation that it be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification:

"The North Atlantic Treaty is patterned on the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro. Its essence is recognition of the fact that an armed attack on any of the North Atlantic nations is in effect an attack upon them all. An attack upon any of them would not be designed merely to gain territory or nationalistic ends. It would be directed squarely against our common democratic way of life.

"The essential purpose of the treaty is to fortify and preserve this common way of life. It is designed to contribute to the maintenance of peace by making clear in advance the determination of

[2] BULLETIN of Apr. 17, 1949, p. 849.

the parties resolutely and collectively to resist armed attack on any of them. It is further designed to contribute to the stability and well-being of the member nations by removing the haunting sense of insecurity and enabling them to plan and work with confidence in the future. Finally, it is designed to provide the basis for effective collective action to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area if an armed attack should occur."

In view of these purposes and our confidence that they will be realized, it is entirely clear that the outstanding effect of the North Atlantic Pact on the Inter-American System is to be found in the increased security which results from its deterring any potential aggressor who might wish to launch an attack aimed ultimately at the Western Hemisphere. Since the Rio and the North Atlantic treaties are designed to assure the maintenance of international peace and security, the former for the North Atlantic Community and the latter for the American Community, their complementary results are certain to be mutually beneficial. The area of potential aggression is thereby materially diminished, and the necessity that either treaty may have to be invoked is less likely.

It should be pointed out, I believe, that, although the net result of these two regional security arrangements within the framework of the United Nations Charter is to further our common aspirations for peace, the treaties on which they are based are separate documents and the obligations of each of the parties are only those which it has specifically accepted. No direct organizational connection between the two treaties is called for, nor is it now contemplated that any will be established.

As Senator Connally stated in the Senate on July 5 last:

"The North Atlantic Treaty is the logical outgrowth of the policies which we have evolved during the last few years. It follows naturally upon the commitments of mutual aid and collective self-defense undertaken by the Declaration of Chapultepec, the United Nations Charter, and the Rio Pact."

It is true that each of the two treaties calls for consultation in the event of any situation which threatens the territorial integrity, sovereignty of political independence of any of the parties to that treaty. Situations are conceivable under which this obligation might be invoked under both treaties. Although the chief point to bear in mind is that the existence of both treaties makes such a situation less rather than more likely to occur, the obligation of the parties to consult with other governments is one which results from their having become a party to one or the other of the treaties. There is no increased obligation to the parties of the Rio Treaty because the North Atlantic Treaty has been formulated.

Differences Between the Two Treaties

There are certain differences between the two treaties. The Rio Treaty contains specific procedures with regard to consultation and voting which the Atlantic Pact does not have. The Rio Treaty specifies measures upon which, after initial measures of self-defense have been taken, the Organ of Consultation may agree. Any of these, except the use of armed force, may become obligatory on all parties to the Treaty if approved by two thirds of the states which have ratified the Treaty. On the other hand the North Atlantic Treaty obligates each party to take ". . . individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area." The Inter-American Treaty contains a provision, not found in the North Atlantic Pact, for procedures which are to be followed in the event of conflict between parties to the agreement. There are other differences of detail between these two great undertakings, but they do not obscure the fact that, as Secretary Acheson has said: "We joined with the other American Republics and we now join with Western Europe in treaties to strengthen the United Nations and insure international peace and security."

U.S. Information Service in Shanghai and Hankow Ordered Closed

Statement by Assistant Secretary Allen

[*Released to the press July 18*]

George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary for public affairs, on July 18 announced that the Department of State has been officially informed that United States Information Service offices in Shanghai and Hankow have been ordered closed by Chinese Communist officials.[1]

Mr. Allen said:

This is a new and dramatic proof that Communist dictatorships, like all other dictatorships strike out the free flow of information immediately on seizing power. Dictatorship and censorship go hand-in-hand.

Totalitarian regimes can exist only by holding their subjects in ignorance and by warping their

[1] U.S. Information Services were closed by the Chinese Communists as follows: Shanghai and Hankow, July 15; Peiping, July 19; Tientsin, July 20; and Nanking, July 23.

ninds with a strictly controlled and one-sided picure.

Thus, it is that the United States Information Service in Shanghai and Hankow, dedicated to elling the Chinese people the facts about the United States, our aims and aspirations for world peace, is being suspended by the Communist capors, who realize that public enlightenment is their reatest enemy.

Number of Americans Residing in China and Hong Kong

Released to the press July 22]

Consular district	Personnel: Official	Personnel: Nonofficial		Total
anghai	109		[1] 1,471	1,580
anton	76		707	783
		Canton	269	
		Other parts of Kwangtung Province	152	
		Kwangsi Province	102	
		Fukien Province	184	
singtao	5		47	52
eiping	49		149	198
ientsin	14		61	75
ukden	13		.....	13
airen	2		.....	2
ankow	4		363	367
		Wunan area	96	
		Rest of Hupeh Province	20	
		Honan Province	16	
		Hunan Province	77	
		Kiangsi Province	150	
		Shensi Province	4	
hungking	14		276	290
unming	6		180	186
		Kunming	88	
		Rest of Yunnan Province	62	
		Kweichow Province	30	
ihwa	5		.....	5
aipei	38		84	122
anking	[2] 125		[2] 75	[2] 200
ong Kong	53		1,087	1,140
		Hong Kong	1,070	
		Macao	17	
TOTAL	513		4,500	5,013

[1] No recent break-down by provinces.
[2] Approximate number.

Discussions With Mexico on Petroleum Development Suspended

Released to the press July 19]

United States and Mexican Government officials ave continued their study of the subject of a oan of United States public funds for the development of Mexican petroleum resources and for refining and distribution facilities.[1]

These conversations have not to date resulted in an understanding between the two governments on a basis under which the desired financial aid would be extended.

The conversations have now been suspended at the request of the Mexican Government without prejudice to their resumption in the same spirit of friendly cooperation in which they have been carried out.

Air Transport Agreement With Dominican Republic

[*Released to the press July 20*]

The Department of State announced on July 20 that an air transport agreement with the Government of the Dominican Republic was signed in Ciudad Trujillo on July 19, 1949. This is the thirty-ninth such agreement concluded by the United States.

This agreement is of the so-called Bermuda type, upon which the great majority of the air transport agreements which the United States has concluded with other countries is based. The Bermuda type, adopted at a United States–United Kingdom air conference at Bermuda in 1946, provides for the "five freedoms" in air transportation.[2]

The text of the agreement will be released at a later date.

Negotiations for Supplementary Tax Treaty With Canada

[*Released to the press July 22*]

United States and Canadian tax officials expect to meet at Ottawa during the last 10 days of August to discuss the possibility of entering into a new convention modifying and supplementing provisions of the existing tax conventions signed on March 4, 1942, and June 8, 1944,[3] which relate respectively to taxes on incomes and taxes on estates of deceased persons.

If basis for a new convention is found, a draft of its proposed terms will be prepared during the meeting and submitted to the two governments for consideration with a view to signing.

In preparation for the discussions, interested persons are invited to submit information and views as to possible betterment in tax relations with Canada in respect of income, estate, and gift taxes to Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C.

[1] BULLETIN of Apr. 10, 1949, p. 466.
[2] BULLETIN of Apr. 7, 1946, p. 584.
[3] BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 543.

Visitors to U. S. Under Travel-Grant Program

The following persons have received grants-in-aid to visit in the United States, which are arranged by the Division of Exchange of Persons of the Department of State:

British Scholars

Six British scholars will arrive in the United States during the next month on travel grants under the terms of the Fulbright Act, it was announced on July 5 by the Department of State. They are among the first of 59 scholars who will received similar awards this year under this exchange program with the United Kingdom. Those arriving soon are:

Harry Cranbrook Allen, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, where he is dean and tutor in history, will teach at the summer session of the University of Minnesota, giving courses on eighteenth century England and on the history of Anglo-American relations.

Ronald Haydn Preston, warden of St. Anselm Hall, Manchester University, will teach during the summer at Union Theological Seminary which is a section of the summer session of Columbia University. Following the summer session, he plans to lecture at the Universities of Michigan and North Carolina.

Dr. Gilbert James Walker, professor of economics at the University of Birmingham, Birmingham, will give courses at the Harvard University summer school on economic planning in Great Britain and on business organization and control. Following the summer session he hopes to do research in connection with investigations pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington.

Dr. Daryll Forde, professor of anthropology at the University of London, will serve as visiting professor in anthropology at the second summer session of the University of California. He also plans to consult with colleagues at the Universities of Chicago, Yale, Harvard, and Pennsylvania before returning to England.

Dr. James Stuart Stewart, professor of New Testament language, literature, and theology at the University of Edinburgh, has accepted the Hoyt lectureship at Union Theological Seminary and also plans series of lectures at Princeton and McCormick Theological Seminaries and at the Pittsburgh School of Religion.

Brian Hackett, lecturer in landscape architecture at the University of Durham, England, will carry out research in his field at Cornell University.

Already arrived in the United States on similar grants are:

Dr. John Maclean Smith, tutor in medical pathology at Sheffield University, has been invited by Johns Hopkins Hospital as a fellow in the biological division of the Medical Department where he will do research in infectious jaundice in association with Dr. George S. Mirick.

Mr. and Mrs. William Gordon Ewing, director and professor of the department of education of the deaf at the University of Manchester, have been invited by Northwestern University to conduct courses in audiology and teacher training at the summer session of that institution.

These awards are made under Public Law 584 (79th Congress), the Fulbright Act, which authorizes the Department of State to use foreign currencies and credits acquired through the sale of surplus property abroad for programs of educational exchange with other nations. Since only foreign currencies are available, grants to foreign nationals to come to the United States are limited to round-trip travel, and expenses in this country must be met from other sources.

It is expected that additional travel grants under the program with the United Kingdom will soon be announced for 100 British students for attendance at American colleges and universities during the coming academic year, as well as for 250 British and American elementary and secondary school teachers to be exchanged under the British-American teacher exchange plan.

Awards to Americans, which may include round-trip transportation, tuition or a stipend, and a living allowance, will also be made to approximately 100 students and 37 professors and research scholars for study, teaching, or research in the United Kingdom during the coming academic year.

Rangoon Chemist

U Po Tha, professor of chemistry and dean of science at the University of Rangoon, has arrived in the United States to attend the summer session of Cornell University. He will also visit other American universities for consultation and research in the chemistry of plant products.

Colombian Housing Expert

Hernando Posada Cuellar, general manager of the Territorial Credit Institute of Colombia, recently arrived in Washington to spend 5 weeks in this country for the purpose of conferring with officials of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and other specialists in this field concerning housing problems. His visit has been made possible through a grant-in-aid from the Department of State awarded in cooperation with the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Bolivian Agriculturalist

Eduardo Paloma, until recently Director General of Agriculture of Bolivia, now Assistant Director of the Inter-American Agricultural Service of that country, has arrived in Washington to confer with officials of the Department of Agriculture and to visit agricultural experiment stations in various sections of the United States. His visit, which is for a period of 3 months, has been facilitated by a grant-in-aid from the Department of State awarded in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture.

New Zealand Microbiologist

Lyle Brandon Fastier, research officer in microbiology at the Department for Scientific and Industrial Research of New Zealand, has arrived in the United States to study virus diseases at the George Williams Hooper Foundation of the University of California at San Francisco.

American Exchange Scholars to Far East and Greece

It was announced on July 7 by the Department of State that eight American scholars will leave soon for the Philippines, New Zealand, Burma, and Greece to undertake teaching or research. They have been selected by the Board of Foreign Scholarships to receive awards under the terms of the Fulbright Act.

Philippines

Dr. Bernard Freeman Mann, resident in pathology, New England Deaconess Hospital, Boston, will serve as visting lecturer in pathology at the University of the Philippines, Manila. His program will include lecturing to students of the junior and senior years, assisting in laboratory teaching, representing the Pathology Department in clinical conferences, serving as consultant to teaching hospitals and engaging in research and writing.

Dr. Fred Eggan, professor and chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, will make a survey of the social organization and culture of the Mountain Province and will spend approximately three months in Visayan Island and in Mindanao to begin a study of cultural change in those areas as a foundation for more intensive future research by Filipino and American students.

Dr. Pauline Fertsch, assistant professor of psychology, University of Texas, will serve as visiting lecturer in psychology at the University of the Philippines, Manila.

Dr. Ruth M. Leverton, director of human nutrition and food research, Department of Home Economics, University of Nebraska, will teach nutrition at the Philippine Women's University, Manila.

New Zealand

Dr. Seldon Gale Lowrie, professor and head of the Political Science Department, University of Cincinnati, will be visiting lecturer in political science at the University of New Zealand.

Burma

Dr. Paul F. Cressey, professor of sociology, Wheaton College, who proposes to make a sociological study of the urban population of the City of Rangoon, will also be available for lectures in Far East history at the University of Rangoon.

Greece

Dr. Howard W. Beers, head of the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, will serve as visiting lecturer in rural sociology at the Superior School of Agriculture, Athens. In addition to his lecture work at the school, Dr. Beers will consult with the Near East Foundation on coordination of its rural educational projects.

Dr. Arnold Whitridge, retired professor of history, arts and letters, Yale University, will lecture on American civilization at the University of Athens.

Americans interested in applying for Fulbright awards should write to the appropriate agency listed below; foreign applicants should write to the American Embassy in their country of citizenship.

For graduate study:

Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York

For teaching at the college level, for advanced research, and for teaching in American schools abroad:

Conference Board of Associated Research Councils
2101 Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.

For teaching in national elementary and secondary schools abroad:

United States Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Sales of Militarized and Nondemilitarized Surplus Combat Matériel

[*Released to the Press June 21*]

The following is a list of the sales of surplus United States combat matériel (militarized and nondemilitarized) effected by the Department of State in its capacity as foreign surplus disposal agent, during the months of August and October 1947, and January, April, June, August, September, October, November and December, 1948, as reported to the Munitions Division of the Department and not previously announced.

Country	Description of matériel	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
Argentina	Submachine guns, and pyrotechnic projectors.	$41, 940. 00	$4, 194. 00	10/13/48
	Spare parts for: 90-mm. guns and mounts, generating units, optical instruments.	97, 221. 77	9, 956. 70	10/13/48
	Spare parts for flame throwers and ordnance matériel.	21, 904. 84	3, 108. 01	12/17/48
	Cable system for M9A1 gun director	68, 775. 00	8, 459. 40	12/17/48
Australia	1 swaging machine, spark plugs, thermo couplers, chafing rings, and miscellaneous aircraft accessories. (Australia, National Airlines).	8, 020. 92	8, 020. 92	8/ 3/48
Belgium	Ex-German vessel *Hagen*, demilitarized, to Belgian national.	(Captured Enemy Equipment)	1, 500. 00	8/ 9/48
	Ex-German vessel *Buzzard*, demilitarized, to Belgian national.	C. E. E.	82, 500. 00	8/24/48
Brazil	Electronic equipment	13, 750. 55	2, 754. 31	12/ 9/48
	Mortars, rifles, and rockets	26, 369. 41	2, 628. 06	12/29/48
Chile	Aircraft spare parts and accessories, radio equipment, photo equipment and hangar and field equipment.	180, 386. 78	7, 987. 22	8/11/48
China	Spare parts for B-24 aircraft	23, 824. 34	2, 382. 43	10/26/48
	Ordnance matériel for aircraft	17, 018. 00	1, 701. 80	12/17/48
	Ammunition links	19, 644. 11	2, 165. 00	11/12/48
Colombia	14 P-17 aircraft (trainer)	140, 000. 00	35, 000. 00	August, 1948
Denmark	.30-cal. ammunition	480. 00	480. 00	4/ 6/48
	Ex-German vessel *Tanga* and 4 E boats	C. E. E.	300, 000. 00	6/ 8/48
	Ex-German floating drydock #90 and 3 pontoons.	C. E. E.	652, 800. 00	10/ 8/47
Finland	Ex-German vessel *Volker*, demilitarized	C. E. E.	15, 000. 00	6/11/48
Haiti	1–83-foot Coast Guard cutter	140, 000. 00	6, 000. 00	12/20/48
Hong Kong	1 AT–11 aircraft (trainer) to the Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock Co., Hong Kong.	70, 445. 00	11, 750. 00	8/16/48
Italy	Ex-German vessel *Lech*, demilitarized, to Italian national.	C. E. E.	125, 000. 00	6/22/48
Netherlands	Ex-German vessel *TF–20*, demilitarized, for scrap.	C. E. E.	9, 380. 00	6/28/48
Norway	*NAU–8* vessel to Norwegian national	150, 000. 00	125, 000. 00	6/ 7/48
	Ex-German *NL–10* (net layer), demilitarized, to Norwegian national.	C. E. E.	77, 000. 00	6/ 8/48
Peru	Spare parts of gas masks, binoculars, telescopes.	39, 057. 71	5, 178. 35	12/1/48
Philippines	Miscellaneous aircraft engine parts, instruments, and radio equipment.	37, 890. 38	37, 890. 38	6/18/48
	1 B–25J, demilitarized (non-flyable), to FEATI flying school.	148, 212. 00	250. 00	6/2/48
	2 YMS (motor mine sweeper), demilitarized, to Luzon Stevedoring Co. for salvage.	1, 300, 000. 00	1, 000. 00	6/3/48
Switzerland	100 P–51 aircraft	5, 248, 900. 00	400, 000. 00	11/8/48
	30 P–51 aircraft	1, 574, 670. 00	120, 000. 00	10/7/48
United Kingdom	5 LCI's, demilitarized, to British national for scrap.	2, 050, 000. 00	8, 055. 00	8/18/47
	1 LCI, demilitarized	410, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	6/16/48
	6 PCE and 9 PTC (patrol craft), 2 LCI, 16 LCT, 5 YMS, demilitarized, to British national.	18, 339, 650. 00	286, 000. 00	Jan., 1948
Uruguay	Miscellaneous ordnance equipment	43, 288. 94	2, 647. 12	9/3/48
Venezuela	Spares and accessories for aircraft	118, 170. 11	18, 659. 18	10/8/48

THE DEPARTMENT

Task of Disposal of Surplus Property Abroad Terminated [1]

The Department of State announced on July 1 that the Office of the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner expired officially last midnight, thereby accomplishing its mission, the sale of war-generated surplus property in foreign areas, 6 months in advance of the expiration of the Surplus Property Act of 1944.

During its existence the OFLC disposed of slightly in excess of 10 billion dollars' worth of war-generated surplus property located in foreign areas for a return to the United States of approximately 2 billion dollars.

Thus, with the liquidation of this office and the successful conclusion of the disposition of foreign surplus, the Department of State points out that this government office has accomplished its mission well in advance of the time authorized by legislation.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

Protocol Bringing Under International Control Drugs Outside the Scope of the Convention of July 13, 1931, as Amended. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a certified copy of the protocol, opened for signature at Paris on November 19, 1948, and signed on behalf of the United States of America on that date, bringing under International control drugs outside the scope of the convention signed at Geneva July 13, 1931, as amended by the protocol signed at Lake Success December 11, 1946, limiting the manufacture and regulating the distribution of narcotic drugs. S. Exec. H., 81st Cong., 1st sess. 11 pp.

Conventions and Recommendations Adopted at the Thirtieth Session of the International Labor Conference. Message from the President of the United States transmitting conventions and recommendations that were adopted at the thirtieth session of the International Labor Conference held at Geneva from June 19 to July 11, 1947, and instrument of amendment adopted at the thirty-first session of the conference held at San Francisco June 17 to July 10, 1948; also the report of the Acting Secretary of State regarding the above-mentioned conventions, instrument of amendment, and recommendations, and a letter of December 3, 1948, from the Acting Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of State regarding those documents. H. Doc. 51, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 74 pp.

Suggestions on Foreign Relations Policy. Message from the President of the United States transmitting suggestions on foreign relations policy, and the transfer of certain powers to the Secretary of State. H. Doc. 98, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

[1] [Public Notice 11] 14 Fed. Reg. 3823.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmation

On July 21, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of Edward B. Lawson to be American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Iceland.

Veterinary Congress—*Continued from page 144*

Advisers

Colonel James C. Barta, Veterinary Corps, U.S. Air Force
Dr. C. K. Mingle, Assistant in Charge, Tuberculosis Eradication Division, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture
Dr. H. W. Schoening, Acting Chief, Pathological Division, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture
Dr. Maurice S. Shahan, Foot and Mouth Research Branch, Pathological Division, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture
Dr. W. T. S. Thorp, Chief, Comparative Pathology Unit, Institute of Experimental Medicine, National Institute of Health, U. S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

The purpose of the Congress is to discuss the application of modern methods of control or prevention of disease in livestock. The discussions will be augmented by field trips to research stations and schools of veterinary medicine. The Thirteenth International Veterinary Congress was held at Zürich in August 1938.

Immediately following this meeting, Dr. Simms and Dr. Steele will represent the United States at a meeting on foot-and-mouth disease, scheduled to be held at London on August 15, under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

PUBLICATIONS

Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–45 Released

[*Released to the press July 16*]

The Department of State released on July 16 the publication in English translation of the first volume in the collection entitled *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*. The collection, which is under the joint sponsorship of the American, British, and French Governments, is being edited by scholars who have been directed by their governments to make an impartial and scholarly selection of all documents essential for an understanding of German foreign policy.

The editors have begun this work with Series D of the collection, covering the years 1937–1945. The volume released on July 16, which is the first of six dealing with the immediate origins of World War II, is entitled *From Neurath to Ribbentrop, 1937–38*. It includes documents on German relations with Austria from the agreement concluded between the two countries on July 11, 1936, through the annexation of Austria in March 1938. Other chapters are concerned with German relations with the other great powers and with the Holy See from September 1937 through September 1938. A second volume, to be published shortly, deals with German-Czech relations from October 1937 through the Munich conference of September 1938. The third volume, on the Spanish Civil War, 1936–39, is now being prepared for the printer. Selection has been completed of the documents which will be printed in the remaining three volumes carrying the story to September 1939; these volumes will appear in 1950.

A British edition of the first volume, printed by photo-offset from the American edition, will appear shortly. A French translation of some of the documents will appear later this year. Because of the mechanical difficulties of printing in Germany, the publication of the German originals, planned to coincide with the appearance of the English translation, will be delayed several months.

The captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry and of the Reich Chancellery are so voluminous that it is impossible to publish more than a fraction of the 400 tons of documents. Every document of any importance covering the period 1918–1945 has been or will be microfilmed. The three governments have agreed that when publication has been completed of documents dealing with a topic or period the relevant microfilms of unpublished as well as published documents will be made available for research by scholars. Accordingly, all the microfilms on the topics covered in the volume published on July 16 will be placed in the National Archives as soon as practicable.

The American editor in chief is Raymond J. Sontag, professor of history in the University of California, Berkeley; he returns to his teaching duties this month and will be succeeded by Dr. Bernadotte E. Schmitt. John W. Wheeler-Bennett was the British editor in chief when the documents included in this volume were selected; the present British editor is James Marshall-Cornwall. The French editor in chief is Professor Maurice Baumont. The American editorial staff includes Professor E. Malcolm Carroll, of Duke University, Dr. James S. Beddie, of the Department of State, and Professor Paul Sweet, of Colby College.

The volume is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. for $3.25.

ECA Publishes Booklet on Information for American Businessmen on the Marshall Plan

[*Released to the press by ECA July 13*]

Publication of a new booklet, *Information for American Businessmen on the Marshall Plan*, was announced on July 13 by the Economic Cooperation Administration.

One section of the booklet, "Selling Under the Marshall Plan," outlines ECA's procedure in providing dollar credits for European economic recovery and again emphasizes that "The ECA does *not* buy or sell, book cargoes, route shipments or engage in any other phase of the actual buying-selling operations."

Other sections of the booklet include:

Names and addresses of foreign government purchasing missions procuring goods with ECA financing, with lists of commodities and services procured;

Names and addresses of foreign government missions engaged in the administrative details of the Marshall Plan, but doing *no* buying;

A list of United States Government agencies which upon occasion have purchased commodities with ECA financing, together with a list of commodities procured;

A chapter on "The Prospective Exporter";

A list of "Some Basic Information Sources" for prospective exporters.

Copies of the booklet are available upon request from the Office of Information, Economic Cooperation Administration, Washington 25, D.C.

conomic Report of the President Released

The *Midyear Economic Report of the President* as transmitted to the Congress on July 11, 1949, gether with a report on "The Economic Situaon at Midyear 1949" by the Council of Economic dvisers.

The report includes a summary review of recent onomic developments, policies for economic ability and expansion, and a summary of legistive recommendations.

Copies of this publication (126 pp.) are sold for ¢ by the Superintendent of Documents, United ates Government Printing Office, Washington , D.C.

ribbean Commission

The Tobacco Trade of the Caribbean, the fourth the External Trade Bulletins being prepared d published by the Caribbean Commission, was blished on June 5.

Tobacco, the book finds is one of the few comdities in which the Caribbean area can show favorable balance of trade, although the ratio exports to imports declined from 2:1 in 1935 3:2 in 1947.

As in other sectors of the Caribbean economy, raw material is exported and the manufactured oduct imported, and the tobacco industry is own to afford partial evidence in support of view that the rise of export prices is cusarily outdistanced by the rise of import prices.

The Dairy Products of the Caribbean, fifth in series of External Trade Bulletins published the Research Branch of the Caribbean Commisn's Secretariat, was released on June 14, and ls with the question of dairy products of the a from the standpoint of trade alone.

This new publication now presents, for the first e in one volume, statistics of the area imports r 12 years, thus giving a fairly accurate picture lemand in the area. These statistics, naturally, vide some of the basic data required for the nslation and implementation of any of the ious plans put forward.

The Research Branch of the Central Secretariat completed its first edition of the *Year Book of ibbean Research*, as a part of the documenta- for the second meeting of the Caribbean earch Council, Lawrence W. Cramer, Secretary neral, announced on May 27. The meeting will held in Kent House from May 27–30, 1949, er the chairmanship of H. J. Page, principal he Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, present chairman of the Council.

he *Year Book* reveals that there are almost 800 jects and investigations, including some private research projects, now under way in the Commission territories. It makes available to those engaged in particular research projects in the Caribbean, for the first time, a comprehensive picture of similar and related research activities being carrried on in other parts of the area.

The projects are listed under the following heads: agriculture, forestry, fish and wildlife, medicine (diseases), public health, sanitary engineering, nutrition, sociology, statistics, economics, education, planning and housing, building, chemical technology, engineering, geodesy and surveying, and geology. Agricultural research, added Mr. Cramer, dominates the volume, representing more than half of the total projects.

Caribbean Commission publications may be purchased from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York; from the Central Secretariat, Kent House, Trinidad, or from the Commission's agents in various territories.

Volume on U.S. Participation in International Conferences Released

A publication entitled *Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences* has been released. The volume contains brief accounts of international conferences and meetings in which the United States Government participated officially during the period July 1, 1947–June 30, 1948, including the composition of the United States delegations.

Copies of this publication (375 pp.) are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 65¢.

Recent Releases

The Signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. General Foreign Policy Series 10. Pub. 3497. vii, 66 pp. 50¢.

Includes proceedings of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, the remarks by the Foreign Ministers of the 12 signatory nations, the address by President Truman, and the text of the treaty in both English and French. Photographs of proceedings and the Foreign Ministers.

National Commission News, June 1949. Pub. 3520. 10 pp. 10¢ a copy; $1 a year domestic, $1.35 a year foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

United States Delegation Report on FAO. International Organization and Conference Series IV, Food and Agriculture Organization 1. [*Documents and State Papers* of June 1949] Pub. 3560. 15 pp. Free.

Gives background of the Food and Agriculture Organization, Conference action of the fourth session, and summary.

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Multilateral Diplomacy

y William Sanders[1]

Despite the imposing and perhaps enigmatic tle, this subject has become commonplace the orld over with the advent of the League of Na-ons and the United Nations.

These two international organizations repre-ent the maximum efforts made by the nations f the world to establish peace and to promote uman welfare through organized collective co-peration. It is within the large context of the ethods and objectives of these international ctivities that multilateral diplomacy has its com-lete meaning. In placing the adjective "multi-teral" before the noun "diplomacy" we thereby ive recognition to one of the most significant evelopments of our time. Multilateral diplo-acy is a revolutionary method for dealing with ternational affairs. Beyond that, it is revolu-onary in the policies and subject matters of such ffairs.

It is not enough to say, therefore, that bilateral iplomacy involves negotiations between two ates whereas multilateral diplomacy, as it liter-lly connotes, involves negotiations between and mong many states. Like the iceberg, such a defi-ition leaves much undisclosed beneath the rface.

The principal example of multilateral diplo-acy today on a world scale is the United Na-ons.[2] Together with the specialized agencies the economic, social, and cultural fields, the United Nations is a complex of organizations, committees, commissions, working groups, international meetings, and conferences. Most of these bodies and meetings are composed of, or are attended by, official representatives of governments. Membership and attendance in some cases is confined to technical experts, who serve in their individual or professional capacity. Normally all these bodies and gatherings are serviced by secretariats composed of international public servants.

But multilateral diplomacy is something more than machinery and procedure. International organizations and the procedures and techniques by which they operate are simply the means by which states seek to arrive at and give effect to an agreed uniform or common policy. In the case of the United Nations this policy is found in the Charter, particularly its principles and purposes. The specialized organizations in the economic and social fields such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, have similar constitutional statements of policy and objectives in their technical areas. These documents are written foreign policy statements of the individual states.

The singularity of this policy does not arise alone in that it is a uniform or common policy stated collectively by many states, or that it creates permanent international machinery to facilitate the execution of this policy, or in that its basic principles and purposes are stated in written form in an international document. This policy is also characterized by the fact that it covers virtually all aspects of foreign affairs, and that in many of

[1] This article is based on remarks made before the ashington Students Citizenship Seminar, held at the epartment of State on June 28, 1949.

[2] For an analysis of an older, regional example of multi-teral diplomacy see "Sovereignty and Independence the New World," BULLETIN of Feb. 8, 1948, p. 155.

these aspects it is contractual, that is, binding on the member states.

The United Nations Charter, for example, covers the entire range of foreign policy. At San Francisco when the Charter was drafted, there was stubborn insistence that the United Nations should go beyond the Covenant of the League of Nations in the field of economic and social cooperation. In the more than 5,000 meetings held yearly by the United Nations system, the entire span of the life of man is considered in the effort to free him from fear and want. This program includes many matters which until only recently were considered of purely domestic concern.

The contractual aspect of multilateral diplomacy involves not only obligations to abide by certain standards of conduct and to join with other states in cooperative endeavors for the promotion of human welfare and peace, but also obligations to carry out in good faith the decisions of the security organ of the international organization.

Many aspects of this multilateral policy are of course stated only in terms of broad principles or objectives; the action to be taken is not specified. The action to be taken, and how and when it is to be taken, is left for decision by the member states. Action can be taken individually by each state or under special agreements or treaties with other states. The European Recovery Program represents action of this kind. Action can be taken, and more generally is, on the basis of studies and recommendations of the appropriate organ or organizations of the United Nations system. The proposed Covenant on Human Rights and the work of the Economic and Social Council are of that type of international organization activities which lays the basis for internal and international action by the members. A very large proportion of the responsibilities of the United Nations system within its vast frame of reference is discharged through the exercise of its purely consultative and recommendatory functions.

Other matters of interstate relations involve obligations under the Charter to do or not to do certain things. Typical of these are the commitments to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force. The Charter system for the settlement of disputes is extremely flexible and seeks principally to encourage and facilitate agreement between the parties involved rather than to impose solutions. In the case of the International Court of Justice, where the judgment of the Court is binding on the parties, the initial decision to utilize this method of settlement is up to the parties. In the case of the Security Council and General Assembly, which may consider a dispute or situation regardless of the wishes of the parties, the functions of pacific settlement are those of political negotiation and compromise, in which the final decision is in the hands of the parties involved. Nevertheless a recommendation of the Security Council or the General Assembly relative to a dispute or a situation affecting the peace passed by the required majority of the members, directly engages the responsibility and good faith of the members to proceed with due regard for the recommended course of action. This is a responsibility not only of the states who may be directly involved in the question but also of the other member states. Thus in the case of the General Assembly resolution on Spain, the United States has taken the position that although it has never considered the resolution as an altogether effective or realistic means by which to encourage the emergence of a Spanish government more representative of the people of Spain, the United States will observe the terms of the resolution so long as it is on the books.

It is in matters relating to the prevention or suppression of breaches of the peace that discretion by the member states on the manner of and timing for the carrying out of an obligation under the Charter is at a minimum. It is in this area that under the Charter the state who violates the self-denying obligations to refrain from the use of force can be compelled by the Security Council to keep the peace; it is also in this area where the other members are obligated to "accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council" on the enforcement of peace.

Multilateral diplomacy thus creates, and operates in increasingly within, an organized community of states. In this community are to be found at different stages of development the institutions, laws, regulations, and even the more typical of all community association. The United Nations system has all these elements. The legislative, or more properly speaking, the deliberative is typified preeminently by the General Assembly, the judicial is typified by the International Court of Justice; and the executive is exemplified on the

highest political plane by the Security Council and on the administrative plane by the Secretariat.

In its operation, multilateral diplomacy combines bilateral, group, and parliamentary negotiations. The preparations for and the conduct of the General Assembly of the United Nations illustrate this point. The Assembly is the macrocosm of international parliamentary processes.

Attendance at the General Assembly session means for the Government of the United States an extraordinary amount of careful planning and painstaking studies and the making of significant policy decisions on a great variety of issues. On many of the more important of these issues consultation with Congressional leaders is held. On others the participation of a considerable number of Government agencies is required. Many of these agencies have been concerned traditionally only with matters of domestic concern. They are now brought into the international picture in connection with the activities of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the specialized agencies in the economic, social, and cultural field. The vital role of public opinion in the United States, moreover, calls for consultations with private organizations and individuals to obtain their views in the preparation of instructions to the United States delegation.

Another phase of this preparatory work involves diplomatic conversations with governments on issues of mutual interest. By this means the Department of State attempts to convey to these governments the views of this government and to obtain their views. Through this reciprocal and informal "give and take" an early mutual understanding of views and attitudes is made possible which frequently facilitates the discussions in the Assembly. These discussions of course continue during the Assembly as an accompaniment of the multilateral discussions in the working groups, subcommittees, committees, and plenary meetings. To facilitate these informal and individual discussions, the United States delegation has attached to it special "political liaison officers" whose job is to contact the other delegates in order to receive their views and to pass on to them the views of the United States delegation. All these mutations of unilateral preparations and decisions, bilateral discussions, and multilateral negotiations are part and parcel of the whole complex of multilateral diplomacy. They are and should be part of the normal and routine mechanism by which agreement is reached in the "Parliament of the World."

These negotiations do not yield the sum or average of our bilateral relations. Someone has stated somewhat ambiguously, but not inaptly, that the process by which agreement is reached in the United Nations constitutes a new dimensional diplomacy. In direct negotiations between two countries, there is always a degree of bargaining on a selective basis, permitting, among other things, the offsetting of matters of mutual interest. In multilateral negotiations, this bargaining situation is out of focus. States are projected into issues in which they have no immediate or direct interest and where they have consequently greater latitude for "free wheeling." The rapid tempo and fluidity of these negotiations, moreover, place a premium on individual initiative and discretion. There is even latitude for individual idiosyncrasy and temperament. Quick decisions on the spot must be made. The representatives are also exposed to personal and psychological pressures of a great public forum and to other special regional or group interests operating within the Assembly itself which offset or diffuse the normal bilateral negotiating situation. That is why, as has been said, an international organization has a personality of its own, distinct from that of its individual members. That is also why the element of leadership is so essential if constructive purposes are to be achieved through the international organization. It also explains why so often the decisions reflect adherence to principles of general and long-range interest rather than the accommodation of purely individual national interests.

As indicated previously the extraordinary range and variety of subjects covered by multilateral negotiations has had a direct and pervasive influence on the conduct of foreign affairs. For one thing, the "shirt sleeve" element has entered into the processes of diplomacy. Because of the "internationalizing" of so many matters formerly of purely domestic concern, diplomacy has had to invoke the participation of specialists, technicians, and professionals in virtually all walks of life. "The butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker," not to speak of "rich man, poor man," though not I hope "beggarman and thief," as such

and not as converts to a little understood diplomatic profession, are now included among those who conduct negotiations as representatives of their governments and as experts on international bodies.

But of still wider ramifications in this connection has been the impact of multilateral diplomacy on the role of public opinion in the conduct of foreign affairs. The new alphabet symbol "NGO" reflects the awakened interest and participation of nongovernmental organizations and private individuals in foreign policy. The public forum characteristic of multilateral diplomacy and the range of matters covered by these negotiations has made this development inevitable. This result had to be true particularly in the United States where foreign policy is so peculiarly responsive to public opinion trends. This development places a premium on an intelligent understanding on the part of the people of international problems and on a discriminate use and evaluation of the facts of international life.

Why is it, it may well be asked at this point, that multilateral diplomacy has acquired such vital significance in our time? Trygve Lie recently said in explaining the role of the United Nations that:

> There can be no substitute for the universal approach of the United Nations. There is only one way to prevent a third World War in the long run—the only way is to make the United Nations work on a universal basis.

This categorical statement regarding the universal approach to peace harks back to the deeply felt sentiment which a great proportion of the peoples of the world shared at the end of World War II. It then appeared self-evident that only through collective security based upon a universal system for the peaceful adjustment of conflicts, the enforcement of peace, and on economic and social cooperation could man entertain a hope of freeing himself from recurring war. In the present period of somewhat general skepticism and letdown, these premises are being examined afresh.

Some now say that the United Nations and all it represents is pure idealism, the same idealism, which injected the United States into the First World War under the banner of "making the world safe for democracy." Through the creation of a straw man regarding the supposed role of a wet-behind-the-ears idealism in the creation and in the failure of the League of Nations, a premise is established which would cut the ground from under the whole concept of collective security. This view disposes of the United Nations as a luxury item, which is not justified by the lean and harsh realities of international life.

Another reason given for the establishment of such institutions as the League of Nations and the United Nations is that they are the product of the fear of war and international anarchy, a fear that has been deepened and accentuated by the catastrophic proportions of modern war, particularly with the advent of weapons of mass destruction. This is a factor where the compulsions for continuing effort, we are told, ebb or flow with the immediacy or remoteness of war.

Another reason given relates to the factor of convenience—that the intensification and broadening of matters of international concern makes it imperative that means be devised by which the states of the world can agree upon and coordinate policies and undertake continuing activities on matters of mutual interest and concern. But convenience by itself, it is evident, has never been a compelling motivation for human action on the scale and magnitude required for the gigantic effort to create permanent peace.

A fourth reason, which may be said to embrace the other three, is based on conclusions which flow from the self-evident and inescapable interdependence of the world. It establishes the proposition that peace and human welfare can be achieved only through collective means. This is an appeal to enlightened self-interest, which cannot be turned aside by failures and cannot easily be disillusioned. It is an appeal that evokes the law of survival in the modern world. This involves not only physical survival, but survival of our way of life and standards of living. The interdependence of the world and the "indivisibility of peace" has been brought home to our people in the two World Wars of this century. The news of the day is constantly reflecting these same realities. Disturbed economic and social situations and internal and international strife in other parts of the world hit us in many obvious and unmistakable ways.

Some welcome these facts; others are made unhappy by them. But whatever one's reaction may be, it is not enough to recognize that these are facts of life. The interdependence of the world is

factor of environment which in and by itself will not force a given course of action upon the nations of the world. As usual in dealing with factors of environment, we have alternatives. We can remain passive, we can adapt, or we can control, for good or for evil. Interdependence can be responsible for our destruction or it can be used to our advantage. It does impose one inexorable condition—in the long run we cannot have peace and we cannot have and continue to develop our high levels of living in isolation from the rest of the world. This truism was stated by President Roosevelt in 1933 when he said: "No nation or group of nations can enjoy prosperity and plenty when a large part of the world is in economic stress."

From this point of vantage, history and the analysis of the nature of a world composed of independent and sovereign states compels the conclusion that older forms of power relations are outdated and inadequate for our present needs. This conclusion applies specifically to isolationism, alliances, spheres of influence, world domination on the Roman model, exclusive reliance on national strength and balance of power. These older systems may be justified in restrospect as proper rules of a Neanderthal game of survival in a lawless world. Certainly insofar as the United States is concerned it can not be denied that from the earliest colonial period up to recent times it has been a beneficiary of and occasional active participant in balance of power. This system gave the world periods of unstable and uneasy peace and was used to oppose aggression and world domination. Nevertheless, it evolved within a "dog-eat-dog" frame of reference. The essential reason for being of one group was its antagonism to another such group. The theoretical basis of the system was the fiction of balance of power; the real objective of the practices under it was of course preponderance of power. Under this system security was a product of preponderence and not of equilibrium. But by the same token security for one group meant lack of security for the other. This practice engendered offsetting power arrangements with an armed clash the inevitable outcome. There is still in some quarters a nostalgic attachment to the *laissez-faire* principles of the system and the "power diplomacy" which went with it. It claimed great flexibility and responsiveness to the "realities of international life." The power adjustments within the system created an illusion of dynamic movement and maximum latitude for change of the *status quo* when the established order of things was outstripped by the onward sweep of events. The reality was quite often as not that the system tended to encourage states to cling to an order of things that had passed and to subject change to the test of force.

The search today for collective security as a substitute for these inchoate power relations is based on the idea that not only has man developed beyond the point where he needs to rely on these rough-hewn and rudimentary tools for his protection, but also that the character of the world in which he lives and the means of destruction which he now possesses makes these tools dangerous to his welfare and survival. Increasingly he finds as the world inexorably becomes more rather than less interrelated, that self-preservation and national welfare cannot be disassociated from the security and the welfare of the world as a whole.

Of course historical analysis, like statistics, can be used to attempt to prove any given proposition. Marx, Lenin, and Stalin have used this technique to establish the dogmas of Communism. The Marxian interpretation of history is based on preconceptions which compel a selection of only those factors which substantiate those preconceptions. The ideas of international cooperation can likewise be established by an analysis of history and of social and economic developments in an interdependent world. The presence or absence of preconceptions in the analysis and interpretation which lead to these conclusions must be determined by each individual for himself. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into these questions. It is evident, however, that the statement made by Trygve Lie, quoted above, will be accepted as valid by most Americans.

The crucial importance of the basic issue posed by these two approaches resides in the power of ideas to move men to action and so to shape the course of history. This ancient truth is particularly to the point today when science has placed at the disposal of man immense resources by which either to imprison the mind through propaganda at the service of a false and destructive idea or to free it from ignorance and bigotry by making the facts available to it. The two above-mentioned interpretations of history and of the nature of the world have produced ideas which are at the root

of the East-West tensions. These embattled ideas are found in the conclusions regarding world peace reached by Soviet Communism and those who believe in collective security through the United Nations. There are fundamental differences between the two philosophies as to the conditions which must prevail in the world before the basic causes of international friction and conflict can be removed and as to the means by which these conditions can be created.

Soviet dialectic concludes that the U.S.S.R. can never be secure so long as powerful capitalist nations exist. Peace will come to the world when control by the proletariat has been established in all or at least the major states. Before this millennium is reached, however, control of the proletariat by a small, tightly organized, and ruthless minority is considered essential in order to assist in the consummation of the inevitable outcome of social forces. The question of when and how transfer of control from this minority to the proletariat is to be accomplished has been neglected. In the meanwhile, a monolithic obedience is exacted. The same approach is applied in international relations. Peace in the world cannot be established before all differences disappear, submerged in a vast subservience to the Soviet image all along the line. In this connection, the Soviets appear to read the present polarization of power between the two centers of Western democracy and Communist Russia as a sharpening of the issues between two irreconcilable civilizations, in which the survival of one requires the death of the other.

The United Nations is based upon a different premise. President Truman in his inaugural address this year stated this premise when he said that "hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war—that we can have peace." On the occasion of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty he said the same thing in other words when he declared: "We do not consider war inevitable."

This same basic philosophy was stated recently by Benjamin Cohen in the General Assembly, when he said speaking for the United States:

> The United States believes in an open world and repudiates the idea that any country or people who are friendly to us must be hostile to any other country. It is strange that those who profess to be opposed to the division of the world into hostile blocs insist upon regarding any interest on our part, however legitimate, towards countries friendly to them as hostile and conspiratorial. Those who profess to want a friendly, peaceful world should act in a peaceful, friendly spirit. They should not seek refuge in an artificial and self-imposed isolation which makes them see a plot in every effort to maintain friendly intercourse with them.

In this approach to the problem of peace there is an apparent paradox. The basic principle of the interdependence of the world is accompanied by a companion principle which postulates respect for the independence of the component members of the world community. This latter principle finds its roots in the democratic ideas which regard the state as the servant of the individual and not the reverse, and which consider that differences of opinion, of outlook, and the stress and struggle to reach compromise upon the basis of voluntary agreement within a system of law and order will in the long run insure the best interest of all concerned. This is the same paradox that was resolved in the Constitution of the United States by the principle of peaceful change. Thus, while we recognize the interdependence of the world and consider that this interdependence requires a collective approach to world peace, we do not believe that our security is dependent upon the creation of a world on a United States model through liquidation of all opposition. This philosophy is incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations. In this context, the Soviet concept is like a fish out of water. The non-Communist world does not consider that the existence of other nations with different forms of government and different philosophies of life is necessarily incompatible with its own security and welfare. It seeks the cooperation of these nations in the achievement of the common and enlightened purposes of the United Nations.

The principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of other nations is a traditional United States policy. This fact is attested by our attitude toward independence of the former colonies of Spain in the Americas in their struggle for emancipation from colonial rule, our Monroe Doctrine, and the Good Neighbor Policy and our practice under it of the principle of nonintervention. All these policies and practices offer evidence of how deeply rooted this principle is in American history. The European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Military Assistance

Program, and our policies with respect to the emerging nationalities in the colonial areas of the world are similar reflections of this basic principle.

The principle of respect for and understanding of the differences between peoples is not inconsistent with the companion principle of interdependence. Sovereignty cannot be absolute. A state, in fact, exercises sovereignty when it joins with other states in policies and agrees to mutual limitations upon individual freedom of action in order to accommodate for the good of its own people to the facts of interdependence. The United Nations Charter, which cuts deeply into the older absolute ideas of independence and sovereignty, bears witness to this fact. The United States proposals with respect to atomic energy cut even more deeply into these ideas. These proposals constitute in fact the most revolutionary views in this connection that have been advanced by governments. Sincere and constructive participation in the United Nations and the specialized agencies is based on a recognition of interdependence. It is in such policies as these that we find the real "wave of the future."

Soviet misconceptions regarding the conditions necessary to their security and the policies which they pursue thereunder are unquestionably the chief obstacles to the creation of conditions in the world which will enable the United Nations to operate as it was intended. Soviet doctrinaire ideologies in fact have become the handmaiden of similar policies pursued by Czarist Russia. Lack of confidence of course engenders lack of confidence It is essential, nevertheless, that this process not be permitted to develop to the point where it will lead to mutual destruction. Ideas are facts and they are also contagious. The Soviet doctrine of the inevitable clash between Communism and Western democracy could easily evoke a similar state of mind in our camp. The task of Western statesmanship is to demonstrate the fallacy of the basic Soviet premise. Unfortunately this objective cannot at the moment be reached by persuasion and example alone. Firmness and strength are more convincing at this stage, as well as a steadfast pressure and vigilance on the part of all the nations who reject the inevitability of war.

It must be borne in mind that the Charter did not attempt to deal directly with the question of great power conflict. It recognized that the great powers were the only ones that could determine the issue of whether or not there would be another world war. It was thought that they would cooperate for the achievement of the peaceful purposes of the Charter. This assumption is reflected in the principle of unanimity among the great powers, which is now more often known by its negative synonym, the veto. It is also reflected in the provisions of articles 106 and 107 of the Charter, in which it was contemplated that pending the coming into force of the arrangements which would equip the Security Council to take enforcement action, the great powers would take such joint action on behalf of the United Nations as might be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Because of Soviet suspicion and aggression, this transitional period has changed its character from one of cooperation to liquidate the problems of World War II to one of such tension as to create fears that it is a possible prelude to World War III.

We must recognize that we live in a period of transition in great power relations. We see clearly the inadequacies and dangers of older security policies and systems. We seek to replace them by a system of collective security. The latter is in process of being established on a firm and realistic basis. We must still travel a long road of trial and error and of growth and development in the light of experience. As we move forward we must guard against the state of mind in which our desire for peace blinds us to the fact that the job of creating collective security adequate to deal with great power conflict remains to be done and that it calls for a great deal of effort and steadfast purpose. This caveat does not mean, of course, that we must meanwhile continue to play the game according to the old rules. The United Nations has demonstrated its capacity to cope with some of the most difficult problems of this crucial period. It will grow in stature and strength on this diet. We must also create the conditions which will make it increasingly possible for the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities. One of the most important of these conditions is that the nations who sincerely believe in and support the principles of the Charter of the United Nations have the economic and political health which will enable them to exert their full strength on behalf of peace. These are the nations who form the

(*Continued on page 199*)

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Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries[1]

by Assistant Secretary Thorp, U.S. Representative in ECOSOC

I appreciate the courtesy of being permitted to start the discussion upon the subject of economic development. Of course, the basic fact is that all our countries have a major interest in economic development. It affects the life of each country and its relationship with other countries. In the past, many of those around this table, as well as many of our alumni, have contributed to the development of our understanding of the subject, and the present discussion will likewise be valuable if it brings out the attitudes and points of view of many representatives, in the hope that our collective wisdom may lead to a constructive result.

The basic objective cannot be restated too often. It is to cooperate with the people of economically underdeveloped areas, in their own efforts to develop their human and natural resources, to increase their productive capacity, and to raise their standards of living.

Efforts by ECOSOC and the United States To Meet Objectives

Since our last meeting, we have made substantial strides forward. We now have before us for consideration the expanded program for technical assistance which we requested of the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies. I know that this accomplishment required great effort on the part of many individuals. At such meetings of the specialized agencies as have been held, the representatives of many countries have participated in vigorous and constructive discussions of the responsibilities and opportunities of these agencies. The subject has been further explored at the regional commissions. Many individual countries, both those seeking development and those in a position to assist, have clarified their thinking, and some have already expanded their efforts in this field. Many private organizations and individuals have searched their experience and imagination to contribute by analysis, articles, speeches, resolutions, conferences, and direct advice. This is no superficial activity, but stems from a profound realization of the importance of the problem, and the necessity for moving speedily into the sphere of greater and more effective action.

In the United States, during recent months, we have done our best to increase our understanding of the processes and problems of economic development. We have studied carefully our experience in the past with respect to technical assistance and capital investment, both at home and abroad. We have examined, as best we could, the need for technical assistance in other parts of the world and the practical limits which exist upon the operation of specific programs during any one period of time. We have sought out many private individuals and organizations, and others have come to us, to contribute to our body of knowledge. I suppose that well over 500 people in our government have participated in the attempt to evaluate our past experience, and to consider the possibilities of the future.

I wish that I could tell you that this composite effort had uncovered some new and simple solution to the problem. But that has not proved to be the case. What it has done is to sharpen our knowledge and to reinforce and refine most of the gen-

[1] Excerpts from a statement made before the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, on July 21, 1949, and released to the press by the United States delegation to the Economic and Social Council, ninth session, on the same date.

eral propositions which had already been developed in our earlier discussion—the wide variety of needs; the dominant part played by the recipient country; the necessity of thinking of development in terms of long periods of time; the importance of coordination of programs; the limiting factor of qualified personnel, both foreign and local; the limiting factor of capital and management, both foreign and local; the limiting factor of social habits and institutions inherited from the past; the tremendous organizational and administrative difficulties of setting up and maintaining programs of so many types in so many areas; and the impossibility of formulating exact and complete programs far in advance. In fact, while we can have a clearly defined and constant objective, the achievement of this objective will require continual evolution in the nature of assistance given and the methods of approach.

Proposed Legislation Sent to United States Congress

It may sound as though the record were one primarily indicating difficulties and obstacles. The fact is that it also includes illustration after illustration of extraordinary accomplishment. In every field, health, education, agriculture, and all the rest, particular projects have demonstrated that, with appropriate support from the local authorities, a small number of experts can bring tremendous benefits to large numbers of people. On the basis of this preparatory work which provides a strong, factual basis describing the importance and possibilities of economic development, President Truman submitted proposed legislation to Congress on June 24, 1949. I should like to repeat certain excerpts from his message:

> In order to enable the United States, in cooperation with other countries, to assist the peoples of economically underdeveloped areas to raise their standards of living, I recommend the enactment of legislation to authorize an expanded program of technical assistance for such areas, and an experimental program for encouraging the outflow of private investment beneficial to their economic development. These measures are the essential first steps in an undertaking which will call upon private enterprise and voluntary organizations in the United States, as well as the Government, to take part in a constantly growing effort to improve economic conditions in the less developed regions of the world.
>
> The grinding poverty and the lack of economic opportunity for many millions of people in the economically underdeveloped parts of Africa, the Near and Far East, and certain regions of Central and South America, constitute one of the greatest challenges of the world today. . . .
>
> . . . assistance in the development of the economically underdeveloped areas has become one of the major elements of our foreign policy. In my inaugural address, I outlined a program to help the peoples of these areas to attain greater production as a way to prosperity and peace.
>
> The major effort in such a program must be local in character; it must be made by the people of the underdeveloped areas themselves. It is essential, however, to the success of their effort that there be help from abroad. In some cases, the peoples of these areas will be unable to begin their part of this great enterprise without initial aid from other countries.
>
> The aid that is needed falls roughly into two categories. The first is the technical, scientific and managerial knowledge necessary to economic development. This category includes not only medical and educational knowledge, and assistance and advice in such basic fields as sanitation, communications, road building and governmental services, but also, and perhaps most important, assistance in the survey of resources and in planning for long-range economic development.
>
> The second category is production goods—machinery and equipment—and financial assistance in the creation of productive enterprises. The underdeveloped areas need capital for port and harbor development, roads and communications, irrigation and drainage projects, as well as for public utilities and the whole range of extractive, processing and manufacturing industries.
>
> Much of the capital required can be provided by these areas themselves, in spite of their low standards of living. But much must come from abroad.
>
> The two categories of aid are closely related. Technical assistance is necessary to lay the groundwork for productive investment. Investment, in turn, brings with it technical assistance. In general, however, technical surveys of resources and of the possibilities of economic development must precede substantial capital investment. Furthermore, in many of the areas concerned, technical assistance in improving sanitation, communications or education is required to create conditions in which capital investment can be fruitful. . . .
>
> . . . Much of the aid that is needed can be provided most effectively through the United Nations. . . .
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> . . . The enactment of these two legislative proposals, the first pertaining to technical assistance and the second to the encouragement of foreign investment, will constitute a national endorsement of a program of major importance in our efforts for world peace and economic stability. Nevertheless, these measures are only the first steps. We are here embarking on a venture that extends far into the future. We are at the beginning of a rising curve of activity, private, governmental and international, that will continue for many years to come. It is all the more important, therefore, that we start promptly.

In addition to the special legislation mentioned in the message, other matters have been laid before the Congress bearing on the problem before us, the most important being a proposal to lift the existing ceilings established by legislation for the American contribution to the regular budgets of certain specialized agencies.

It is less than 4 weeks since the President's message with its specific proposals was sent to the Congress, and it will be considered as soon as the legislative timetable permits. In the meantime, I am happy to report that the program appears to have strong popular backing in the United States. The press and many national organizations have recognized its importance and have expressed their interest and strong support.

Opportunity for Leadership

It is, of course, not necessary for any country to receive the signal from the United Nations or from

the specialized agencies to move ahead in the field of economic development. Nor are we a necessary party to international cooperation in this field. Many multilateral and bilateral projects are in existence. Many of the underdeveloped countries have already begun practical planning, and other countries have indicated in one way or another that they are looking forward to participating both in making technical assistance available and in developing a greater flow of capital. Clearly, the world seems ready for a major international cooperative effort, and the opportunity for leadership is ours in the Council.

I do not propose to take the time of the Council in discussing general principles. The facts of underdevelopment are clear. The need for action is clear. The duty of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is clear. We have had plenty of discussion about the problem in the past. At this session we should discuss action. If there are obstacles, we must find ways of breaking through them. If there are jurisdictional problems, we must see that they do not block progress. We have a job to do, and we must figure out how to get it moving promptly and effectively.

Action Required by ECOSOC

This brings us to the question: What action is required at this session of the Economic and Social Council?

At our last session at Lake Success this Council adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General, in consultation with the specialized agencies, to prepare a special report proposing an expanded program of technical assistance for economic development. This report was to contain three types of information. First, it was to present a comprehensive plan for the expanded program. Second, it was to suggest methods of financing such a program. Third, it was to recommend ways of coordinating the planning and execution of the program.

The Secretary-General's report was published at the end of May. It is a book of some 300 pages. It lists a great variety of proposals, estimated to cost a total of $35,800,000 the first year. I wish to express our appreciation of the research, preparatory planning, and imagination which this report represents, and particularly the careful statement of objectives in the opening pages of the report.

I shall comment in their order on the three elements of the Secretary-General's report.

A Comprehensive Plan for the Expanded Program

First, the comprehensive plan. The Secretary-General stated in his report that he was in fact presenting not one program but six separate sets of proposals prepared by six different secretariats. The Administrative Committee on Coordination did not find it possible to comment on these proposals. It did not examine them for duplications. It did not suggest omissions. It did not determine whether all these projects would bear directly to economic development. It did not determine whether all these proposals could practically be undertaken in the first year. I think it is a fair statement that this report contains a list of potential projects, but is not a finished program. In defense of the report, I should say that no guidance was given to its authors with respect to any limits within which they should work.

However, there are such limits. The United States believes that an effective and efficient program totaling nearly 36 million dollars could not in fact be carried out by the United Nations and the specialized agencies during the first year. Many delays will be found in expanding the supervisory staff of these agencies, in negotiating agreements with governments, in recruiting the necessary experts, and in organizing the necessary training facilities. The shortage of available technicians and training facilities at the beginning of the program would alone require a substantial reduction in the proposals of the participating agencies for the first year.

It is far easier to send to a foreign country a boatload of wheat than a boatload of technical assistance. Technical assistance must travel in the form of books or people or demonstration equipment. Procedurally, it is easier to obtain good wheat than able people. There are fewer problems in making all the necessary arrangements for a country to import a shipload of wheat than to prepare for a group of foreign advisers. It takes a larger administrative staff to look after a million dollars worth of experts, measured of course in budget terms, than an equal value of foodstuffs.

My comments are not intended to cast doubt on technical assistance, but rather to urge a careful beginning. I believe this Council should decide what is the range of possibilities for the size of next year's program. Such possibilities are controlled first, by the shortage of technicians and other limiting factors in the operation of technical assistance; and second, by the amounts of money which the member nations are prepared to contribute. I believe we have some notion of the range of possibilities. For myself, I would suggest a range from 15 million to 25 million dollars. The United States believes that the United Nations and the specialized agencies could spend effectively no more than 25 million dollars in the first year. We feel confident that a minimum of 15 million dollars would be available from the member governments for financing the program. This gives us a range of possibilities.

The figures I am using are comparable to the 36 million dollars proposed in the Secretary-General's report. I believe it would indeed be a great

achievement if we could spend wisely an amount of money ranging from 15 million to 25 million dollars. Even the lowest figure would represent an extraordinary increase to be accomplished in a single year.

Within this range, the United States suggests that this Council should determine the basic elements in a balanced program, for recommendation to the General Assembly for consideration by a larger audience. The Council should judge the programs put forward in the report on the basis of their contribution to effective economic development. It should determine a 15-million-dollar program, for example, how much it is prepared to recommend for agriculture, how much for health, how much for education. This same process should be repeated for a 20-million-dollar program and a 25-million-dollar program.

Thus this Council would have obtained from the specialized agencies their best judgment on the technical details of a program, but would have applied its own judgment as to the best use of such resources in a balanced program for economic development, whatever the amount available in the ultimate budget.

The United States believes that such a critical review of the Secretary-General's report and the determination of priorities within the range of possibilities—say, between 15 million and 25 million dollars—should be undertaken by a committee on our behalf before this range of programs is discussed in plenary session. The report is too long, and the subject too technical for effective discussion without such preparation work by a committee.

I therefore suggest that the Council create a committee on technical assistance which will sit during this session of the Council and will report back to the Council prior to its adjournment.

The membership of this committee will require special consideration. The persons who sit on this committee should be competent to discuss the details of an economic development program. The members should be available to sit full time for the next 2 weeks or more. And the members should be drawn from both advanced industrial countries and those which are considered underdeveloped.

Of course, it is expected that representatives of the specialized agencies will meet with the committee, and their technical judgments will be most valuable in the formulation of priorities. I cannot overemphasize that my proposal calls for joint action between this Council and the specialized agencies.

This committee, in the course of its discussion, would examine the proposals presented by each participating agency. They would have to be judged on the basis of their contribution to economic development. It would consider what proposals, in its judgment, could not be carried out effectively on the scale proposed in the first year. The final products of the committee's work would be three programs, according to the three levels of possible operation.

We would thus have a concrete set of program alternatives, which could be used later this year as a basis for negotiating the funds for this program. The actual size of the program would thus be determined after the General Assembly had considered our report. But the nature of the program, its priorities and emphasis, would be clearly formulated at this meeting.

The review which the suggested committee would make, in close consultation with the specialized agencies, would indeed place the Council in a position to express a sound judgment on the scope and content of the intended program. On the basis of the considerations by such a committee, the Council would be able to propose to the General Assembly a well-considered, useful, and balanced program, while avoiding the difficult fact that we here cannot possibly know what the total level of operation can be. At the same time, the Council would be in a position to advise the specialized agencies concerning the aspects of their proposed programs which would contribute most directly to orderly economic development.

The United States recognizes, as I am sure we all do, that the specialized agencies are more competent, each in its own technical field, than is this over-all body in the technical field of any one of the agencies. Therefore, the final determination as to the exact projects to be carried out by each agency, within the limits of the funds made available to it, must be made by the agency itself. It is expected, of course, that the agencies will take their decisions in the full light of the Council's recommendations. Only in such way can there be assurance of a balanced program among the agencies which will be technically sound in all aspects and pointed at all times at the single objective of economic development. By thus combining the broader economic judgment of this Council with the technical competence of the specialized agencies, a sound total program can be developed and activated.

So far I have spoken only about a first-year program in 1950. The programs put forward by the specialized agencies wisely look forward to the first 2 years. If governments are to have the program for the second year in adequate time for consideration when their legislative bodies are considering appropriation bills, it will be necessary for us to take up the 1951 budgets at our next session in February 1950. I hope that the Administrative Committee on Coordination will review the proposals for the second-year program between now and our next session, and will present their results in terms of alternative levels of expenditure.

Establishing and Collecting Contributions

The second problem relates to the method of establishing and collecting contributions for this program.

The Secretary-General's report presents the consensus among the participating agencies that each agency would approach its membership separately, asking for sufficient funds in a supplemental budget to undertake their technical assistance activities. This recommendation is contained in part 3 chapter 5, of the Secretary-General's report.

There are several different possible methods of financing the programs. They are closely related to the manner in which the programs are themselves determined. If there were to be some single agency, either the United Nations or a new agency, which was to make program decisions from time to time and allocate funds to the appropriate agencies, then a single fund would presumably be established. If, at the other extreme, the specialized agencies were to have complete responsibility in determining their programs, other than mutual consultation, completely separate budgets would be the proper form of financing.

The method of developing the programs which I have suggested provides for a determination of allocations of various levels of contributions through review by Ecosoc of the proposals of the participating agencies, and subsequent approval by the General Assembly. This method of developing the programs postpones the determination of what can be expected on the contributions side and therefore what size of program is appropriate, presumably until the time of the General Assembly. If the Ecosoc should adopt the programming procedure which I have suggested, then the appropriate procedure for financing would need to be somewhat different from that suggested in the Secretary-General's report.

While I do not believe that it is appropriate to discuss this point in detail until after we have decided on the question of how to deal with the program problem, it may be helpful if I sketch briefly some thoughts on the subject. It has seemed to us that negotiation and commitment of contributions might best be accomplished at a general technical assistance conference sponsored by the United Nations and called by Ecosoc under the General Assembly supplementary rule. The conference might be held during or directly after the General Assembly session, once the report on technical assistance had been adopted. All governments belonging to any agency participating in the program would be invited.

The essential element is to have present at the same time and place representatives of all interested governments to negotiate and commit funds. The conference would take as the basis for its action the reports of Ecosoc and the General Assembly, both as to total over-all program and the proposed proportionate share of each agency. The final act of the conference would record the global amount of all contributions, the total amount of contributions of each agency, the total amount of contribution agreed to be contributed by each participating government, and the undertaking of the participating governments to pay their contributions to the agency to which pledged.

In considering the problem of financial procedure, there are certain considerations which must be kept in mind.

First, the procedure should be the one which would yield the most funds. Second, it must tend to enforce the basic decisions as to the allocations among the several agencies. Third, it must provide a suitable working relationship between the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

Methods of Coordination for the Program

I believe this subject of the appropriate method for determining contributions can best be discussed by this Council, and does not require any preliminary committee work.

I now turn to a third topic in the Secretary-General's report, namely, the method of coordination for this program.

The report recommends that coordination among the various specialized agencies and the United Nations in carrying out the program would be provided by a Technical Assistance Committee, working under the Administrative Committee on Coordination. The TAC, like the present ACC, would be made up of representatives of the various participating agencies. The proposed Technical Assistance Committee has the support of my government.

The United States believes that this committee will be particularly useful in assuring the prompt exchange of information among the United Nations agencies, as well as among individual governments engaged in similar programs. It also affords a continuing point of consultation among the participating agencies.

But the United States is uncertain whether a committee composed only of representatives of participating agencies should be the only group to examine and screen the program before it is presented to this Council. I am not prepared to make any suggestions at this time for a permanent arrangement. But I suspect that the kind of working committee which I am recommending in this Council to review the first-year program will also be helpful in future years.

There is one area of necessary coordination not mentioned in the report, namely, that with other intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization of American States. Already, close working relationships have developed in some fields, notably, between the Pan-American Sani-

ary Bureau and the World Health Organization. Any definitive plan must provide for this type of coordination as well as those discussed in the report.

Technical Assistance Measures Taken or Approved

In addition to the major report which I have been discussing, we also have before us three reports from the Secretary-General on measures already taken or proposed by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to give technical assistance for economic development within the framework of their ordinary budgets and activities. I shall reserve detailed comment on these reports until a later time. Two of these reports (E/1335 and E/1345) deal with the record of technical assistance projects prior to 1950 and should, in my opinion, be included in the Council's report to the General Assembly which we are required to make under the Assembly's Resolution 98 (III). In the view of the United States, these regular activities in the field of technical assistance should continue to be provided for in the regular budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, regardless of the outcome of the additional programs which we are chiefly considering here. As to the third document (E/1335/Add.1) reporting action of the Secretary-General in proposing an increase to 676 thousand dollars in the provision for technical assistance under General Assembly Resolution 00 (III), I will limit myself at this stage to saying that the United States approves the increased amount and to suggesting that the document should be referred to the committee which have proposed for reviewing the other technical assistance programs.

In its discussions on economic development, the Council has always considered the two major aspects of this subject: technical assistance and capital investment. We have before us a comprehensive report of the Secretary-General on the function, importance, and origins of capital for financing economic development, as well as the reports on technical assistance which I have already discussed. As the quotation from President Truman's message of June 24 made clear, our work in the United States has also taken into full account both aspects of our problem.

Technical Cooperation and Capital Investment Processes

The adoption of improved techniques alone can in many situations lead directly to increased well-being. Full achievement of our economic development objectives, however, is closely tied to the mobilization and utilization of new capital. Expert road builders capable of using the most modern methods are wasted without the essential heavy equipment. A collection of skilled industrial workers is ineffective unless capital moves in to put tools in their hands.

Fundamentally, there is only one source of such new capital. It is the part of the world's current output which is not consumed immediately, but is utilized to make possible greater production and consumption in the future. There must be some inducement for people to save rather than consume their product. There must be conditions to prompt the movement of these savings into productive investment rather than into unproductive hoards.

However, capital flows through many intermediaries. It may be mobilized through private or public institutions, both in capital-importing and capital-exporting countries. It may come through international institutions such as the International Bank. There has been too great a tendency to consider these various channels as mutually exclusive. Rather, they are in considerable measure complementary means of financing development and each should be used fully in those activities to which it is best suited.

We must accept as a principle that, over time, local capital must play a dominant role in the development of underdeveloped areas. Tentative estimates presented by the Food and Agriculture Organization and included in the Secretary-General's report to this conference—data prepared largely by the underdeveloped countries themselves—indicate that 80 percent of their immediate development financing needs would come from the underdeveloped countries themselves. It is our belief that this over-all percentage is certainly not a high estimate. However, there are limits to the extent to which investment, whether private or public, can come from local resources in any particular underdeveloped country: the margin for savings is small, and the inflationary dangers great. These difficulties and dangers must be balanced against the disadvantages of incurring debts which must be serviced in foreign currencies.

It has frequently been argued that there is a dearth of foreign investment funds. Few would deny that a larger flow of international finance would have been advantageous during the recent past. But I wonder whether this has been due more to an inherently short supply of investment funds than to the fact that there have not been adequate inducements to attract foreign capital into effective uses in underdeveloped areas. Thus, there are large, lendable resources in the International Bank. And these resources can be expanded. While we can all agree that the International Bank has moved slowly in its approach to development financing, and while we all welcome recent evidence of an accelerated rate of lending, I think there is truth in the Bank's claim

that this record is partly the result of a shortage of projects thought through to the point where they are ready for foreign financing. Similarly, the Export-Import Bank in the United States has resources sufficient to meet a greater demand than is currently before it.

Most important, there is reason to believe that, at least in the United States, large quantities of investment funds are potentially available from private sources, particularly in the form of direct investment. As citizens of a democratic free-enterprise economy, we in the United States are particularly convinced of the special contribution which private investment can make to development in underdeveloped countries. Such an investment brings with it not only capital goods but techniques, organizational and managerial experience which assure their most effective use. Moreover, the volume in which it could be available far exceeds that which could be anticipated from governmental sources. In 1948, well over 40 billion dollars was newly invested by private United States sources at home and abroad. The vast bulk has, of course, gone into domestic investment, but the total gives some measure of the large pool of private investment from which funds could be attracted to contribute to development abroad—if conditions existed for inducing this flow.

In calling to your attention these large sources of private investment funds, I am well aware of the frequent charges that have been made about the iniquities perpetrated through private investment abroad. While I believe that the record, accurately evaluated, shows that these iniquities have been exaggerated, I reiterate the clear intention of my government that the private investment abroad which it favors will not be susceptible to the charge of imperialism. The United States expects private investors to give due regard to the welfare of persons dependent on their enterprises, to contribute their fair share of taxes to the local community, to conserve as well as to develop local resources, and to conduct their enterprises so that the investment will be of mutual benefit to both the investor and to the recipient countries. It is not our intent to seek special, discriminatory treatment for our investors in foreign countries.

The United States for its part will continue to promote foreign investment for economic development by supporting the activities of the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank in fields appropriate to public financing. It will continue to seek to improve the climate for private foreign investment by negotiating mutual assurances of fair and equitable treatment with countries desiring to admit foreign capital. It will continue actively to negotiate conventions to relieve investors of the burden of double taxation. In addition, proposed legislation, which will permit us to guarantee United States private capital newly invested in productive enterprises abroad against some of the risks peculiar to such investments, may well remove some of the deterrents to international private capital flow. The United States Government is also studying possible changes in United States tax laws, which may further encourage the flow of such capital abroad.

It is against this background that I express optimism about the availability of foreign capital for investment abroad. It seems that there is now little need for debate on the advantages and disadvantages of one or another method of securing such capital. There is rather need for specific action to increase the effective demand, to provide the conditions which will move more of this capital into underdeveloped areas. Much of this action must be taken by the underdeveloped countries, and the technical cooperation program will facilitate such action. It will help create an environment conducive to increased private capital flow. It will facilitate the preparation and presentation of projects for foreign public financing or for intergovernmental financing.

It is always important to appreciate that the technical cooperation and capital investment processes which I have been discussing are cumulative. As the program develops in the future, additional qualified technical personnel will become available, additional experience will be gained, and methods of disseminating information will be improved so that the technical cooperation aspects of the program may be expanded. The investment aspects of the program will in most cases develop progressively after technical assistance has made the necessary surveys, trained the necessary personnel, and in general prepared the way for developments requiring capital investment. As other existing obstacles are eliminated, investment can rise substantially to meet the needs and take advantage of the opportunities. The principle of compound interest, namely, that capital increases productivity so that more capital can be created, will inevitably increase the supply of investment funds in the future, if an effective demand is present.

In the long run, the program also should lead to the result that more and more countries will be in a position to contribute to the total effort, both in technical assistance and capital investment. This will be particularly true as the initial impetus and capacity in various fields is transferred from foreign technicians to nearly trained local experts, and as local communities develop ways and means of forming and usefully employing capital. No country has a monopoly on either of these essentials, and the cooperative effort can accomplish far more than separate individual efforts.

However, our problem today is not the long-range future, but the program for the first year. I hope that my suggestion of a special committee to work on the problem of programs will commend itself to the other members of the Council, and that it can get to work as quickly as possible.

Israeli-Syrian General Armistice Agreement

Contained in U. N. doc. S/1353, as corrected
Transmitted July 20, 1949

Preamble

The Parties to the present Agreement,

RESPONDING to the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948, calling upon them, as a further provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations and in order to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, to negotiate an armistice;

HAVING DECIDED to enter into negotiations under United Nations Chairmanship concerning the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948; and having appointed representatives empowered to negotiate and conclude an Armistice Agreement;

The undersigned representatives, having exchanged their full powers found to be in good and proper form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article I

With a view to promoting the return of permanent peace in Palestine and in recognition of the importance in this regard of mutual assurances concerning the future military operations of the Parties, the following principles, which shall be fully observed by both Parties during the armistice, are hereby affirmed:

1. The injunction of the Security Council against resort to military force in the settlement of the Palestine question shall henceforth be scrupulously respected by both Parties. The establishment of an armistice between their armed forces is accepted as an indispensable step toward the liquidation of armed conflict and the restoration of peace in Palestine.

2. No aggressive action by the armed forces—land, sea or air—of either Party shall be undertaken, planned, or threatened against the people or the armed forces of the other; it being understood that the use of the term "planned" in this context has no bearing on normal staff planning as generally practised in military organizations.

3. The right of each Party to its security and freedom from fear of attack by the armed forces of the other shall be fully respected.

Article II

With a specific view to the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948, the following principles and purposes are affirmed:

1. The principle that no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council is recognized.

2. It is also recognized that no provision of this Agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and positions of either Party hereto in the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine question, the provisions of this Agreement being dictated exclusively by military and not by political considerations.

Article III

1. In pursuance of the foregoing principles and of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948, a general armistice between the armed forces of the two Parties—land, sea and air—is hereby established.

2. No element of the land, sea or air military or para-military forces of either Party, including non-regular forces, shall commit any warlike or hostile act against the military or para-military forces of the other Party, or against civilians in territory under the control of that Party; or shall advance beyond or pass over for any purpose whatsoever the Armistice Demarcation Line set forth in Article V of this Agreement; or enter into or pass through the air space of the other Party or through the waters within three miles of the coastline of the other Party.

3. No warlike act or act of hostility shall be conducted from territory controlled by one of the Parties to this Agreement against the other Party or against civilians in territory under control of that Party.

Article IV

1. The line described in Article V of this Agreement shall be designated as the Armistice Demarcation Line and is delineated in pursuance of the purpose and intent of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948.

2. The basic purpose of the Armistice Demarcation Line is to delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective Parties shall not move.

3. Rules and regulations of the armed forces of the Parties, which prohibit civilians from crossing the fighting lines or entering the area between the lines, shall remain in effect after the signing of this Agreement with application to the Armistice Demarcation Line defined in Article V, subject to the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Article.

Article V

1. It is emphasized that the following arrangements for the Armistice Demarcation Line between the Israeli and

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Syrian armed forces and for the Demilitarized Zone are not to be interpreted as having any relation whatsoever to ultimate territorial arrangements affecting the two Parties to this Agreement.

2. In pursuance of the spirit of the Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948, the Armistice Demarcation Line and the Demilitarized Zone have been defined with a view toward separating the armed forces of the two Parties in such manner as to minimize the possibility of friction and incident, while providing for the gradual restoration of normal civilian life in the area of the Demilitarized Zone, without prejudice to the ultimate settlement.

3. The Armistice Demarcation Line shall be as delineated on the map attached to this Agreement as Annex I. The Armistice Demarcation Line shall follow a line midway between the existing truce lines, as certified by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for the Israeli and Syrian forces. Where the existing truce lines run along the international boundary between Syria and Palestine, the Armistice Demarcation Line shall follow the boundary line.

4. The armed forces of the two Parties shall nowhere advance beyond the Armistice Demarcation Line.

5. (a) Where the Armistice Demarcation Line does not correspond to the international boundary between Syria and Palestine, the area between the Armistice Demarcation Line and the boundary, pending final territorial settlement between the Parties, shall be established as a Demilitarized Zone from which the armed forces of both Parties shall be totally excluded, and in which no activities by military or para-military forces shall be permitted. This provision applies to the Ein Gev and Dardara sectors which shall form part of the Demilitarized Zone.

(b) Any advance by the armed forces, military or para-military, of either Party into any part of the Demilitarized Zone, when confirmed by the United Nations representatives referred to in the following sub-paragraph, shall constitute a flagrant violation of this Agreement.

(c) The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission established in Article VII of this Agreement and United Nations Observers attached to the Commission shall be responsible for ensuring the full implementation of this Article.

(d) The withdrawal of such armed forces as are now found in the Demilitarized Zone shall be in accordance with the schedule of withdrawal annexed to this Agreement (Annex II).

(e) The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission shall be empowered to authorize the return of civilians to villages and settlements in the Demilitarized Zone and the employment of limited numbers of locally recruited civilian police in the zone for internal security purposes, and shall be guided in this regard by the schedule of withdrawal referred to in sub-paragraph (d) of this Article.

6. On each side of the Demilitarized Zone there shall be areas, as defined in Annex III to this Agreement, in which defensive forces only shall be maintained, in accordance with the definition of defensive forces set forth in Annex IV to this agreement.

Article VI

All prisoners of war detained by either Party to this Agreement and belonging to the armed forces, regular or irregular, of the other Party, shall be exchanged as follows:

1. The exchange of prisoners of war shall be under United Nations supervision and control throughout. The exchange shall take place at the site of the Armistice Conference within twenty-four hours of the signing of this Agreement.

2. Prisoners of war against whom a penal prosecution may be pending, as well as those sentenced for crime or other offence, shall be included in this exchange of prisoners.

3. All articles of personal use, valuables, letters, documents, identification marks, and other personal effects of whatever nature, belonging to prisoners of war who are being exchanged, shall be returned to them, or, if they have escaped or died, to the Party to whose armed forces they belonged.

4. All matters not specifically regulated in this Agreement shall be decided in accordance with the principles laid down in the International Convention relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, signed at Geneva on 27 July 1929.

5. The Mixed Armistice Commission established in Article VII of this Agreement shall assume responsibility for locating missing persons, whether military or civilian, within the areas controlled by each Party, to facilitate their expeditious exchange. Each Party undertakes to extend to the Commission full co-operation and assistance in the discharge of this function.

Article VII

1. The execution of the provisions of this Agreement shall be supervised by a Mixed Armistice Commission composed of five members, of whom each Party to this Agreement shall designate two, and whose Chairman shall be the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization or a senior officer from the Observer personnel of that Organization designated by him following consultation with both Parties to this Agreement.

2. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall maintain its headquarters at the Customs House near Jisr Banat Yakub and at Mahanayim, and shall hold its meetings at such places and at such times as it may deem necessary for the effective conduct of its work.

3. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall be convened in its first meeting by the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization not later than one week following the signing of this Agreement.

4. Decisions of the Mixed Armistice Commission, to the extent possible, shall be based on the principle of unanimity. In the absence of unanimity, decisions shall be taken by majority vote of the members of the Commission present and voting.

5. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall formulate its own rules of procedure. Meetings shall be held only

after due notice to the members by the Chairman. The quorum for its meetings shall be a majority of its members.

6. The Commission shall be empowered to employ observers, who may be from among the military organizations of the Parties or from the military personnel of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, or from both, in such numbers as may be considered essential to the performance of its functions. In the event United Nations Observers should be so employed, they shall remain under the command of the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization. Assignments of a general or special nature given to United Nations Observers attached to the Mixed Armistice Commission shall be subject to approval by the United Nations Chief of Staff or his designated representative on the Commission, whichever is serving as Chairman.

7. Claims or complaints presented by either Party relating to the application of this Agreement shall be referred immediately to the Mixed Armistice Commission through its Chairman. The Commission shall take such action on all such claims or complaints by means of its observation and investigation machinery as it may deem appropriate, with a view to equitable and mutually satisfactory settlement.

8. Where interpretation of the meaning of a particular provision of this Agreement, other than the Preamble and Article I and II, is at issue, the Commission's interpretation shall prevail. The Commission, in its discretion and as the need arises, may from time to time recommend to the Parties modifications in the provisions of this Agreement.

9. The Mixed Armistice Commission shall submit to both Parties reports on its activities as frequently as it may consider necessary. A copy of each such report shall be presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to the appropriate organ or agency of the United Nations.

10. Members of the Commission and its Observers shall be accorded such freedom of movement and access in the area covered by this Agreement as the Commission may determine to be necessary, provided that when such decisions of the Commission are reached by a majority vote United Nations Observers only shall be employed.

11. The expenses of the Commission, other than those relating to United Nations Observers, shall be apportioned in equal shares between the two Parties to this Agreement.

Article VIII

1. The present Agreement is not subject to ratification and shall come into force immediately upon being signed.

2. This Agreement, having been negotiated and concluded in pursuance of the resolution of the Security Council of 16 November 1948 calling for the establishment of an armistice in order to eliminate the threat to the peace in Palestine and to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, shall remain in force until a peaceful settlement between the Parties is achieved, except as provided in paragraph 3 of this Article.

3. The Parties to this Agreement may, by mutual consent, revise this Agreement or any of its provisions, or may suspend its application, other than Articles I and III, at any time. In the absence of mutual agreement and after this Agreement has been in effect for one year from the date of its signing, either of the Parties may call upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to convoke a conference of representatives of the two Parties for the purpose of reviewing, revising, or suspending any of the provisions of this Agreement other than Articles I and III. Participation in such conferences shall be obligatory upon the Parties.

4. If the conference provided for in paragraph 3 of this Article does not result in an agreed solution of a point in dispute, either Party may bring the matter before the Security Council of the United Nations for the relief sought on the grounds that this Agreement has been concluded in pursuance of Security Council action toward the end of achieving peace in Palestine.

5. This Agreement, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, is signed in quintuplicate. One copy shall be retained by each Party, two copies communicated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to the Security Council and the United Nations Conciliation Commission on Palestine, and one copy to the Acting Mediator on Palestine.

DONE at Hill 232 near MAHANAYIM on the 20th July 1949, in the presence of the Personal Deputy of the United Nations Acting Mediator on Palestine and the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization.

For and on Behalf of the
Israeli Government
Signed: LT. COL. MORDECHAI MAKLEFF
YENOSHUA PENMAN
SHABTAI ROSENN

For and on Behalf of the
Syrian Government
Signed: COL. FOZI SELO
LT. COL.
MOHAMED NASSER
CAPT. AFIF SIZRI

ANNEXES

U. N. doc. S/1353/Add. 1
Transmitted July 20, 1949

Annex I

Map together with detailed description of the Armistice Demarcation Line.[1]

Annex II

Withdrawal of Military and Para-Military Forces; Removal of Mines and Destruction of Permanent Fortifications

[1] Not here printed. See U.N. doc. S/1353/Add. 2, July 27, 1949.

1. The withdrawal of military and para-military forces of both parties with all of their military impediments from the demilitarized zone, as defined by Article 5 of this Agreement, shall be complete within a period of twelve (12) weeks from the date of the signing of this Agreement.

2. Schedule of withdrawal of forces will be as follows:

(a) First three (3) weeks, the military forces occupying the sector from the Syrian-Palestinian border at the north-south to Ad Darbishiya (MR 211–277)

(b) Second three (3) weeks, the military forces occupying the sector from El Hammam (MR 208.7–262.3) south to the Trans-Jordan frontier.

(c) Remaining six (6) weeks, the military forces occupying the sector from Ad Darbishiya (MR 211–277) south to El Hammam (MR 208.7–262.3).

3. Removal of minefields and mines, and the destruction or removal of permanent fortifications in the demilitarized zone shall be completed in each sector by the end of the third, sixth, and twelfth week respectively from the date of the signing of this Agreement.

4. In this connexion, each Party is entitled to remove from the demilitarized zone its war material. In case it does not choose to remove material used in fortifications, the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission may require either side to destroy such material before leaving the area. The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission may similarly order the destruction of such permanent fortifications which, in his view, ought not to remain in the demilitarized zone.

Annex III

Defensive Area

No military forces other than those defined in Annex IV will be authorized to remain or enter the area defined below:

(a) On the Syrian side, the area from the boundary to the north-south co-ordinate line 216.

(b) On the Israeli side, the area from the Israeli truce line to the north-south co-ordinate line 204, except that where the truce line is established in the Nishmer Hay Yarden salient, the defensive area shall be at a distance of six (6) kilometres west from this truce line.

(c) Villages which are crossed by the lines defining the defensive area shall be entirely included in the defensive area.

Annex IV

Definition of Defensive Forces

I. *Land Forces*

1. These forces not to exceed:

(a) Three (3) Infantry Battalions, each Battalion to consist of not more than 600 officers and enlisted men, its accompanying weapons not to exceed twelve (12) medium machine-guns (M. M. G's) of a caliber not to exceed 8 mm., six (6) 81 mm. mortars, four (4) anti tank guns not to exceed 75 mm.

(b) Six (6) Cavalry Squadrons for Syrian forces, each squadron not to exceed 130 officers and enlisted men; and for Israeli, two (2) Reconnaissance Squadrons, each squadron composed of nine (9) jeeps, and three (3) half-tracks (not armoured), its personnel not to exceed one hundred twenty-five (125) officers and enlisted men.

(c) Three (3) Field Artillery Batteries, each Battery not to exceed 110 officers and enlisted men. Each battery to consist of four (4) guns of a caliber not to exceed 75 mm. and four (4) machine guns (M. M. G's) not to exceed 8 mm.

(d) Service units to the above forces not to exceed:

(i) One hundred (100) officers and enlisted men for supply purposes, not armed.

(ii) One (1) engineer company not to exceed two hundred and fifty (250) officers and enlisted men.

2. The following are excluded from the term "Defensive Forces": armour, such as tanks, armoured cars, or any other armoured force carriers.

II. *Air Forces*

In the areas where Defensive Forces only shall be allowed, the use of military aircraft shall be prohibited.

III. *Naval Forces*

No naval force shall be allowed in the Defensive Area.

IV. In the areas in which Defensive Forces only have to be maintained, the necessary reduction of forces shall be completed within twelve (12) weeks from the date on which this Agreement is signed.

V. No traffic restriction is imposed on the transport used for the carrying of defensive troops and supplies within the area of defensive forces.

Israeli-Syrian Armistice Evidence That Conciliation Can Be Achieved

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press July 20*]

The signing of the Israeli-Syrian armistice on July 20 is a further evidence that contending parties can find ways of reaching agreement on a difficult problem. Both governments are to be congratulated on the results of their efforts. This is a goal which the United Nations has been seeking; namely, a step toward peace in this area. Great credit is due the representatives of the United Nations in this achievement—Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche and his able assistants Brig. Gen. William Riley, USMC, and Henri Vigier of France.

It is my hope that this development will increase the possibility for the achievement of a final settlement at Lausanne.

The United States in the United Nations

[July 30–August 5]

Cessation of Hostilities in Indonesia

Meeting under the auspices of the Commission for Indonesia, delegations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia and representatives from the Federal Consultative Assembly on August 1 formalized the results of recent discussions concerning the cessation of hostilities throughout Indonesia. The cease-hostilities orders are to be issued simultaneously by the Netherlands and Republic Governments to their respective armed forces. At the same time joint proclamation is to be promulgated by both governments calling on everyone concerned to banish all thought of enmity or revenge, to refrain from sabotage and terrorism and from all acts which might be harmful to mutual cooperation, and to avoid provocations and incidents of any kind.

Security Council Considers Palestine Report

The Security Council on August 4 began consideration of the report of the acting mediator for Palestine, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, on the present status of the armistice negotiations and the truce in Palestine. A resolution proposed by Dr. Bunche, declaring that the completion of armistice agreements between Israel and the Arab states rendered unnecessary the prolongation of the truce and terminating or transferring the functions of the mediator, was generally supported by the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Egypt, China, and Cuba.

The Israeli representative urged the Security Council to maintain its arms embargo, with the warning that if the restraints imposed by the Security Council were entirely lifted and large-scale rearmament became the policy of Arab states, the Near East must become the scene of an armaments race. The other speakers agreed with Dr. Bunche that the arms embargo was one of the restrictive conditions which should be removed now that the November 16 resolution had been complied with. Ambassador Warren R. Austin declared that the United States did not intend to allow the export of arms which would permit a competitive race in the area. Export of arms to the area should be strictly limited to legitimate security requirements. The United States, he said, hoped all nations would pursue a similar policy.

Discussion will be resumed on August 8.

Atomic Energy

The Atomic Energy Commission on July 29 adopted two resolutions, one rejecting further discussions of Soviet proposals calling for immediate preparation of draft conventions on prohibition of atomic weapons and control of atomic energy, and the second, a slightly amended United States resolution suspending Atomic Energy Commission debates until the Commission's six permanent members report that there exists a basis for agreement on an effective atomic-energy-control system. Meanwhile, the Acting Secretary-General has asked for a meeting on August 9 of the 6 sponsoring powers—Canada, China, France, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, and the United States—to begin consultations to determine if a basis for agreement exists on international control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons.

Conventional Armaments

The Commission for Conventional Armaments on August 1 adopted the French plan for a census and verification on the armed forces and armaments of the members of the United Nations. The vote was eight in favor to three opposed (Egypt, Ukraine, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The resolution will be submitted to the Security Council.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics representative replied at length to a charge made at the Commission's meeting on July 25 by the United States representative that the Soviet Union, by a policy of "obstructionism" was blocking progress toward the reduction of armaments because the Soviet Union did not want the world to know how far it had gone in arming for world conquest and in preparations for a third world war. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics representative said that the United States had been unable to provide proof of his allegations because there was no such proof. The United States, the Soviet representative continued, did not want disarmament or prohibition of atomic weapons. In conclusion, he reiterated that the arms-census plan was unacceptable because it provided merely for collection of "military intelligence," and did not foresee measures toward disarmament including atomic-arms reduction.

Calendar of Meetings [1]

Adjourned during July		**1949**
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region II: Fourth Inter-American Radio Conference	Washington	May 1–July 9
Administrative Conference to Revise International Telegraph and Telephone Regulations.	Paris	May 18–July 29
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
32d International Labor Conference	Geneva	June 8–29
Meeting of Executive Representatives of Governments and Specialized Agencies on Migration.	Geneva	July 18–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Second World Health Assembly	Rome	June 13–July 2
Executive Board: Fourth Session	Geneva	July 8–23
United Nations:		
Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body: 32d Session	Geneva	June 20–
International Children's Emergency Fund	Lake Success	June 27–July 1
Second World Festival of Films and Fine Arts	Knokke-Le Zoute, Belgium	June 18–July 10
Second Inter-American Conference on Indian Life	Cuzco, Peru	June 24–July 4
IMO (International Meteorological Organization):		
Regional Commission VI (Europe): Fourth Meeting	London	June 27–
Executive Council: Annual Session	Lausanne	July 6–
Preparatory Meeting of International Wheat Council	Washington	June 27–July 5
IRO (International Refugee Organization):		
General Council: Third (Special) Session	Geneva	June 28–
International Philatelic Exhibition	Brussels	July 1–11
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Meeting of Experts on Copyright	Paris	July 4–
12th International Conference on Public Education	Geneva	July 4–12
Conference to Establish an International Council on Arts in General Education.	Paris	July 18–22
Meeting of Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio and Films.	Paris	July 25–
International Wheat Council: First Session	Washington	July 6–9
First Pan American Congress of Engineering	São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.	July 8–24
Second Pan American Congress of Social Service	Rio de Janeiro	July 10–17
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Third World Forestry Congress	Helsinki	July 10–20
Third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy	Brussels	July 15–19
Conference for the Revision of the 1945 Bermuda Telecommunications Agreement.	London	July 21–
In Session as of August 1, 1949		**1949**
United Nations:		
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem and Rhodes	Jan. 17–
Interim Committee of the General Assembly	Lake Success	Jan 31–

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

United Nations—Continued		**1949**
Security Council Commission on India and Pakistan	New Delhi	February
Trusteeship Council: Fifth Session	Lake Success	June 15–
Economic and Social Council: Ninth Session	Geneva	July 5–
		1948
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Provisional Frequency Board	Geneva	Jan. 15–
		1949
Region I Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Meeting of the Technical Plan Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT): Third Session of the Contracting Parties.	Annecy, France	April 8–
Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM): Deputies for Austria	London	June 30–
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): International Congress on Problems of Illiteracy and Adult Education.	Rio de Janeiro	July 27–
Scheduled August 1, 1949–October 31, 1949		
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Second Session	Geneva	Aug. 1–
Fourth Meeting of the Administrative Council	Geneva	Aug. 15–
Special Administrative Radio Conference for the Adoption of a New Frequency List.	Geneva	Oct. 19–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Meeting of Specialists on Agriculture Extension	Europe	Aug. 1–28
Meeting of Specialists on Improvement of Dairy Production and Marketing.	Reading, England	Aug. 1–29
Meeting of Specialists on Foot and Mouth Disease Control	London	Aug. 14–
Fourth Meeting of Technical Committee on Wood Chemistry	Brussels	August
Conference on Locust Control	Central America	September
Meeting on Wood Technology (in cooperation with UN ECE)	Geneva	September
Meeting of Technical Committee on Food Composition	Washington	September
European Forestry and Forest Products Commission	Undetermined	September
Near East Regional Meeting on Animal Breeding Under Tropical and Subtropical Conditions.	Cairo	Oct. 3–
Meeting of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.	Bern	Aug. 1–
Inter-American Commission of Women: Special Assembly	Buenos Aires	Aug. 8–
IV International Veterinary Congress	London	Aug. 8–
Seventh International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art	Venice	Aug. 11–
United Nations:		
Social Welfare Seminar in Middle East	Beirut	Aug. 15–
Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources.	Lake Success	Aug. 17–
Conference on Road and Motor Transport	Geneva	Aug. 23–
Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc):		
Subcommission on Statistical Sampling	Lake Success	Sept. 5–
Social Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	
General Assembly: Fourth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 20–
Permanent Central Opium Board: 54th Session	Geneva	Sept. 26–
Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements.	Lake Success	September
Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body: 33rd Session	Geneva	Oct. 5–
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Fifth Session	Singapore	Oct. 20–
Economic Commission for Latin America: Third Session	Undetermined	November
Twelfth International Dairy Congress	Stockholm	Aug. 15–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Committee of Experts on Engineering Sciences	Paris	Aug. 16–
Committee of Experts on Reproduction in Visual Art	Paris	Aug. 22–
International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature	United States	Aug. 22
Executive Board: 16th Session	Paris	Sept. 3–16
Committee of Experts on Exchange of Persons Problems	Paris	Sept. 9–
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–
Meeting of Experts on the Comparative Studies of Civilization	Paris	Oct. 24–
7th International Congress on Microbiology	Rio de Janeiro	Aug. 17–
1st International Congress of Biochemistry	Cambridge, England	Aug. 19–25

		1949
Izmir International Fair	Izmir, Turkey	Aug. 20–
Conference on Plant and Animal Nutrition in Relation to Soil and Climatic Factors.	Australia	Aug. 22–
International Seed Testing Association: Meeting of the Constitutional Committee.	Belfast	Aug. 24–
International Association for Research in Income and Wealth	Cambridge, England	Aug. 27–
Diplomatic Conference for the Revision of the Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.	Switzerland	August or September
International Labor Organization (ILO):		
Permanent Agricultural Committee: Third Session	Geneva	Sept. 1–
Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Coal Mines	Geneva	Sept. 12–
Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians	Geneva	Oct. 17–29
Tripartite Conference on Rhine Navigation	Geneva	October
Metal Trades Industrial Committee: Third Session	Geneva	September
Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	Sept. 2–
International Statistical Institute: 26th Session	Bern	Sept. 3–10
Budapest International Fair	Budapest	Sept. 3–18
29th International Congress of Americanists	New York City	Sept. 5–12
International Union of Chemistry: 15th General Conference	Amsterdam	Sept. 6–10
Vienna International Fair	Vienna	Sept. 11–
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–
International Monetary Fund: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement Conference (NARBA).	Ottawa	Sept. 13–
International Council of Scientific Unions: General Assembly	Copenhagen	Sept. 14–16
Marseilles International Fair	Marseilles	Sept. 25–
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO):		
Legal Committee: Fifth Session	Montreal	September
Council: Eighth Session	Montreal	September
Pan American Institute of Geography and History: First Pan American Consultation of Commission on Geography.	Rio de Janeiro	September
Royal Netherlands Industry Fair	Utrecht	September
XVII International Navigation Congress	Lisbon	September
Fourth International Congress on Neurology	Paris	September
International Commission for Uniform Methods of Sugar Analysis	Praha	September
Inter-American Council of Jurists: First Session	Rio de Janeiro	September
Pan American Sanitary Organization: Executive Committee:		
Eighth Meeting	Lima	Oct. 3–5
Ninth Meeting	Lima	Oct. 13–15
Directing Council: Third Meeting	Lima	Oct. 6–12

Alvin Anderson Named U.S. Member Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission

The Secretary of State announced July 28 that the President has named Alvin Anderson, Director of Fisheries of the State of Washington, as a United States member of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, United States and Canada. The appointment of Mr. Anderson fills the vacancy created by the resignation of Milo Moore who is at present in charge of the Greek fisheries program for the Economic Cooperation Administration.

The International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission is charged, by treaty between the United States and Canada, with the duty of conserving and rebuilding the sockeye salmon fishery of the Fraser River System of British Columbia. Spawning in the far reaches of the river system these salmon migrate to the Pacific Ocean where they are caught by the fishermen of both countries. At the height of its productivity this fishery yielded in one year 2,400,000 cases of the finest quality salmon. Later the yield was reduced to a tenth of that figure. The large runs that have been observed this year give every indication that the work of this International Commission is proving successful in restoring the potentially valuable sockeye salmon fishery to its former high rate of production.

Other United States members on the Commission are: Edward W. Allen, attorney, of Seattle now serving as chairman, and Albert M. Day Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior.

U.K., U.S., Canada To Discuss Atomic Energy Information

Statement by the President

[*Released to the press by the White House July 28*]

On July 14 I consulted with a group of Congressional leaders, including ranking members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, concerning certain problems which this country faces in the field of atomic energy. Since that time members of the administration have held discussions with Congressional leaders, particularly with the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Further discussions will take place, as it is essential that action in this field which so vitally affects the security of the country be based on a wide area of agreement between the executive and legislative branches of the government.

In this field it is important that the people of the country be kept informed to the greatest extent consistent with the requirements of national security, and in a manner consistent with the orderly processes of consultation between the legislative and executive branches of the government. I feel I can now mention briefly some of the factors involved in the problem.

As a result of consultation among American, British, and Canadian scientists beginning in 1939, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada agreed in 1943 to concentrate a major effort in the United States for the purpose of producing an atomic bomb at the earliest possible time. A British scientific mission participated extensively in the research and development and later in the production of atomic bombs at Los Alamos. They participated in the preparation for, and the evaluation of, the Bikini tests. Similar scientific missions were assigned to research and development work concerned with the construction and operation of the principal plants for the separation of U-235 at Oak Ridge. British and Canadian scientists consulted our scientific and technical personnel at the Metallurgical Laboratory in Chicago on the design of the heavy water reactor which they subsequently built at Chalk River, Canada.

Early in 1947 the three countries adopted a uniform system for handling the information which had been jointly developed and for determining what should be kept secret and what was appropriate for public release.

In January, 1948, the three governments agreed upon a *modus vivendi* which provided for cooperation among the three countries involving exchange of scientific and technical information in certain defined areas and collaboration on matters of raw material supply of common concern. These arrangements were made after consultation with the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. These arrangements are limited in scope and duration. It is necessary to consider the future, taking into account the developments made in this field by the three countries, and to maintain the *status quo* while this consideration takes place.

We, therefore, intend to explore with the United Kingdom and Canada some of the basic questions underlying any determination of long-range policy in this field. These are questions which will require further consultations with the Congress following the exploratory conversations. I wish to emphasize that these exploratory conversations do not involve making agreements with, or commitments to, the British and Canadians on these questions. They involve having talks with the British and Canadians prior to further consultations with the Congress. In these consultations with the Congress, we shall have to decide together what course of action it is wisest to take.

Henry Parkman Named U.S. Representative on Ruhr Authority

The White House on July 28 announced the appointment of Henry Parkman, of Boston, as the United States representative to the International Authority for the Ruhr.

Mr. Parkman, a lawyer, legislator, soldier, and former governmental affairs adviser to General Clay in Berlin, will assume his duties at the Ruhr Authority headquarters at Dusseldorf and expects to be present for the next formal meeting on August 8.

The Ruhr Authority was created by an agreement signed by the United States, United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg on April 28, 1949. Each member government has a representative on the Council of the Authority. The first organizational meeting of the Council was held in London the latter part of May.

Military Assistance Program Transmitted to the Congress

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT[1]

To the Congress of the United States:

To continue and strengthen our program for world peace and national security, I recommend that the Congress enact legislation authorizing military aid to free nations to enable them to protect themselves against the threat of aggression and contribute more effectively to the collective defense of world peace.

Such legislation is an essential part of our efforts to create an international structure capable of maintaining law and order among nations. Our prosperity and security, as well as that of other free nations depend upon our success in establishing conditions of international order. Increased assurances against the danger of aggression are needed to support our international economic programs, and in particular the European Recovery Program, which are so vital to the building of a stable world.

Under the Charter of the United Nations, each member nation is bound to settle international differences by peaceful means, and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territory of any country. Thus, in joining the United Nations, the nations have given their assent to the basic principles of international peace and security.

We have, however, learned the unfortunate truth that this obligation, by itself, is not sufficient at the present time to eliminate the fear of aggression and international violence. The record of world events since 1945 offers us no certainty that all members of the United Nations will uphold these principles of peace in actual practice. Indeed, there is proof to the contrary, proof that in the pursuit of selfish ends some nations have resorted and may again resort to the threat or use of force. The fear created by this experience haunts the world and creates conditions of insecurity and instability which stand in the way of economic and social progress.

To reduce this danger and to allay these fears, we have taken additional steps to reinforce the obligations of the Charter. Under the pact of Rio de Janeiro and in the North Atlantic Treaty, we are creating a framework of mutual obligation to prevent international violence in the Western Hemisphere and in the North Atlantic area. These treaties provide support for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, even in the absence of such compacts, we have refused to tolerate assaults on the integrity of peace-loving nations whose conduct conforms to the principles of the Charter. We have given military as well as diplomatic aid directly to nations threatened by aggression. Through our aid to Greece and Turkey, we have recognized the fact that, if the principles of international peace are to prevail, free nations must have the means as well as the will to resist aggression.

So long as the danger of aggression exists, it is necessary to think in terms of the forces required to prevent it. It is unfortunate that this is true. We cannot, however, achieve our goal of permanent peace by ignoring the difficult and unpleasant tasks that lie in the way. We need to show the same firmness and resolution in defending the principles of peace that we have shown in enunciating them. The better prepared the free nations are to resist aggression, the less likelihood there is that they will have to use the forces they have prepared. The policemen in our communities seldom have to use their weapons, but public peace would be greatly endangered if they did not have them.

The preparation of the military means for keeping the peace is necessary not only to the security of the United States but also to building a safe and prosperous world society.

[1] Also printed as H. Doc. 276, 81st Cong., 1st sess.

Helping free nations to acquire the means of lefending themselves is an obligation of the lead-rship we have assumed in world affairs. Within he practical limits of our resources, we must strive o act with foresight and precision, so that our trength and the collective strength of the free eoples associated with us will be most effective.

To be effective, the aid which we supply to other ations for defending themselves must be planned head. It must not be wasted. It must be care-ully allocated to meet the realities of our own ecurity. Above all, it is urgent to initiate a pro-ram of aid promptly if we are not to lose the mo-nentum already gained toward recovery and polit-cal stability.

These general requirements are given sharp mphasis by consideration of the specific cases vhere aid is needed. Many anxious governments ave requested our military assistance. Among hese requests, there can be no more meaningful ppeals than those which have come from the coun-ries of Western Europe. It is entirely logical hat these governments should turn to us and that ve should help them. Their defense is our defense nd is of deep concern to us. Twice in one gener-tion we have found that we had to join with them n fighting against aggressor nations in order to reserve our freedom and the freedom of other emocratic countries.

The principal task of the free nations of Western Europe in the last four years has been to restore heir war-shattered economies. The inherent dif-culties of this task have been aggravated by the oreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has done s utmost to prevent European recovery. Full conomic recovery requires peaceful conditions and he assurance that the work of labor, industry, and griculture will not be swept away in an outburst f international violence. In place of these con-itions, the Soviet Union, with its violent propa-anda, its manipulation of the conspiratorial ac-ivities of the world Communist movement, and its aintenance of one of the largest peacetime rmies in history, has deliberately created an at-osphere of fear and danger.

In the face of what has occurred in Greece, and Berlin, in the face of the threats and pressures which Iran and Turkey have been exposed, in e light of the suppression of human liberty in untries under Communist control, the nations of Vestern Europe have not been able to ignore the ecessity of a military defense for themselves. hey have seen what the Soviet Union has done nations for which it professed friendship and ith which it was recently allied. They have ob-rved how a Communist *coup d'état*, operating in e shadow of the massed military might of the oviet Union, can overthrow, at one stroke, the democratic liberties and the political independence of a friendly nation.

As a consequence of that experience, and in the light of the fact that the two most devastating wars in history originated in Europe, they realize that they must have a shield against aggression to shelter their political institutions and the re-birth of their own economic and social life.

The nations of Western Europe have addressed themselves in all seriousness to the task of provid-ing such a shield. In the treaty of Brussels, five nations of Western Europe established joint meas-ures for their own defense. In support of that treaty, they have coordinated both their defensive strategy and their plans to produce necessary mil-itary supplies.

Those five nations, together with Norway, Den-mark, and Italy, have undertaken annual military expenditures equivalent to about five and one-half billion dollars. This is the maximum amount they are able to spend without seriously interfering with the civilian production necessary for their economic recovery. This amount is not, however, enough to furnish these nations the protection they need. Concentrating, as they are, on restoring their economic stability, they are unable to spare the plants and the materials required to bring their defense establishments up to the necessary levels. Furthermore, there are certain items es-sential for their defense which they are not equipped to provide for themselves. They have, therefore, come to us with urgent requests for as-sistance in providing the necessary margin of arms and equipment which will make them better able to repel aggression and mitigate the anxieties of their peoples.

I recommend that we supply these countries with assistance of three types: First, a limited amount of dollar aid to enable them to increase their own production of military items without impairing their efforts for economic recovery; sec-ond, the direct transfer of certain essential items of military equipment, and third, the assistance of experts in the production and use of military equipment and the training of personnel. Such a program will enable these countries to acquire the elements necessary to their defense without ham-pering their recovery.

The military assistance which we propose for these countries will be limited to that which is necessary to help them create mobile defensive forces. Our objective is to see to it that these nations are equipped, in the shortest possible time, with compact and effectively trained forces capa-ble of maintaining internal order and resisting the initial phases of external aggression.

At the present time, the military power which is the greatest deterrent to aggression is centered in the United States, three thousand miles away from Europe. It must be made clear that the United States has no intention, in the event of aggression, of allowing the peoples of Western

Europe to be overrun before its own power can be brought to bear. The program of military assistance now proposed is a tangible assurance of our purpose in this regard.

Outside of Western Europe we are already engaged in a program of military assistance to Greece and Turkey. This program has been in effect since May 1947. The Communist effort in Greece, in the form of a guerrilla war supported from abroad, has been condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Our aid to Greece has checked this attempt to overthrow the political independence of a free nation. It is important that present gains against the guerrillas be maintained and that the operations be pressed to a successful conclusion. Only if this is done, can the economic reconstruction of Greece be accomplished.

In Turkey, our aid has lessened the burden of military preparedness which the threatening pressure of the Soviet Union had imposed on a primarily agrarian economy. Although the Turkish defense system has been improved, additional equipment and maintenance parts are needed for the modernization of certain Turkish defense units.

We are also confronted by the necessity of making military assistance available in other areas of the world outside Europe.

In Iran the use of surpluses of United States military equipment has aided in improving the defensive effectiveness of the Iranian Army and the maintenance of internal order. It is now necessary to provide certain additional items to round out this program, and thereby to strengthen the ability of Iran to defend its independence.

The new Republic of Korea, established as a result of free elections held under the auspices of the United Nations, is menaced by the Communist regime in the northern part of the country. With the advice and assistance of the United States, the Korean Government has established a small force to protect its internal security and defend itself against outside aggression short of a full scale war. Equipment has been requested from the United States for minimum army and coast guard forces. It is essential to the survival of the Korean Republic that this assistance be made available.

In addition, it is necessary to continue our program of limited aid to the Republic of the Philippines, which was originated under the Act of June 26, 1946.

In this hemisphere we have assumed obligations of mutual defense with the other American Republics under the pact of Rio de Janeiro. Our northern neighbor, Canada, is a party with us to the North Atlantic Treaty. It is important under the terms of these two treaties that we should assist Canada and the American Republics to establish adequate defenses properly coordinated with our own.

In view of our limited resources, it is impossible for us to assist on a grant basis all countries whose defense is related to our own. We can afford to bear the cost of military aid only with respect to those countries vital to our national security where the danger is greatest, and where the ability to pay for military equipment is least. With respect to such countries as Canada and the American Republics, therefore, I recommend that our assistance be limited to the use of the facilities of our government to procure defense equipment for them at their own expense.

All these various requirements for military assistance should obviously be handled in a unified program, adaptable in its administration to the operation of our foreign policy.

The sum which will be needed in new appropriations for the fiscal year 1950 for all the grant programs now contemplated, together with a margin for emergencies, is approximately $1,450,000,000. The bulk of the supplies to be procured under these programs will be delivered over the next two years. Of this total, $50,000,000 has recently been requested for the interim continuation of our porgram of military aid to Greece and Turkey under existing authorizations. New authorization will be required for $1,400,000,000.

The major portion of the total is to be devoted to the needs of the Western European nations. It is not proposed that specific sums be committed in advance to particular countries. Rather, the President should be able to make allocations as circumstances require.

The aid we provide will constitute only a minor fraction of what these countries will spend themselves. Agreements will be executed with the recipients, to provide for mutual assistance and to assure proper use of the equipment furnished. The recipient nations will be required to limit the use of the items supplied to the defense of agreed geographic areas, and will not be permitted to transfer them to other nations without the consent of the United States. The President should be authorized to terminate our aid at any time. Aid will be terminated in the event that a recipient acts in a manner inconsistent with the policies and purposes of the program or with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

The recommended program covers the most pressing current needs for military aid. How long it may be necessary to continue military aid depends on many unpredictable factors. Our burden will undoubtedly lessen as our program for peace brings its returns. Advancing economic recovery will enable the free nations to sustain a larger share of the expense of their own defense measures. Progress toward a peaceful settlement of international differences will reduce the threat of violence, and lighten the cost of preparedness.

Ultimately, when the peaceful principles of the United Nations are fully realized, the protection of the peace may be assigned to the security forces of that organization.

If this program of military aid is to succeed, we must prosecute it promptly and vigorously. Our policies for peace are having the desired effect. We cannot afford to lose the momentum we have already gained.

One need only look back to the situation with which we were confronted two and one-half years ago to be convinced of the rightness of our course of action. At that time the free nations of Europe were not only exposed and defenseless, but they were also caught in an economic impasse which threatened the existence of their democratic forms of government. Europe, with its great storehouse of skills and its heritage of free institutions, seemed about to disintegrate and to fall piece by piece under the sway of totalitarian control.

The fact that such a disaster has been averted should inspire us with confidence in the ultimate triumph of the cause of peace and freedom not only in Europe but elsewhere in the world.

Like the North Atlantic Treaty, this program of military aid is entirely defensive in character. By strengthening the defense establishments of the free nations, it will increase the confidence of the peoples of the world in a peaceful future and protect the growth of world recovery.

I would not suggest that this program alone will bring present international tensions to an end. It will, however, preserve the intiative which the free nations of the world now have, and help to create a world structure so firm economically and militarily as to convince any potential aggressor nation that its own welfare lies in the direction of mutual tolerance and peaceful foreign relations.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 25, 1949.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON[1]

The Military Assistance Program which the President has recommended to the Congress is most urgently needed. I hope that upon an analysis of the facts the Committee will share my deep conviction that adoption of the program at this time is essential to reach the objectives of the United States in foreign affairs.

The proposed Military Assistance Program cannot be regarded as an isolated piece of legislation unrelated to our whole foreign policy. Much more than military assistance, important as that is, is involved. What is also at stake here is the continuation with undiminished vigor of the great concerted effort the United States is making, in company with other nations of like purpose, to assure peace and security in the world. This effort has been expressed, on the part of the United States, in an unbroken succession of positive measures which have substantially advanced the cause of world peace with freedom and justice and have materially strengthened our own security.

The Military Assistance Program must be judged in the broad context of our whole foreign policy. It follows in the sequence of measures which we have undertaken to accomplish the primary purpose of our foreign policy—the establishment of the conditions of peace and security in which the United States and the other free nations can endure and prosper.

The enactment of the Military Assistance Program would assure the continuance in full force of the positive leadership which the United States is asserting in behalf of the free world. The failure to provide military assistance to those joined with us in that effort would reverse the affirmative and effective policy which this country has thus far pursued.

Such a negative response to the challenge that still confronts us would inevitably weaken the confidence of the other free peoples in the determination of the United States to carry out the task we have jointly undertaken. A reversal of the course we have been pursuing to such good effect would hearten those who seek by unremitting pressure to wear down, overawe or overwhelm all who resist the imposition of an alien and abhorrent system. Any sign of weakness or irresolution on our part now would seriously jeopardize all the gains we have made so far toward the achievement of peace and security in the only kind of world in which we would want to live.

It is not in keeping with the American character to quit at the halfway mark, before the course is run. I firmly believe that the American people will want to spare no effort to realize our goal of a secure and peaceful world. It is my conviction that an adequate program of military assistance is essential to the attainment of that goal.

Twice in our lifetime threats to the security of the United States have arisen and have been allowed to develop unchecked until we found ourselves fighting for our existence as a free people. Neither time did we act with sufficient foresight and vigor either to dissipate the threat or adequately prepare ourselves to meet it. We are determined henceforth to profit from these tragic experiences and to eliminate or neutralize any new threat to our security before it gets out of hand.

This determination of the American people to be forewarned and forearmed was evident even before the conclusion of the recent war. There was also evident a realization that in the modern

[1] Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 28, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

world no nation, no matter how powerful or resolute, can hope to achieve security and prosperity by its own efforts alone. There was a clear understanding that the only possible way in which a just and peaceful world order could be organized was by the collective action of the peoples dedicated to peace.

On the basis of that conviction, which was shared by many others, the United States undertook the leadership of the movement to organize the postwar world for collective security. We were concerned with far more than security in a restricted sense. What we envisaged, and what we put into effect, was a broad constructive effort in which the nations of the world could cooperate to achieve peace, freedom and an increasing measure of material well-being for all peoples.

The concrete expression of that ideal is the United Nations, the most ambitious and comprehensive attempt in history to organize the nations of the world for peace and progress on a universal basis. As we well know, the United Nations has not been able to function as it was intended because of the obstruction of a small minority of the members. But this does not invalidate the principle of collective action. When the effort to achieve collective security through the United Nations was impeded by a recalcitrant minority, the free nations of the majority proceeded with the search for collective security on as broad a base as possible.

The United States has continued its leadership in the movement for collective security, which we are still convinced is the only principle on which a just and enduring peace can be achieved. We have continued to support and strengthen the United Nations and have adhered to its principles and purposes. We have initiated and are carrying out, in cooperation with other free nations, a whole series of measures designed not only to keep the peace by collective action but also to neutralize and forestall the threat to the security and well-being of free peoples.

The record of these undertakings and their results is impressive: Postwar relief, aid to Greece and Turkey, the European Recovery Program, and most recently the North Atlantic Treaty, just approved by the Senate by a resounding vote of 82 to 13.

Each of these measures, and a number of others, has made an important contribution to the progress we have achieved. But none was sufficient alone. The totality of our effort is what has given renewed strength and vitality to the free world and has brought us thus far safely through great dangers. The momentum must be maintained if we are to accomplish our purpose. The Military Assistance Program is necessary to sustain the advance and carry us further along the way which we have every reason to believe leads to peace and security for ourselves and others.

We may wish for a number of reasons that it were not necessary to add military assistance to the heavy responsibilities we already bear but we cannot escape the inexorable logic of the facts of life in the world as it is.

One of the facts we must face is that the free nations of Western Europe, with whose security our own security is bound up, are incapable today of defending themselves against a major armed attack. Another fact is that the Soviet Union today maintains the largest peacetime military force in the history of the world, while exerting iron-fisted control over its neighbors and pursuing a policy of exploiting any evidence of weakness in others.

The combination of these two facts—a huge aggressive force on one side and admittedly inadequate defense forces on the other—has created a morbid and pervasive sense of insecurity in Western Europe. The fear is justified. The danger is real, however much some may try to argue it out of existence. The Soviet Union and the Western world are still far apart on fundamental issues. Until the nations of Western Europe are sufficiently strengthened to regain confidence in their ability to defend themselves, their sense of insecurity will impede economic recovery and impair the will of the people that now exists to resist Communist-infiltration aggression if it should come. Restoration of their belief in their own capacity to resist will release new energy for the recovery effort and stiffen the determination to fight back if attacked. It is in our interest, as well as Western Europe's to achieve these effects. They will be promoted by the Military Assistance Program.

The legislation presented for your consideration would authorize the President, on request, to furnish military assistance to nations which have joined with the United States in collective regional arrangements based on principles of self-help and mutual aid, and to other nations whose increased ability to defend themselves against aggression is important to our national interest. It authorizes the appropriation of $1,400,000,000 for the fiscal year 1950 which, together with the $50,000,000 separately requested for interim military aid to Greece and Turkey, will make a total of $1,450,000,000 available for obligation for foreign military assistance. The President is directed to terminate assistance to any nation when it so requests or when the furnishing of assistance to that nation would be inconsistent with our national interest or with our obligation under the Charter of the United Nations to refrain from aiding nations against which preventive or enforcement action is taken.

Within the governmental structure the program will be centrally controlled. It is proposed, in view of the inseparability of actions taken under

this legislation from the day-to-day administration of our foreign policy, that the central direction be exercised by the Department of State. In time of peace, the several instruments of our foreign policy must be wielded as a closely integrated unit if we are to achieve our objectives fully within reasonable cost. The Department will exercise that direction in close collaboration with other governmental agencies, particularly the National Military Establishment and the Economic Cooperation Administration, with each agency contributing what it is best able to provide for the success of the program. Thus, for example, the National Military Establishment will provide equipment from its stocks, military advice, and training assistance, and will utilize its procurement facilities for placing orders for the balance of the end items required. The Economic Cooperation Administration will provide the necessary coordination with the European Recovery Program, seeing to it that our paramount interest in economic recovery is not jeopardized by the recipient nations undertaking a military effort on too large a scale.

Insofar as possible, the program will be administered abroad through existing diplomatic and military channels. In this way it will be best integrated with the other overseas operations of our foreign policy.

Of the funds for which authorization is requested, it is presently contemplated that approximately 1.1 billion dollars will be used to furnish military assistance to European signatories of the North Atlantic pact. The balance will be used for assistance to other countries which are in the immediate area of Soviet pressure. This will permit the continuation of the Greek-Turkish program, which has been so effective in preventing the independence of those countries from being lost through external machinations against the will of the Greek and Turkish people. There is reasonable ground for anticipating that operations against Greek guerrillas may be brought to a successful conclusion in the near future.

Grant assistance is also contemplated for the Republic of Korea, where a government constituted as a result of free elections under the auspices of the United Nations is menaced by the threat of internal subversion and external force; for Iran, which under severe external pressures has strictly maintained its independence and to which this government has accorded limited military assistance in the form of credit for the purchase of surplus equipment and has sent two United States military missions; and for the Philippine Republic as a continuation of our aid originated under the Act of June 26, 1946.

Since our resources are limited, the weight of our effort must be brought to bear in those European countries which are most vital to our national security where the threat of aggression is most immediate, where our aid will be most effective, and where the ability of the economy to stand the financial strain of military expenditure is the least.

Nevertheless, there are other areas in which an increase of defensive strength is highly desirable in the interest of our security. We are bound with our American Republic friends and neighbors in the Rio pact of mutual assistance. Under this program, we intend to help them in procuring equipment. Equipment will be made available to them on a cash-reimbursement basis in accordance with a provision of the proposed legislation especially designed to help meet the procurement problems of the American Republics and certain other friendly countries. In order to enable these countries to utilize the procurement facilities of the military services without the necessity of immobilizing their scarce dollars from the time of placing an order for equipment to the time of delivery, the legislation would authorize the President to enter into contracts on behalf of the United States for procurement of such equipment upon a firm undertaking that the recipient nation will make reimbursement before delivery.

This provision will also, of course, prove to be of considerable value to Canada. In addition, we are continuing to exchange with the Canadians vital information on weapons and plans which will contribute to the common defense, and we are going forward with such important matters of mutual interest as standardization of arms and equipment.

By combining these several measures into a coordinated whole, we shall be able to make military assistance available in accordance with our overall political objectives, economic capabilities and strategic interests.

Of course, all possible contingencies cannot be foreseen at this time. Should the national interests of the United States require, the President would be able to reallocate funds as between recipient nations presently included in the program and also to aid nations to whom assistance is not now contemplated. In order to minimize the need for reallocation, a small emergency fund is provided so that we may take prompt action to meet international situations which might suddenly develop. Any modifications in the program would nevertheless have to be in accordance with the policy expressed in section 2 of the draft legislation, namely, support of collective defense and regional arrangements or of nations whose defense is important to the national interest of the United States.

This one-year program represents no more than about one-fifth of the military expenditures which the recipient nations are already making during this fiscal year for themselves and for each other.

Just as in the case of the European Recovery Program, they and we intend that our help supplement their own efforts to help themselves. There is clear evidence of accomplishment and intent on the part of the recipients to help themselves and each other. Details of the extensive measures of self-help and mutual aid already initiated by the free nations of Western Europe will be given to you in the testimony of other witnesses. It must be understood, however, that the recipient nations cannot achieve an adequate defensive position by themselves. Many essential materials and equipment can be bought only with dollars, and if they had the dollars available we would not be under the necessity of contributing to their economic recovery. Furthermore, a military production effort by these countries on too large a scale would divert materials, manpower and facilities vital to their own economic recovery efforts. To detract in any significant degree from those recovery efforts would be like building the walls of a house while tearing out its foundation. In order to enhance the ability of Western Europe to provide for its own defense, a not insignificant part of the assistance planned for it consists of items which will increase its own industrial military production.

It is nevertheless scarcely likely that the recipient nations will be in a position to make their contribution to world security and the defense of their area at the end of this one-year period without further outside assistance. If we do not assist these nations in achieving that position, the comparative cost to us in future years of preserving our own security will be considerably greater. It must be our objective to achieve the necessary measure of security for us at the minimum drain on our own economy. The achievement of that objective requires that we be associated with free nations who are strong. The magnitude of our assistance in future years will be reduced by the increased industrial potential of the recipient countries and by the fact that the first year's program contains many capital items which need not be renewed in peacetime. But I cannot hope at this time to predict for how long contributions of this character will be required of us. The rate of economic recovery, the imminence and extent of the aggressive threat, as well as strategic considerations and developments in the art of warfare, are all elements to be taken into account. There are too many variables in the equation, and the determination of these variables does not depend upon us alone.

With respect to the European members of the North Atlantic pact, a program in future years will be derived from recommendations made by the organization to be established under article 9 of the treaty. We will then be dealing with what action our government should take on those recommendations with respect to the provision of mutual aid under article 3 of the treaty. Those recommendations will of course be examined in the light of the aid other members will be invited to contribute under article 3. However, as has been repeatedly stated, that is not the problem with which we are now dealing. As witnesses from the National Military Establishment will explain in more detail, the amount requested is urgently necessary in the interest of our national security. It is the minimum amount required to enable the recipient nations adequately to guard against internal subversion and to begin to undertake their logical and necessary roles in a coordinated collective defense effort.

Some who oppose this program do so because they fear that by sending arms to other nations we should be increasing the chances of war or, alternatively, that the arms we give might some day be used against us. On the contrary, I am convinced that failure to reinforce the determination of free nations to defend themselves against subversion from within and aggression from without may invite a combination of political and military aggression. If they should have to defend themselves, it is obvious that their resistance would be more effective with the arms we propose to supply than without them. These are nations with proud histories and great traditions.

The existence of Communist groups in some of these countries is a reason for, and not against, supplying arms. The danger from these Communist elements reached its peak before the moderate governments of Western Europe proved that they were too strong to be overthrown by subversion. Since these governments proved themselves capable of overcoming internal threats to their security, Communist strength and influence in Western Europe have been steadily reduced. Military assistance from the United States would further strengthen the hand of the democratic governments in dealing with either internal disorders or repelling aggression if it should come.

Fears that the Military Assistance Program might set off an international armament race or provoke the Soviet Union to war, in my considered opinion, are groundless. What is proposed is not a vast increase in the armies of Western Europe, but the supplying of certain key items of arms and equipment for the very modest forces which the Europeans have already provided for in their budgets. The Soviet Government is well aware that those forces are for defense purposes only and cannot possibly menace the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union knows that the democratic nations have not the desire, the intention, or the size of forces for conducting aggression. The people of Western Europe seek only the means of defending their own homes.

Moreover, the armed forces of Western Europe

and their equipment, whether supplied from Europe or from the United States, would be subject to any international agreement for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments under the United Nations Charter. The United Nations is developing plans for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. It is clear, however, that agreement to put armaments regulation into effect cannot be realized in the absence of international confidence and mutual trust. Until such an agreement is a reality, the free nations have no other recourse than to strengthen their own defenses against the threat of the far larger forces maintained by the Soviet Union.

Assertions have been made that the threat to Western European security is not primarily military but political in nature, and that a military assistance program is out of step with the realities. It is quite true that the Western European struggle for freedom has so far been fought with political and economic weapons. It is equally true, however, that throughout this struggle there has been in existence behind the Iron Curtain the greatest peacetime combination of military forces the world has ever known. The fact that such forces exist and can be set quickly in motion constitutes a form of pressure which has helped to maintain unpopular minorities of Communist conspirators in power in the Soviet satellites and in the case of the coup in Czechoslovakia undoubtedly played a large part in putting them in power. The people of Europe are frequently reminded of the nature of this weapon by carefully timed and skillfully staged displays of Soviet military power, such as the recent exhibition at Moscow of the latest model jet-powered military planes.

The fact is that the appeal of international Communism is not, contrary to the self-serving assertions of the Soviets, an appeal to the minds of men. International Communism has made its gains in Europe not by any intellectual or spiritual attractions but by the threat that derives from the existence of large forces, and the ruthless application of force wherever this has been necessary to achieve its objectives.

The mere presence of these large armed forces has had a psychological effect that has been damaging to recovery and stability, and has been a major influence in the loss of freedom and self-determination in important areas of Europe. Nor can the possibilities of direct military aggression be ignored. When political aggression fails, as it has failed so far in Western Europe, totalitarian regimes are often tempted to gain their objectives by military means, particularly when they consider that no effective resistance is possible. It is our aim to forestall that possibility by making it clear that military aggression against the nations of Western Europe can be undertaken only at great cost and with no assurance of success.

It is contended by some that, in any event, there is no way to create a defense which would protect Western Europe from invasion once such an invasion had been launched. This is the counsel of despair. It is like arguing that because burglars can break into houses we should not put locks on our doors. We do not believe that to discourage military aggression it is necessary to create Western European defensive forces which are by virtue of their size capable of successfully resisting an all-out attack. What is required is rather sufficient strength to make it impossible for an aggressor to achieve a quick and easy victory. The dictators of recent times have become involved in war when, in their belief, their intended victims would fall easy prey without substantial risk to themselves. The strengthening of the defenses of Western Europe is designed to prevent a repetition of the tragic consequences of such dangerous self-deception.

I wish to be emphatic about these points I have summarized. Let me restate the situation even more bluntly. The North Atlantic Treaty provides for concerted action in defense of an area which is absolutely vital to our security interest. That common defense will cancel out an advantage which marauding nations have always had in Europe. I mean the advantage of piecemeal aggression, the technique of the *fait accompli* that dictators have used to absorb independent nations before and since World War II. The fundamental pledge of the treaty, that an attack on one signatory will mean an attack on all, closes the door to piecemeal aggression. Does this mean, then, a determined aggressor nation will take the desperate gamble of an all-out war? I do not believe that in the light of the pledge of the treaty, and with the military program now proposed, any aggressor at this time would dare to do so. We know the pattern past aggressions have taken. The gangster mind likes to gamble only on sure things. Its victims are the weak and the unprepared, and it does not relish the prospect of fighting an aroused society. An invasion of Western Europe would mean a total war in which the aggressor would be pitting its strength against the combined strength of the Atlantic pact nations. That is a choice which no nation would make unless it believed that swift military action could gain it enough usable military potential to more than balance the remaining forces arrayed against it. It is the aim of this program to insure that a successful swift and comparatively effortless military action by an aggressor would be impossible and therefore to make the gamble too hazardous to be tempting.

In this program I firmly believe we will secure a highly advantageous and lasting benefit to the United States. Since our own future is so closely entwined with the interests of other free nations,

we find that when we help them, we also help ourselves. The program has been designed for the minimum level of expenditure, which makes sense in view of the political and military objectives to be achieved. This has been achieved by careful detailed screening of every item in the program. As a result of this process, the program contains only those items which are clearly essential to the establishment of a minimum of defense—the minimum essential to the success of our efforts. It is so constituted, and will be so administered, as to assure that economic recovery will not be jeopardized.

Provided our own forces are maintained at the minimum level essential to our own security, the authorization of the sum requested will be the most positive contribution we could make to the collective security of the North Atlantic area. For this sum we will sustain the courageous efforts which Western Europe is making to achieve economic recovery, and we will prevent those efforts from being paralyzed by fear. For this sum we will have given tangible evidence that we believe that a free and prosperous world can be built despite all obstacles and discouragements.

Without such a world we cannot have lasting peace. Military assistance, added to the constructive measures we have already put into effect, is part of the price of peace. The only kind of peace acceptable to free men cannot be bought cheaply. I think the people of the United States are willing to pay the price. I believe they fully understand that failure to pay it will put in jeopardy all we have been trying to achieve at so much sacrifice, and that failure to pay now will make the price much higher in the future.

ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

On July 25, the Department of State released a report on the Military Assistance Program that analyzes in detail the draft legislation which the President sent to the Congress on that same date.[1] The report summarizes a unified, cohesive Military Assistance Program (MAP) that has been planned over the past several months, at the direction of the President, by the Department of State, the National Military Establishment, and the Economic Cooperation Administration. According to the report, such a program provides for:

"Centralized administration of military aid and asks that broad authority be granted to the President so that he may make aid available in critical situations. An essential part of the planning is that the Congress should authorize a single appropriation to finance all activities under the Program during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950. This procedure will permit the most economical allocation of our limited military resources and assure that they will be made available where they are most needed and where they can be used most effectively.

"The major portion of the specific military aid proposed under the Program for fiscal 1950 will go to the North Atlantic Pact countries of Western Europe. This is a realistic emphasis calculated to meet the pressing needs of security in an area of critical importance to our national defense."

Major Aims and Objectives

The report describes the three major aims of the Military Assistance Program as follows:

"*First*, to secure the means and authorization for moving swiftly to help the North Atlantic Pact countries of Western Europe, as well as other countries, to correct their dangerously unbalanced security position; *second*, to enable the Chief Executive to meet emergencies and to bring military assistance into closer working relationship with the other actions of our foreign policy; and *third*, to provide the framework for a consistent and realistic evaluation and treatment of all the requests we may receive for our military aid, whether for grant or purchase."

The proposed legislation would carry out the objectives of the program by providing, in brief:

"*that* all projects of United States military aid be brought together in one program;

that an appropriation of 1,450 million dollars[2] be made to cover the costs of the entire military-aid program for the fiscal year 1950;

that most of our aid at this time go to Western Europe, an area whose importance to our security has been demonstrated in two world wars;

that the military aid program be used to complement the North Atlantic Treaty through carrying out the principles of self-help and mutual aid; and

that our military aid to the free nations of Western Europe take three forms: (*a*) a relatively small but very important amount of dollar aid to increase military-production programs of the Western European nations and thus reduce their dependence on the

[1] *The Military Assistance Program*, Department of State publication 3563, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 15 cents.

[2] This includes 50 million dollars for Greece and Turkey previously authorized and for which an appropriation has been requested.

United States for military equipment; (*b*) a direct supply of arms and equipment to help accelerate the strengthening of the defensive capabilities of their military forces; and (*c*) the provision of United States technical and training assistance.

that the Chief Executive be given the authority to alter allocations to meet changing situations;"

Cost and Impact of the Program

The 1,450 million dollars appropriated for the fiscal year 1950 is allocated as follows:

A. Aid to the North Atlantic Pact countries:	
1. Equipment, delivery expenses, technical and training assistance	$938,450,000
2. Assistance to stimulate increased military production	155,000,000
B. Aid to other countries:	
Equipment, delivery expenses, technical and training assistance	300,580,000
C. Emergency Fund	45,000,000
D. Administration	10,970,000
Total	1,450,000,000

MAP and United States Policy Objectives

The report states that the meaning of national security has been "changed drastically" by the developments of the past 20 years.

"Today it is cold sober fact that this nation cannot stand alone or hope to maintain its safety by limiting its defensive efforts to actions taken within its geographic boundaries. There is no longer even the illusion of safety in withdrawing from the world, nor is safety to be found in a policy which succumbs to the intimidations of propaganda warfare. Vigorous, consecutive action in every phase of international affairs is the only possible answer to the problem of national security.

"Not even the United States, with its resources, its atomic weapons, and its great industrial power, can afford to act the hermit in national defense. In fact, a paradox of our times is that the greater and stronger a nation is, the more imperative is its need to protect in every way possible the world society from which it derives its strength. To help us neutralize the disruptive influences attacking the world society, we in the United States need friends and strong friends. We need the means of making our strength and their strength available wherever our vital common interests are threatened. Secretary of State Acheson summed up the concept in these words:

In the compact world of today, the security of the United States cannot be defined in terms of boundaries and frontiers. A serious threat to international peace and security anywhere in the world is of direct concern to this country. Therefore it is our policy to help free peoples to maintain their integrity and independence, not only in Western Europe or in the Americas, but wherever the aid we are able to provide can be effective.

"The security problem which faces the United States and and other peaceful governments is unavoidably complex. It includes economic and military assistance, individual and collective defense planning, regional arrangements, protection of sources of strategic materials, the free exchange of information and effective cooperation for cultural, scientific, and technical progress. Stripped to its essentials, the security problem calls for action along four separate but closely related lines: (1) cooperation in the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the removal of the causes of war; (2) maintenance or recovery of economic health and political stability; (3) creation and maintenance of a defensive military establishment adjusted to the national strength and the international security situation; (4) participation in collective security arrangements with friendly governments."

MAP and the United Nations

In discussing the relation of MAP to the United Nations, the report describes the program as bringing about world conditions that will aid the United Nations to function more effectively by "restoring a measure of security to free nations through increasing their individual and collective ability to resist aggression." Aid extended through the program to members of the North Atlantic Treaty—

"will advance the purposes of the Charter to the extent that it will strengthen the security of the peoples in the North Atlantic area. The Program will also continue aid to Greece and thus assist that country to combat a situation which the United Nations General Assembly has found to be endangering the peace of the Balkans. Continuance under the program of aid to Turkey will be an additional benefit.

"The proposed Military Assistance Program of the United States is wholly consistent with the principles and intent of the United Nations Charter. It conforms to the requirements of articles 1, 2, 51, and 103. Any action taken under it by the Chief Executive must be consistent with our paramount obligations as a member of the United Nations. The requested legislation specifically directs the President to terminate assistance under the Program to any nation where such assistance is inconsistent with preventive or enforcement action being taken by the United Nations against that nation or where the furnishing of such assistance to any nation is no longer consistent with the policies and purposes of the Program. Through these safeguards and through the clear statement of purpose contained in the proposed

legislation, the Military Assistance Program takes its place as a positive, additional measure of United States support for the United Nations."

MAP and the North Atlantic Treaty

The Military Assistance Program and the North Atlantic Treaty, according to the report, are "separate and distinct." The objectives of both are, nevertheless, to—

"maintain and develop, by self-help and mutual aid, individual and collective capacity to resist aggression. A sensible and realistic interpretation of these objectives will keep in mind the three fundamentals of preparedness: manpower, equipment, and the suitable positions from which to employ them in the event of attack. The Treaty will go far toward making available for the common defense the manpower and the strategic positions; what is presently lacking in the North Atlantic partnership is the material required for defense.

"It should be kept clear that the Military Assistance Program is not a program for 'implementation of the North Atlantic Treaty.' The Program would be necessary even if there were no North Atlantic Treaty, just as the Treaty would be necessary even if the Military Assistance Program had not yet been formulated. The MAP, both in inception and conception, has its own validity and necessity, rooted in basic elements of our foreign policy. It is true that some of these elements of our foreign policy are common to those which underlie the North Atlantic Treaty. The principal element involved in both is that of the national interest of the United States in insuring the security of certain free nations."

Reciprocity

The report stresses that the Military Assistance Program is not intended as a "one-way flow of aid from this country." "In addition to furthering our national security," the report states,

"the Military Assistance Program encourages the recipient countries to exercise the maximum of self-reliance and to place the minimum of dependence upon the United States. The concepts of *self-help* and *mutual aid* apply to all of the recipients of military assistance from the United States. Our military aid is an expression of our fundamental policy that free peoples everywhere have identical interests and responsibilities in realizing the aims of the United Nations Charter.

"Reciprocal assistance to the United States, where it may be practicable in the light of political, economic, and strategic considerations for the recipient nations to furnish it, might take various forms including facilitating the procurement of strategic materials, and the provision of local currency to cover certain local costs incurred by the United States in the administration of the Program."

MAP and the "Cold War"

The report has the following to say about MAP and the "Cold War":

"The Military Assistance Program like our membership in the North Atlantic Pact, is part of a policy which is entirely defensive in its scope. It is aimed at increasing the defense potential of those nations which have asked our aid. Through a resultant increase in confidence, it hopes to promote world recovery and especially the progress of the European recovery effort. It looks forward to a coordinated defense policy which will achieve a timely security for the North Atlantic area and which will not be susceptible to the hot-and-cold, "peace" propaganda of the Soviet Union and international communism.

"Ever since the United States initiated the Marshall Plan and the programs of aid to Greece and Turkey, the officially announced Soviet position has been that the United States was arming Western Europe with aggressive intent toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. According to Soviet statements and propaganda, the proposed Military Assistance Program is only a continuation and further refinement of an American program in Europe which has been in process for some years. Despite this propaganda it is abundantly clear that this Program is solely defensive in its nature and scope and does not provide any pretexts for aggression. The Soviet Union and international communism can be expected to attack the Program, just as they attacked ERP and the Atlantic Pact, for they will recognize it as a positive step to sustain the morale of free nations and to increase their resistance to Communist propaganda.

"The Military Assistance Program is a realistic program. It is not a panacea for international ills and it alone will not put an end to the "cold war", but it can become an important additional instrument in the foreign policy of the United States, and it can play a vital role in the cooperative action directed at preventing another world war. Once in effective operation, it can help preserve the initiative which the free nations of the Western World now have, and it can help to create the structure of sound economies and defensive capabilities with which it may be still possible to convince any potential aggressor nation that the ultimate welfare of its own people lies only in tolerance and peace."

U.S.-U.K.-Canadian Economic Discussions

Text of British Treasury Communiqué Issued on July 10, 1949

[1]

During their visit to London, Mr. John W. Snyder, Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, and Mr. Douglas Abbott, the Canadian Minister of Finance, have had a general exchange of views with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade on the balance of payments difficulties between the dollar and sterling areas and on the measures which could be taken to right the existing disequilibrium between the two areas both in the long and the short term.

[2]

It was reaffirmed that the objectives of the economic policy of all three Governments remained those which are set out in the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund and the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organisation. Particular stress was laid on the necessity of finding solutions which would maintain high levels of employment and enable world trade and international payments to develop on a multilateral basis.

[3]

It was agreed that the general approach to existing problems must be based upon full recognition of their profound and long-term character. The difficulties of the past few months were no more than an aggravation of deep-seated maladjustments. All agreed that remedies other than financial assistance such as that provided by the U.S.A. and Canada must be explored.

[4]

The aim must be the achievement of a pattern of world trade in which the dollar and non-dollar countries can operate together within one single multilateral system. All parties concerned must be prepared to review their policies with this object in view.

[5]

As the next step, it is proposed that technical and fact-finding discussions should take place between the three Governments in preparation for further Ministerial discussions which it is hoped can be held in Washington early in September.

[6]

As regards immediate problems, there was a comprehensive examination of the influences which had brought about the recent acceleration in the drain on the reserves of the sterling area. This led to a general discussion in which the United Kingdom representatives outlined the preliminary steps which they felt it necessary to take to meet the immediate situation. A number of supplementary measures were suggested which could be taken by the Governments either individually or in concert to strengthen the present position. It was agreed that they should be the subject of further consideration. In this connection no suggestion was made that sterling be devalued.

[7]

There was full recognition, in the discussions, of the vital part which assistance under the European Recovery Programme is playing in maintaining the economic position in the United Kingdom and in the other countries participating in the OEEC [Organization of European Economic Cooperation].

Warnings to Americans in Southern China Repeated

[*Released to the press July 25*]

Text of a notice transmitted on July 26 by the Office of the Embassy in Canton to Americans in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Kiangsi, and Hunan:

Reference is made to the statement issued by the American Consulate General, Canton, on November 16, 1948, warning American citizens residing in this consular district who were not prepared to remain under possibly hazardous conditions that they should plan at once to move to places of safety.[1] In view of the renewal of hostilities in southern China, this warning is now being repeated in order that American citizens in areas which may be affected by the renewal of hostilities in southern China may give the most serious consideration to the possible jeopardy in which they may be placed should they remain in the areas in question.

In this regard attention is called to the fact that the Chinese Communist authorities have thus far, in areas under their control, demonstrated in many cases an inability or unwillingness to afford adequate protection to foreigners or to safeguard their individual liberties, particularly in connection with arrest, detention, trial and mob action. Moreover, no satisfactory procedure has thus far been afforded foreigners wishing to secure permits for exit from China or even for travel between points in Communist-controlled China.

In view of the possibility that communications may be seriously disrupted in the near future, Americans are advised to utilize existing transportation facilities while they are still available.

[1] BULLETIN of Jan. 2, 1949, p. 28.

Ambassador Grady Arrives for Consultation on Assistance to Greece

[*Released to the press July 25*]

Ambassador Henry F. Grady arrived from Athens on July 25 for consultations on American assistance to Greece. Following is a statement by the Ambassador concerning the situation:

Conditions in Greece are slowly but steadily improving on both the military and economic fronts. While there are still 17,000 guerrillas in Greece and while they are still getting large amounts of aid from the countries to the north of Greece, the Greek Army is steadily destroying them. Seventy percent are concentrated in the northwest corner of Greece, close to the Albanian and Yugoslav borders. There are small numbers in other parts of northern Greece, but the Peloponnesus has been completely cleared of bandits, and central Greece has been practically cleared. There is no doubt about the final victory of the Greek Army against what is to all intents and purposes an invasion from without, an invasion which is attempting to overthrow the Greek Government and make Greece another satellite of Russia.

On the economic front steady progress is being made, although naturally the continuance of fighting in Greece retards the progress toward economic rehabilitation. Much, however, has been done in the way of reconstruction with the aid of American funds, and the general economic structure of the country has been maintained intact so that with the establishment of complete security in the country, refugees will return to their homes and Greek energy and enterprise will work earnestly to rehabilitate this war-devastated country. The Greek Government is a democratic one, based on the free elections of March 1946, and is cooperating with our ECA staff in implementing the Marshall Program. Of course, everybody wants general elections as soon as it is possible to have them. If conditions had been normal in Greece, elections would have been held in 1948—2 years after the Allied-observed elections of March 1946. It should be possible to hold the elections in a matter of months if the anticipated military victories materialize. One sees real light ahead for Greece.

Ratifications of Commercial Treaty With Italy Exchanged

[*Released to the press July 26*]

Ratifications of the treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Italy were exchanged on July 26 in Rome by Ambassador James Clement Dunn for the United States and Count Carlo Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for Italy. By its own provisions, the treaty enters into force on the day on which the ratifications are exchanged.

This treaty was signed at Rome on February 2, 1948; approved by the United States Senate on June 2, 1948; and ratified by the President of the United States on June 16, 1949. The act of the Italian Parliament approving the treaty was signed by President Einaudi on June 18, 1949.

This is the first comprehensive commercial treaty which the United States has concluded with a European country since World War II and marks the resumption of commercial treaty relations with Italy which were interrupted in 1937 when the Treaty of 1871 was terminated by mutual agreement. The treaty is basically similar to treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation now in force between the United States and various other countries. It is based in general upon the principle of mutuality and is designed to govern economic intercourse between the two countries through sound and reasonable provisions responsive to the problems of present-day international economic relations.

The treaty contains provisions relating to the rights of individuals and corporations of one party in the territory of the other, the protection of persons and property, landholding, religious activities, the exchange of goods, shipping, and other matters generally covered in treaties of this kind. It also establishes standards of fair and nondiscriminatory treatment in matters relating to the establishment and operation of corporations, the expropriation of property, currency-exchange controls, and state competition with privately owned enterprises. In these respects, the treaty is in accord with the liberal principles of economic intercourse which the United States upholds and, among other things, is designed to assure an opportunity for the development of a mutually advantageous flow of capital and technology between the two countries, which is in line with the basic objectives of the Point-4 program.

Under its provisions, the treaty will remain in effect for 10 years from the day of exchange of ratifications, and will continue in force thereafter subject to termination on 1 year's notice by either government.

Senate Approval of North Atlantic Pact

Statement by President Truman

[Released to the press by the White House July 25]

The American people value peace and freedom above all things. Our ratification of the North Atlantic pact with the overwhelming support of the Senate and the people shows our determination to preserve this peace and freedom.

This treaty is a historic step toward a world of peace, a free world, free from fear, but it is only one step. We have malice toward none. With our partners in the pact and other like-minded peoples we must, with God's help and guidance, work for peace with every means at our command. We must keep ourselves morally and materially strong. We must play our part in helping to strengthen freedom everywhere. We must work patiently and tirelessly to make the United Nations ever more effective for its great task. We must seek ever greater unity of purpose and of action in the cause of peace.

President Quirino of the Philippines To Visit U.S.

[Released to the press by the White House July 27]

President Elipdio Quirino of the Republic of the Philippines has accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to visit this country and will arrive on August 8.

Since shortly before the first of the year the President has been in communication with President Quirino in an attempt to work out a mutually satisfactory time when our government would have the privilege of welcoming him to Washington. It is a matter of satisfaction to the President that this meeting will provide an opportunity for discussing a number of matters of common and continuing interest arising out of the peculiarly intimate and friendly relations between the Philippines and the United States.

The President recalls with pleasure President Quirino's visit here as Vice President in 1947, as well as the visit of the late President Manuel Roxas in 1946.

Multilateral Diplomacy—*Continued from page 169*

majorities in the United Nations referred to by former Secretary Marshall when he said:

> . . . there are no mechanical majorities at the disposal of any nation or group of nations. Majorities form quickly in support of the principles of the Charter.

These nations have an overwhelming preponderance of moral and physical force which in the end will not be denied. The foundation of collective security must be this unaggressive preponderance in the hands of the nations who sincerely support the United Nations. By this means the center of gravity of power in international relations will shift from the old catch as catch can alliance system over to the organized community of law abiding states.

The United States has undertaken unprecedented action to buttress the economic health and security of these nations, particularly those directly exposed to Soviet designs. These programs are made imperative by the situation prevailing in the world as a result of Soviet policies, but they cannot be considered in any sense as a substitute method by which the goal of universal peace can be achieved. These are transitional arrangements to meet present security needs. It is unfortunate that the East-West conflict has prevented them from being of the type contemplated in articles 106 and 107 of the Charter. It is important that these transitional arrangements should not be permitted to siphon off the forces and compulsions which support the effort to find adequate means by which permanent peace can be established through collective security. Without the United Nations universal approach which they support, these arrangements would be brittle and fragmentary, lacking the direction and focus of a permanent policy having the backing of all those nations who share with us our hope for durable peace through collective agreement.

Continued support of the United Nations as a cornerstone of United States foreign policy is a realistic approach to the realities of international affairs. It is not enough, however, to believe that historical and social forces are at work which will make collective security prevail on an appointed day. No less than the Soviets, who are not averse to giving a helping hand to the destiny which their creed holds man cannot escape, we must be prepared at all times to give the forces of collective security a nudge in the right direction. Multilateral diplomacy is at work on this task.

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THE FRANCO-ITALIAN CUSTOMS UNION

by Howard J. Hilton, Jr.

In the effort to solve the pressing economic problems continually arising from the complex network of relationships existing in the world today, serious consideration is being given to the formation of customs unions. The Customs Union Study group is studying[1] the proposal for the formation of an European customs union. At the same time, other countries are facing the innumerable problems associated with the actual formation of customs and economic unions. The Benelux union, involving Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, has already established a common tariff for the three countries[2] which are now considering steps to reach the final agreed objective of full economic union. Although other countries have signified their intention to investigate the possibility of forming regional customs unions, the French and Italian Governments are the only representatives of European countries to carry out, in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the steps preliminary to the formation of a customs union. The signing of the customs-union treaty on March 26, 1949, set the stage for this significant experiment.

Much can be learned from the detailed documentation available concerning the Franco-Italian customs union. As a case study, it reveals the myriad of problems involved, the time and effort which must be spent in study, investigation, and joint meetings, and the preliminary agreements and protocols which often mark the progress toward the ultimate objective. Through the courtesy of the French and Italian Governments, whose representatives deserve high praise for the statesmanship, intelligence, and perseverance with which they have faced the many problems involved in this task, it is possible to make these documents available to the people of the United States in order that these developments in Europe may be better understood.

Agreement of September 13, 1947

At the Paris meeting of the Committee for European Cooperation held in the summer of 1947, the French and Italian Governments agreed to establish a study group charged with the task of reporting to the two governments by January 1, 1948, on the feasibility of a customs union between the two countries. To carry out this understanding, Georges Bidault for France and Pietro Campilli for Italy signed, on September 13, 1947, a French and Italian Declaration and Protocol.[3] The Declaration stated that the study should permit the determination of whether this union at the beginning should be limited to France and Italy, or should, on the contrary, embrace from its inception other European states. The study was also to have for its objective the determination of

[1] *Interim Report on the European Recovery Program* issued by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, Dec. 30, 1948, Vol. I, pp. 117–118.

[2] For a general review of the Belgian, Netherlands, and Luxembourg Customs Union, see W. Buchdahl, "The New 'Benelux' Union—Western European Tariff Pattern?" *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Oct. 11, 1947.

[3] Annex I provides an unofficial translation of the French and Italian Declaration and Protocol of September 13, 1947.

whether or not the creation of a Franco-Italian Customs Union would be of a nature to facilitate the participation by France and Italy in a broader European customs union.

The Protocol, which outlined the terms of reference of the Mixed Franco-Italian Commission conducting the study, stated that it was to direct its attention to the following matters: (1) customs, fiscal, and administrative problems; (2) financial and monetary problems; (3) industrial problems; (4) agricultural problems; (5) communication and transportation problems; (6) movement of persons and problems related to labor; (7) economic relations.

Procès-Verbal of the Mixed Franco-Italian Commission

The first meeting of the Mixed Franco-Italian Commission opened in Rome on September 16, 1947. The second session of the Commission was held in Paris from October 27 to November 7. A *procès-verbal*, prepared for this session, indicated that the problems facing the two countries in developing a customs union were not insoluble. In certain cases, the report mentioned that the situation favored the customs union arrangement; in others, certain adjustments would have to be made before the union could be established. There was general agreement, however, that such adjustments could be made.

The report pointed out that both countries were suffering from certain temporary shortages, which, however, could be corrected by increased production within the two countries, and that programs to meet some of these deficits had already been envisaged. The two countries were also suffering from traditional shortages which require permanent imports from third countries. In the latter category are many industrial raw materials such as liquid fuels, coal, copper, and some agricultural commodities such as fats and certain textile fibers. In connection with their requirements from other countries, a common purchase policy was urged so as to avoid costly competition. In fact, the industrial and agricultural committees of the study group indicated that coordination and specialization of commercial exchanges between the two countries and between them and third countries could do much to clear up difficulties which upon first sight might appear insurmountable.

Final Report of December 22, 1947

The third session of the Mixed Commission produced a final report of two volumes which was signed in Rome on December 22, 1947, by R. Drovin for France and Umberto Grazzi for Italy.[4] Following the issuance of this report on January 28, 1948, the French and Italian Ambassadors calling on the Under Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Lovett, presented a copy of this report for the information of the American Government. At this meeting the Department of State informed the two ambassadors that "the United States Government is gratified at the progress made by the Mixed Commission in studying the practical problems involved and particularly gratified that this study resulted in agreement that such a customs union is practicable. Realization of it and of an eventual economic union between France and Italy would be of historical importance not only for the two countries, but for Europe as a whole." The United States Government also indicated that it would follow the further efforts of the two governments to attain this objective with full sympathy and strong hope for their continued success.[5]

In this final report, the Commission directed its attention to indicating solutions to particular problems only in broad and general terms. It considered that formation of a customs union involved two phases. The first phase to which this report was addressed was that of preparing a thorough study and general examination of the desirability and expediency of the formation of a customs union. The second phase was that in which the two governments, having decided to form a customs union, would establish the concrete program for implementing that decision.[6]

After studying the structure of the agricultural economy of France and Italy, the long-term economic measures adopted by the two governments, and the relationship of the two countries with respect to certain specific products, the report concluded that there were no obstacles in the field of agriculture which would prevent the formation of

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[4] "*Rapport Final*, Vol. I, Vol. II; *Commission Mixte Franco-Italienne Pour L'Étude d'une Union Douanière Entre La France et L'Italie*, Vol. I, 183 pp.; Vol. II, 621 pp. Rome, Dec. 22, 1947".

[5] Department of State press release 99, Feb. 9, 1948.

[6] Final Report, vol. I, p. 6.

a customs union. In fact, the customs union would permit a division of labor which would facilitate the economic development of the two countries. It was necessary, however, that legislation be adopted to meet conditions arising from the new relationship between the two countries and that certain precautions be taken to prevent injury to specialized sectors of agriculture. The greater area provided by the formation of a customs union for the exchange of produce, insecticides, and equipment would be a factor in the progress in the rural life of the two countries; however, both France and Italy would have to make a serious effort with a view to decreasing the costs of production.[7]

Industry was subject to similar close study dealing with various goods and specialized industries. It was held that the many problems of industry could not be solved in isolation but must be considered in relation to all other elements such as agriculture, finance, commercial and fiscal policies, etc. The historic separation of the two economies had resulted in differences in production. On one hand, these differences would facilitate the formation of a union, but, on the other hand, certain of the differences should be eliminated and certain economic sectors coordinated. To achieve this coordination, collaboration would be required in the importation of basic materials, in the distribution within the union of raw materials and capital and finally in the organization of export markets. Such collaboration would have the objective of obtaining a rationalization and specialization of production which could be effectively regrouped within the framework of the union, and would thereby make the productive energy of the two countries more effective. The reduction in cost of production resulting from these changes would permit the development of factories and workers producing semi-finished products now imported because existing high costs of production and limited markets have prevented the development of such plants. The collaboration of the two industries involving exchange of technical information, division of labor, licensing, and so forth, could not help but accelerate the industrial progress of the two countries.[8]

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 65–67.

The analysis of transportation and communication between France and Italy was, of course, basic to the study of the effects of the union on industry and agriculture. The formation of the customs union could, of course, be expected to increase greatly the exchange of goods between the two countries. The transportation facilities in general were believed ample to meet these new demands. Although many technical details needed to be worked out concerning unification of charges, dues, use of ports in the union for transshipment to third countries and so forth, there was assurance that solutions could be found. In the case of the ship construction industry, which presented a special competitive problem, it was suggested that a solution could be predicated upon the supply to Italy of French steel products, the suppression of competition in foreign markets, the division of orders to assure equilibrium of production which was held to be indispensable in an economic union, and the conclusion of specific agreements permitting recruitment of specialized Italian labor for work in French shipyards. Consideration of problems arising in the field of civil aviation was guided by the constant technical changes and the necessity for both countries to solve the problem within the framework of various international aviation agreements. The report emphasized the adherence of both countries to the ICAO principles.

Certain questions concerning labor were the object of particular examination. These were the regulation of entry into the two countries, the difference in the status of workers, both foreign and national, from the point of view of social security, the regulation of supply and demand, the placement of workers, and the organization of professional workers.[9]

The report concluded that with respect to labor and manpower, the customs union was possible and even desirable. It was apparent that within the framework and broader spirit of a customs union the solution of delicate questions would be greatly facilitated. The principal question was that of the free circulation of persons and its effect upon the two countries. The establishment of a single labor market risked disorganizing the Italian labor market through sudden removal of workers and

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

uncontrolled entry into France saturating the French labor market, thereby creating unemployment in certain traditionally attractive pursuits without essentially helping the solution of basic problems. The report recommended, as a solution for these problems, that measures be studied and agreements reached for progressive realization of a single labor market as soon as the placement offices of the two countries were in a position to control effectively the national labor market. It was held that only the recruitment of trained men and above all a common policy for professional training would make it possible to create conditions for coordinated immigration.[10]

Foreign trade was the object of close scrutiny which covered general developments in both France and Italy, trade between the two countries, and a serious study of each sector of production with a view to determining the effect of the union upon particular products. It was felt that the union, by enlarging and diversifying demand, would cause substantial changes in the volume and character of foreign trade. In certain sectors, the production of the two countries is complementary; for example, Italy can supply deficit items in France, such as hemp, raw silk, sulphur, mercury, essential oils, and raw hides, whereas France can supply iron ore, scrap, sheet steel, coal, combed wool, and chemical products. The economies of the two countries are competitive in textile, mechanical, pharmaceutical, and certain luxury fields of industry, as well as in phases of agriculture and food processing. The increase in purchasing power resulting from the formation of a union would create new needs which, in certain cases, would require increases in production while in others they could be satisfied only by imports. With respect to exports of the union to third countries of products in which the two countries are not in direct competition, the creation of a union would permit national development of the export markets by making possible more profound studies in the light of the specialization of respective industries which should gradually be realized within the union. This collaboration might take the form of export agreements for participation in foreign contracts or international fairs. The union would also have a healthy effect upon exports because of the lowering of sales prices resulting from an expanded domestic market and benefits of specialization in production. Joint commercial negotiations with third countries could, it was hoped, be undertaken.

The union by favoring expansion of trade and remaining open to accession by other countries would contribute to international progress in world trade, and would thus further the objectives of European recovery. Apart from the speculation of increased foreign trade, the report noted that in the event of a world decline in trade, the union would permit the two countries to bear the effects of the crisis more easily owing to greater trade within the union and to the developments of possibilities for the integration of their own economies and the extension of their own markets.

In financial questions, the report was concerned primarily with the rate of exchange between the franc and the lira and with the current system of payments between the two countries. It recommended that the effort be made to direct payments through the clearing agreement with a view to integrating the regulations and of reaching a single exchange rate. In the case of the customs union, it was held that not only revenues should be transferred, but all liquid assets and private accounts now blocked should be subject to transfer.[11] On the question of customs, the report quoted the pertinent provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which establish principles governing the formation of customs unions. The essential requirement is that customs duties and other regulations imposed by customs unions should not be on the average higher or more rigorous in their effect upon other countries than those applicable before the formation of the union. After study of the French and Italian tariffs as to the nature of duties and nomenclature in which the two tariffs are essentially different, the experts recommended that the Geneva nomenclature which France had already adopted be used as a basis. The parties agreed upon the system of negotiable tariffs, but felt that discussion on the level of common tariffs could not be pursued at that time.[12]

In its general conclusions, the Mixed Commission held that the realization of the customs union

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 169–172.

between the two countries would probably play an integral part in preparation for the period when the different restrictions in international trade could be more or less abandoned by France and Italy. It, therefore, seemed to conform to the economic policies of the two governments and to constitute an effective means through which this policy could be implemented and its benefits felt. To the argument that benefits from the union would be felt only in the future, the report stated that if the decision were rapidly taken and its objectives accomplished by the necessary steps, numerous sectors would feel almost immediate improvements. The Commission stated that if the French and Italian Governments made a decision to form a union, then it must be open to all countries which desired to participate. The report closed with these eloquent words:

"The Mixed Commission, aware of the difficulties of all kinds which affect the two Countries, and convinced that such difficulties would be even more serious if each Country were to face them separately, aware also of the responsibilities arising out of the task of which said Commission was entrusted, is able to conclude that the Customs Union between France and Italy does not present any obstacles. Moreover it makes it possible, on one hand to find a solution to some economic problems which the two Countries have to face, and on the other to prepare a larger area and newer ways to world trade, the revival of which is indispensable for the prosperity of both Countries.

"If the two Governments will follow the Mixed Commission in its conclusions, the said Commission will be proud to have cooperated in the preparation of an important event, not only for the two Countries, but also for Europe and to have helped to start the foundation of a better world."

Protocol of March 20, 1948

On March 20, 1948, the French and Italian Governments for the first time set forth their formal desire to establish a Franco-Italian Customs Union. They expressed their conviction that this union would permit the development of consumer markets, improve the specialization of production, lower production costs, and obtain full employment of manpower, and that European reconstruction would be strongly aided by the measures to be adopted.

The two governments acknowledged that the customs union must be in harmony with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. They also decided to create a mixed commission which would determine the terms of an agreement defining a plan and program for the realization of a customs union between the two countries.[13]

Approval for the Formation of a Customs Union Between France and Italy Given by the Contracting Parties, March 1948

Also on March 20, 1948, the contracting parties, under paragraph 5 of article 25 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, decided that the provisions of the General Agreement should not prevent the establishment of a customs union or interim agreement for a customs union between France and Italy, provided that the agreement conformed to certain requirements. These were that duties and other regulations of commerce imposed at the institution of any such union would not on the whole be higher or more restrictive than the general incidence of the duties and regulations existing prior to the formation of the union and that any interim agreement should include a plan and schedule of such a customs union within a reasonable length of time. The decision also provided that if the two parties decided to enter into a customs union they should promptly notify the contracting parties and should make available to them such information regarding the proposed union as would enable them to make such reports and recommendations to the members of the union as might be deemed appropriate.[14]

Report of the Franco-Italian Customs Union Commission

In the protocol of March 20, 1948, the two governments provided for a Mixed Commission to determine the terms of an agreement and to define the plan and program for the realization of the customs union. The Mixed Commission organized pursuant to this protocol concluded its delib-

[13] Annex II provides an unofficial translation of the protocol of March 20, 1948.

[14] Annex III provides a copy of this decision taken by the contracting parties at the first session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, March 1948.

erations on January 22, 1949, with the issuance of its final report[15] signed by Jean Letourneau for France and by G. B. Bertone for Italy. The organization of this report followed the pattern established by the earlier report. Each of the chapters suggested a plan of action for the realization not merely of a customs union between the two countries but of an economic union in the broadest sense.

It is clear from the chapter on agriculture that for certain commodities the proposed customs union would encounter no serious difficulties. These are cereals, sugar, potatoes, hemp, and tobacco. Although Italy will require imports of cereals excluding rice, France hopes to export substantial quantities of wheat and to become self-sufficient in secondary cereals with the help of French overseas territories. Thus no problem of competition will appear, and in fact the two countries will, with respect to cereals, be to some extent complementary. Since both countries are, and plan to continue to be, approximately self-sufficient in sugar, if account is taken of French overseas territory, no reason for conflict in this field is apparent. Although both France and Italy are exporters of early potatoes, no serious rivalry exists, and no serious problems will be met. Since France is becoming an exporter of seed potatoes, while Italy is deficient in this product, the two countries are to some extent complementary. The two countries are complementary for hemp since Italy is an exporter of hemp and France an importer. Both in Italy and in France a government monopoly controls manufacturing and trade of tobacco. Hence any action which might be desirable to make adjustments in this field, for example, the utilization by France of some Italian production to meet requirements, can easily be accomplished.

Agricultural commodities for which minor adjustment will be required to effectuate the customs union, include vegetable oil, seeds, alcohol, cheese, and silk. The only type of vegetable oil which presents a problem is olive oil. Although production is much less in France than in Italy, both countries agree that the proposed customs union must not conflict with the protective measures applied to this crop. The commerce in seeds is extremely complex. Both France and Italy are exporters and importers of various types of seed. For some types the two countries are complementary, and for others, competitive. Such conflict as exists can be solved by a greater degree of specialization in the two countries in producing types of seed most suitable to local conditions. This specialization could be expedited by consultation between members of the trade in the two countries. Governmental regulations protecting quality and origin of seeds in France and in Italy must be harmonized. In France a governmental administration controls the production and consumption of almost all types of alcohol. In the prewar period all surplus supplies of alcohol were employed for motor fuel. This procedure was also used to control overproduction of other crops after distillation, notably wine. Although in Italy alcohol has often been incorporated in motor fuel, no system comparable to the French exists. The Commission recommended that governmental measures be taken in Italy to establish a control on alcohol such as exists in France. Some types of French and Italian cheese are similar in character and are competitive. In addition, rules protecting appellation of origins and qualities of cheese in the two countries must be coordinated. From the point of view of cost, French production of raw silk cannot compete with the Italian. The problem can probably be solved by increased specialization, with silkworm's eggs being produced in France and cocoons in Italy.

In the case of wine, the operation of a customs union will be seriously complicated by the differences existing in the nature and extent of governmental control. In France a system of appellations of origin of wine has been established over the course of many years. This system has proved beneficial in protecting quality and reputation for quality of French wines. In Italy governmental control in this field is far less comprehensive. Because of the serious problem of overproduction of wine in France during the prewar period, a system of governmental controls limiting the planting of vineyards, making obligatory declaration of stocks, controlling shipments and distillation of surplus supplies, was established. No comparable system exists in Italy. Although at present no problem of overproduction of ordinary wine

[15] Compte Rendu de la Commission Mixte Franco-Italienne d'Union Douanière, Paris, January 22, 1949, Paris Imprimerie Nationale 1949, p. 191.

exists, the area of vineyards is only slightly less than prewar, while the yield is gradually returning year by year to the prewar level. Hence in several years the problem of overproduction may again be faced. Because French producers might be gravely injured if the control measures existing in France were not extended to Italy, the Commission recommended that a comparable system be established in Italy. It has also recommended that until prices are comparable in the two countries, a system of taxes be established to make them so, and that a committee composed of representatives of producers and dealers in the two countries be established to study all questions concerned with this matter and to recommend measures to deal with them. Both France (Algeria included) and Italy are large producers of fruits and vegetables. Their production in general is increasing, and already surpluses of some types are threatened. The effect of the competition both in domestic and foreign markets will be more severe on some producers as a result of the marked price differential which exists between the two countries. The Commission recognized that the only real solution to this problem is found in increased consumption of fruits and vegetables, both in the two countries and in other European countries. Something could, perhaps, be accomplished by guiding production with a view to attaining the most even output throughout the course of the year, but as indicated in the report, commerce in fruits and vegetables is extremely complex, and the usefulness of governmental control is greatly limited by the perishable nature of the product. The Commission recommended the establishment of a committee of representatives of producers and dealers from France and Italy to study the problem.[16]

The chapter on industry presented a study of industrial problems involved in bringing the Franco-Italian customs union into full effect and recommended certain practical methods for arriving at solutions for the problems. As the general problems, such as fiscal policy, wage and price policy, etc., were considered in other chapters, the attention of this chapter was directed to problems such as price regulation, distribution controls, and coordination of long-term programs, and the correlation of the laws and regulations and of the production of the two countries. Although a unified price-control system is essential to the union under existing conditions, the objective should be the progressive elimination of price controls. Price control in France is more extended than in Italy, but since the methods are similar in both countries, unification should not be difficult to accomplish. In this connection, coordination of direct and indirect subsidy policies must also be achieved. The continued shortage of certain power sources and raw materials in both countries has necessitated the continuance of governmental controls of distribution. These controls are considerably more extensive in France than in Italy. The union should improve the availability of industrial raw materials, and the objective of the union should be the decrease or final elimination of such controls. However, the report continued, if certain controls prove still to be necessary in the future, it is important that they should be uniform for the two countries and that the sum total of the resources of both should be allocated by a single administration. The long-term programs in both countries for industrial development, under the Marshall Plan and other plans, should be completely coordinated and, in the final analysis, should become a single unified plan in relation to the over-all plan of the OEEC. Both countries have a large volume of laws for the regulation of industry. These laws are both horizontal and vertical in character; some, such as social security, industrial safety, weights and measures, etc., apply to all industries, while others apply only to specific industries. The project of making such laws uniform for both countries is one of considerable magnitude and will require joint administrative action over an extended period.

Since the French and Italian industrial economies are exceptionally complementary with respect to manufactured products, but only slightly complementary as far as the exchange of raw materials or semimanufactured goods is concerned, the report suggested that special measures to coordinate production would have to be taken. The principal problems relating to competition include prices, raw material supply, productive capacity, and sales outlets. Representatives of the various branches of industries in the two countries should meet to study the consequences of the union and to propose special measures which may

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–32.

be judged indispensable to avoid dislocation during the transition period. With respect to long-term programs, an investigation should be made to determine the basis for agreement concerning industrial equipment, common purchase of raw materials in third countries, technical collaboration, specialization of manufacture in order to reduce cost price, and unified export-sales policy with respect to third countries. Although in the early stages of the study problems such as these and others relating to unification of laws and coordination of industrial policy may be separately undertaken by representatives of government and industry, the later stages will require coordination between these two groups. The report suggested that mixed working groups, containing representatives of both industry and government should be established for each major branch of industry. These groups should work on the unification of common development programs, the encouragement of specialization, and reduction of cost prices and should contribute to the work undertaken by the administrative groups for the harmonization of laws and regulation.[17]

It is apparent from the report that the obstacles in the field of transport and telecommunications are not such as to cause great difficulties in the formation of the union between the two countries. On the question of shipping, the report proposed that a special Franco-Italian committee should be established, after the customs union has been approved, to study shipping problems, especially the realization of close cooperation between the merchant marines of the two countries in order to assure maximum utilization of the two fleets and to avoid unfair competition. For the purpose of advising this special Shipping Committee, a Coordination Committee, composed of representatives of Italian and French associations of shipowners, should be established. The principal problem relating to ports will be the necessity for equitably dividing the traffic destined for Switzerland and Central Europe between French and Italian Mediterranean ports. In order to achieve such a division, it will be necessary to equalize operating conditions in the Mediterranean ports of the two countries. The taxes and charges levied in the ports of the two countries on vessels, passengers, and goods should also be equalized. An existing committee for the Ports of Marseilles, Genoa, and Savona has already initiated a study of these problems. Also a common policy will have to be developed for interior transportation rates, and regulations in the two countries concerning entrepôt, warehouses, and free zones will have to be harmonized. Representatives of the nationalized railroads of the two countries could solve the technical problems concerning rail transport. With respect to road transport, it was suggested that the French and Italian Governments concert their points of view before the competent international organizations in this field. Much has already been done to facilitate the transport of persons by highways between the two countries. Progress, however, is still needed in the field of the transport of goods between them. It is also necessary to enlarge the concept of temporary entry for vehicles carrying goods, and it would be very desirable to coordinate qualities of gasoline and lubricants in the two countries, as well as the taxes collected on these commodities and the control of transportation costs.[18]

The consideration given in this report to problems related to labor consisted primarily of a further examination of those raised in the report of December 22, 1947. The general problems included the protection of the rights of workers in the country receiving the immigrants as well as the rights of the immigrants, the determination of the level of purchasing power in the two countries in order to avoid adverse repercussions on the workers of either country, and the alignment of wages, social charges, and production costs. A thorough study and complete understanding of the problems relating to the excess of Italian manpower are basic to the formation of the union. At the time the report was prepared Italy had 1,750,000 unemployed of whom it was estimated that 800,000 would be desirous of emigrating and capable of being absorbed in another economy. On the other hand, France was desirous of importing 87,000 workers during 1949 in the following categories: agriculture, 30,000; coal mines, 41,000; metallurgy, 6,000; and construction, 10,000. However, Italy because of her own shortage of skilled workers could not at that time supply these deficiencies, except in agriculture.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–48.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–60.

As a general conclusion, it was suggested that a committee be established within the framework of a union to study and make recommendations concerning manpower, immigration, and related subjects with the primary aim of increasing employment and standards of living in both countries. In addition certain specific suggestions were made. First, seasonal migration of agricultural workers should be increased by expediting the circulation of employment offers in Italy, by substituting identity cards for the presently required passports, and by simplifying the procedures of the French Ministry of Labor. Second, trade schools should be established in Italy to supply skilled workers for France, particularly miners, farm hands, and construction workers. Rudimentary courses should be conducted in language, French laws, and social legislation. Third, immigration to France should be made more attractive by permitting transfer of wages and savings to Italy, improving housing of immigrant labor, and reducing immigration costs. In addition, France should submit an estimate of manpower needs on a quarterly basis, whereupon the Italian Government would have 2 months priority to fill these needs before France looked elsewhere for needed alien workers. Fourth, independent Italian farm owners should be introduced into France and French overseas possessions insofar as permitted by climate, and by legal, economic, and social conditions. Fifth, a common occupational nomenclature should be adopted by the two countries to facilitate the immigration of needed workers and the establishment of comparable statistics. Sixth, legislation concerning industrial hygiene and occupational hazards and disease in the two countries should be coordinated.

Because of the lack of adequate information in either country, the Commission found it impossible to determine the comparability of wages, social security charges, cost of living, and costs of production. If the proposed customs union were to operate effectively such statistics would be essential. Social legislation of the two countries should be coordinated, and over a period of time wages in the two countries should be equalized.[19]

Problems in foreign trade posed by the customs union were, to a considerable extent, covered in the early report. The expansion of trade within the union and between the union and third countries, the coordination of the conditions of production within the union, the common search for new markets and new sources of supply, and the improvement of the standard of living of the French and Italian peoples were reiterated as the objectives of the customs union. In spite of the basic similarity of the economies of the two countries, it was felt that the establishment of a customs union between them would increase the amount of trade within the union as a result primarily of economic specialization, technical cooperation, and financial unification, and of the removal by progressive steps, of all barriers, tariffs, quotas, licenses, etc., from the trade within the combined area.

To further the development of a common commercial policy, which, the Commission believed, would provide one of the strongest cohesive factors in the consolidation of the customs union, the establishment of a Trade and Commercial Policy Commission composed of representatives of the two governments and professional organizations in the two countries was proposed. The functions of this Trade and Commercial Policy Committee would include the establishment of a program for the rapid expansion of foreign trade and the improvement of the union's balance of payments, cooperation in commercial negotiations of each of the two countries with third countries and mutual assistance in such negotiations, establishment of methods of collaboration between commercial representatives of the two countries abroad, encouragement of unification of import and export procedures, supervision of the gradual achievement of free exchange of goods between France and Italy, study of methods for achieving Franco-Italian cooperation in their participation in international economic organizations, and the initiation of all other necessary action to achieve the customs union.[20]

The question of the rate of exchange between the franc and lira is the basic problem in the field of finance presented by the formation of the union. Although the impossibility, under present economic circumstances, of establishing a rate of exchange in view of the distortion in the relationship between prices was recognized, it was agreed

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 61–69.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–76.

that the relation between the two currencies could not remain for long independent of their relationship with third currencies. Since the uniform customs duties to be charged on goods entering either country are to be ad valorem, it is an essential prerequisite for the proper functioning of the new system that the franc-lira relationship correspond to the relationships between these two currencies and third currencies. It was suggested that this problem be approached in two stages: In the first period it would be the duty of the Mixed Commission to propose to the two governments such adjustments in exchange rates as seemed appropriate in the light of experience and particularly in the light of the commercial movements between the countries, of relative prices, and of the relationship between the franc and the lira and third currencies. As the customs union becomes more complete, the French and Italian monetary experts could consider the introduction of such technical measures as the free quotation of the lira in France and of the franc in Italy, or the institution of a common money of account, as might seem likely to facilitate the economic union of the two countries. In the second period, a fixed rate of exchange should be established as soon as a general establishment of new rates occurs between European currencies. At that moment France and Italy should set the respective values of the franc and lira with regard to other currencies at a level such that the resulting franc-lira relationship corresponds as much as possible to the equilibrium of the markets of the two countries. Any other procedure might necessitate the adoption of control measures contrary to the aims of the customs union.

With reference to fiscal questions, the report also pointed out that in order to carry out a complete customs union two conditions are essential: a lasting equalization of the pressure exerted by taxes as a whole on prices in both countries and the coordination of the structure of indirect taxes on all types of goods and services likely to be exchanged between the two countries. To determine the fiscal burdens resulting from each of the French and Italian direct and indirect taxes, it will be necessary to make an annual comparison of laws and tax regulations in force, an annual comparison of official figures giving relationship between fiscal burdens and the national income, and insofar as possible, an annual comparison of concrete examples of the burden of taxes obtained by sampling in the case of typical enterprises. Indirect taxes should be equalized particularly insofar as they bear on products or services likely to be exchanged between France and Italy, for it is in this field that the greatest differences exist. In the absence of a customs barrier the maintenance of such differences would entail unacceptable disparities of tax burdens. The French administration will undertake to keep current the information, which it has filed with the Commission secretariat, on the French fiscal system and especially on the various indirect taxes which are in effect in France. The Italian administration will take steps to file similar information.

The Commission has emphasized that an economic union advantageous to both countries could not be consummated without measures equalizing conditions of investment in both countries and facilitating transfers of capital. The unification of the two markets and the coordination of credit and investment policy cannot be achieved before the second phase of the union. It was suggested that a special Mixed Commission be organized as soon as the Customs Union Agreement comes into effect in order to prepare the first measures required in this sector for the economic union. The commission in question would follow in both countries the savings and investment situation and credit policies with a view to facilitating the introduction by both countries of similar technical measures as soon as such a procedure appears necessary and useful. In this connection there will be less difficulty in establishing a relationship between the two money markets in the case of medium and long-term capital issues than in the short-term credit field, particularly since the order of accomplishment will, in principle, begin with direct financing by medium and long-term credit institutions, and continue with progressive opening of the financial market of one country to the issuance of securities of the other country, and, finally end with the granting of reciprocal banking facilities.[21]

The establishment of a Franco-Italian customs union raises essentially four questions in the field of customs: the establishment of a common customs union tariff *vis-à-vis* third countries, the elimination of the customs frontier between

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–86.

France and Italy, the territorial extent of the Union, and foreign trade statistics. The initial step in the establishment of a common customs union tariff is the preparation of a common customs tariff and a convention to put it into effect. It is recommended that the determination of the nomenclature of the common tariff should be postponed until the Customs Union Study Group at Brussels has finished its work and that the determination of the rates in the new tariff should be delayed pending the conclusions of the tariff negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held at Annecy. The tariff convention should provide for the uniform application of the customs union tariff. In addition to the establishment of a customs union tariff, the customs legislation and regulations of the two countries should be unified. Since the two customs administrations had already begun to study these questions, it was proposed that a permanent Technical Committee on Tariffs be established to continue work on the problem. The elimination of the customs frontier between France and Italy would involve problems concerning the elimination of all customs duties between France and Italy, agreement regarding the disposition of internal taxes and charges other than customs duties, unification of legislation and other regulations affecting state monopolies, and unification, gradual reduction, and ultimate elimination of all restrictions, other than customs duties, applied by the customs administration *i. e.* exchange control, quantitative restriction, sanitary control, etc. The Commission proposed that the customs union at first should include only metropolitan Italy on the one hand and metropolitan France and the three Algerian Departments on the other, but gradual extension of the union to overseas territories and possessions should be studied. Foreign Trade Statistics should be prepared in both countries on the basis of the same classifications. Such a preparation is felt to be essential to joint planning.[22]

The general conclusion expressed in the report was that the organization of the external relations of the customs union is one of the most important problems and should be effected as soon as possible. A common internal customs territory cannot be realized before a common customs union tariff *vis-à-vis* third countries has been established. Likewise, it would be necessary to work out a joint commercial policy. It was felt that agreement with respect to imports and exports would develop internal industrial cooperation and encourage the coordination of internal production and even increase trade between the two countries themselves. In the establishment of common external relations, the following considerations were emphasized by the report: The objective should be the expansion of the foreign trade of the union; the balance of payments of the two countries should ultimately be calculated in common; and the customs union should contribute to general European economic cooperation.

The customs and economic union should be realized gradually in view of the very serious difficulties which have to be surmounted. The Commission proposed that during the period of formation compensatory measures should be instituted to make the adjustments of the transitional period more readily acceptable. Taxes to compensate for differences in the cost of production are the one example of the compensatory measures cited by the report. However, it was pointed out that these measures should be transitory and progressively removed. Moreover, the Commission warned that these measures should not interfere with the increase in competition which will develop as a result of the union. It felt that such competition would produce desirable specialization. On the other hand, it pointed out that even an uneconomic activity should not be compelled to disappear without a transitional period, adding that these measures could be imposed by both sides, after informing the body established to supervise the establishment of the customs union.

The Commission has established the general goals and the framework within which they may be attained. The ultimate objective of economic union could best be established, not through a series of defined stages, but by moving forward on all fronts. Any and all efforts toward economic cooperation, however small in themselves, would aid materially in the achievement of the desired result. Success in one such effort will suggest, and even require, a similar effort in collateral fields. The Committee proposed that the two governments establish a Franco-Italian Customs Union Council which would be composed of one representative, an alternative representative and seven

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–91.

members from each country. It also suggested the establishment of a mixed Secretariat. Furthermore, each representative should have in the capital of the other country a permanent delegate. There should be a permanent section of the Council which would meet periodically, and the Council should have the authority to establish committees of experts. The functions of the Council would be to prepare plans for the establishment of the customs union within a period of 1 year and the realization of complete economic union within six years; to supervise the application, in each of the two countries, of measures adopted in common; to facilitate and follow relations between the various administrative services, professional and labor organizations of the two countries; to promote a common policy with respect to labor force and trade both between the two countries and between the customs union and third countries; and to give advice when requested. The Council would have to be consulted whenever one of the two governments instituted compensatory measures.[23]

Treaty of March 26, 1949

On March 26, 1949, the Foreign Ministers of France and Italy, Robert Schuman and Carlo Sforza, signed the customs-union treaty.[24] The provisions of this treaty relate to three general subjects: (1) the establishment of a Franco-Italian Customs Union; (2) the gradual establishment of an economic union between the two countries; and (3) the creation of the Customs Union Council. This treaty embodies by reference the conclusions of the report of December 22, 1947, and the report of January 22, 1949. It also reflects consideration by the signatories of the final act of the conference of the United Nations on trade and employment of March 24, 1948, and article 44 of the Habana Charter. The treaty stipulates that the common tariff applicable to trade with third countries and the removal of all tariff duties on trade within the union shall be completed within one year from the date on which the treaty enters into force. The division of customs revenue deriving from the application of the common tariff is to be determined at a future date.

The provisions concerning the economic union stipulate that it will be achieved by gradual steps within a period which the parties hope will not exceed 6 years. Pending the institution of the economic union, it was agreed that compensatory measures (taxes, in particular) could be used to equalize the differences in internal taxation or to lessen the repercussions of the removal of quantitative restrictions, provided that the over-all incidence of such compensatory measures should provide a degree of protection which would be less than that assured to similar merchandise coming from third countries.

A Council of the customs union is to be established within a period of 1 month after the treaty enters into force. The general functions of this Council are as follows: (1) It shall make plans for the establishment of the tariff union. (2) It shall prepare for the realization of the economic union and supervise its being placed into effect. In this connection, the Council is charged with making, on October 1 of each year, an annual report to the two governments, recommending measures to be adopted in the subsequent 12-month periods. The first of these reports is due on October 1, 1949. (3) It shall make proposals concerning the most rational use of labor, the development of economic activity in the two countries, and the expansion of trade between the two countries and third countries. (4) It shall promote the development of close relations between the public services, business organizations, and labor unions of the two countries. (5) It shall give advice on any measure concerning the customs or economic union when requested by either of the two governments.

Conclusion

This article is designed simply to describe the complex problems which must be faced by two or more countries contemplating the formation of a customs union. There are, however, certain observations which might appropriately conclude this review. Although solutions for many of the problems have been indicated by the experts, their suggestions have undoubtedly created issues which must be decided by the people themselves. It is, thus, that the customs-union treaty now awaits ratification by the French and Italian Parliaments.

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 92–100.

[24] Annex IV provides a translation of the treaty signed Mar. 26, 1949, providing for the establishment of a Franco-Italian Customs Union.

One may rest assured that before the final decision of the governments is made, there will be further investigation, in accordance with democratic precepts, of the merits and the effect of the union upon the people concerned.

When the treaty is ratified, labor and industry will be called upon to cooperate in making adjustments to the inevitable dislocations which will arise from the formation of the union. It is only by this cooperative endeavor, however, that the people may enjoy the fruits of the union. These are the greater productive efficiency based upon the division of labor and capital, full and efficient use of manpower, lower prices resulting from larger markets and greater production, the general improvement in the standard of living, and the other benefits both tangible and intangible.

The formation of a customs union may greatly affect the commercial and economic interests of other countries. Now, for the first time in history, international agreements, viz., the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Draft Charter for the International Trade Organization, establish certain standards to guide participants in achieving a customs union. As both the French and Italian Governments have accepted these standards, it is expected that the general principles of these agreements will be followed in the formulation of the specific measures for accomplishing the objective of full customs and economic union.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The following annexes to Mr. Hilton's article will appear in the BULLETIN of Aug. 22, 1949: the Franco-Italian declaration and protocol for establishment of a customs union; the protocol regarding formation of the customs union; decision taken at Habana on Mar. 20, 1948; and the treaty between France and Italy for establishment of the customs union.]

FOREIGN-AID ARTICLES AND THE BURDEN OF LOSS

by Michael H. Cardozo

Serving the national interest through international aid has become one of the biggest operations of the United States economy. Lend-lease was the first large-scale program, involving transfers valued at over 50 billion dollars. It embraced equipment of all types, ranging from tanks, planes, and guns to orange juice, cod liver oil, and horseshoe nails. The procurement and shipment of this enormous volume of material were not the concern of the government alone; they drew as well on the productive power and services of private business from Maine to Southern California. The impact of the program has been felt in balance sheets, in tax burdens, and in litigation. In many instances, it brought forth problems never previously encountered by the many people and firms it affected. There was virtually no precedent for procurement by United States Government agencies of material for transfer to foreign governments, and to this day the precise relationship of the supplier, the United States Government and the transferee government is sufficiently undefined to become involved in complex litigation.

The European Recovery Program (ERP) and its predecessors, UNRRA, post-UNRRA relief, interim aid, and assistance to Greece and Turkey involve vast new foreign-aid activities, not so large as lend-lease, but in many respects presenting problems of more direct concern to private business in the United States and abroad. A new military assistance program is on the way. Many of the same types of incidents and legal relationships as arose under lend-lease will be met, but the emphasis on the use of private channels of trade for the ERP in lieu of government procurement will have a significant effect on the relations between the private dealers and the governments involved.

Title and the Risk of Loss

Typical legal questions arise in foreign-aid programs when goods are lost or damaged during delivery or do not conform to the specifications of the original request. A remarkably large proportion of these legal questions seem at first glance to depend on the answer to the basic question, "When does title pass?" The difficulty with this ap-

proach, however, is exemplified by the catchword of the lend-lease program that the United States Government retained such an interest in lend-lease articles that title to them "never passed." In lend-lease and in some other programs "government procurement" was used extensively. Title passed to the United States Government when the articles were accepted from the supplier, but the transfer from the United States to the foreign government did not necessarily involve a transfer of title. In most cases it was closer to a loan of the articles, involving transfer only of custody and the right of possession or use, subject to a right to recapture at will. The problems that seem to depend on the time when title passes, therefore, can seldom be solved by a simple analysis of who "owns" the articles. Ownership of the articles is necessarily related to the question of whose money has paid for them, and most of the United States foreign-aid programs have involved articles paid for by the United States without prospect of any reimbursement by the transferee government. As a consequence, there is no "time of payment" by the transferee on which a transfer of title from the United States, and resulting "ownership", can be founded. Still, there are many occasions when it becomes important to be able to fix responsibility for an article to determine who must bear the cost of shipment or repair, or replacement, and who is entitled to the proceeds of disposal or insurance.

To designate a point of transfer of title becomes even harder in the case of articles under the ERP purchased by the foreign government directly from a supplier and transformed into a foreign-aid article by a process of reimbursement by the United States to the foreign government upon presentation of vouchers, invoices, and the like. Assuming that the article may have been delivered abroad and even consumed before the United States pays for it, is it still appropriate to speak in terms of the passing of title from the United States? If so, did it pass upon reimbursement by the United States or theretofore? A new factor enters the analysis when the procurement is wholly through private channels of trade, the importer abroad buying from a supplier or exporter in the United States, with the United States Government funds being injected into the stream at a convenient juncture, such as when a bank pays under a letter of credit. The analysis becomes yet another step removed from the normal course involved in allocating the various property interests when the purchase is made from a source outside the United States through the normal commercial channels used by the importer in the recipient country but with the United States Government contributing dollars from its foreign-aid appropriation to cover the foreign-exchange requirements. In practically all cases, however, an understanding of the general relationship between the two governments and between the governments and the dealer or supplier will provide the answers.

The ramifications of a set of facts constituting an incident that actually occurred in the lend-lease program, and could occur in connection with any type of foreign-aid program, will illuminate the discussion. A supply of medicinal oil in capsules is requested for inclusion in a program by an eligible country, and the request is approved by the governmental agency having policy responsibility for the program. The supply is prepared and made ready for shipment by the American supplier, in this case a large private dealer in this commodity. Four stages of delivery ensue: (1) the rail shipment within the United States; (2) storage in the United States, after dispatch by the supplier but before loading for shipment abroad (this stage is not always present); (3) shipment aboard ocean vessel or aircraft; (4) unloading, transportation, and handling abroad. Let us assume that upon examination and analysis by a private dealer in the recipient country the material is found to fail in a solubility test, and it is therefore unfit for use as intended. It must be diverted to a purpose that can make use only of its residual or scrap value. In this case the assumption is that there is no evidence to indicate when the deterioration occurred. The dealer abroad has no evidence of the quality of the oil when it left the supplier's plant.

Claims by the Dealer Abroad

The claims for damage start at the point of discovery, that is, with the dealer or buyer abroad. If this transaction had involved procurement by a United States Government agency for transfer to the recipient government, or merely transfer out of United States Government stocks, the dealer abroad would, in effect, buy the goods from his own government. He would pay local currency to his government in return for title documents. This procedure was typical of all lend-

ease transfers of consumer goods. Under the ERP or the Greek-Turkish aid program, this type of transaction could also occur, especially where the materials constituted agricultural surpluses or were in Army or Navy stocks remaining from the war.

In all of these cases the aggrieved dealer, or his insurer, by right of subrogation, would ask his government to make him whole by repaying, in local currency, the difference between what he paid and what he could realize in a salvage sale. This action would assume a breach of warranty by his government. If, however, the sale had been made by the recipient government without warranty or recourse, the dealer, or his insurer, would have to seek redress from some other source. If he sought to recover from the United States supplier, he would have to show failure of specifications in the original delivery to the United States procurement agency. He might have to find someone, such as a carrier, who received good medicinal oil and turned over damaged goods to the next in line. If this person were charged with the responsibility of delivering goods in their original condition, he would presumably be liable for damages suffered while the goods were in his possession. Whether the dealer would be entitled to collect, retain, and use funds recovered in dollars from such a person will be discussed separately further on.

Under lend-lease procedures, it would be simple enough for the recipient government to make restitution, if it were liable to the dealer under a warranty, as it would merely have to refund out of its treasury part or all of the local currency proceeds that it had received from the dealer. Under the more recent aid programs, however, starting with the post-UNRRA Relief Assistance Act of 1947, a refund has further ramifications by virtue of the deposits of "counterpart funds." These deposits result, in the case of aid rendered on a "grant" basis, from the requirement that an equivalent in local currency, or the local currency proceeds of sale in the recipient country, be deposited in a special account from which expenditures may be made only with the concurrence of the United States. Where these deposits consist merely of the proceeds of sale in the recipient country, no great problem arises in case of a refund in the nature of damages, since the refund out of the deposit merely reduces *pro tanto* the amount of proceeds available for deposit.

Where the deposit in the special account, however, is "commensurate" with the dollar cost spent by the United States, a refund to the local dealer out of this account cannot be automatic. In the first place, the deposit was not made out of the proceeds paid by the dealer; in the second place, in many cases the deposit will not have been made before long after the goods have been delivered and the defects discovered. Consequently, the refund may have to be made out of other assets of the recipient government. A corresponding adjustment in the counterpart deposit could be made upon agreement with the United States that the transaction was not to be counted as aid rendered. Unless the United States could recover its expenses incident to the transfer from some party responsible for the poor quality or deterioration of the oil, such agreement would conflict with the requirement, in the recent programs, that the deposit be commensurate with the United States expenditures, not with the value of the aid that arrives. A more simple expedient would be for the recipient government to request the concurrence of the United States in an expenditure out of the account in the amount required to compensate the dealer for his loss. It would be the responsibility of the administering agency to decide whether the expenditure would further any of the purposes for which withdrawals are permitted.

Claims by the Recipient Government

The second aspect of the problem is the right of the recipient government to redress for the damaged or defective goods. This leads to the question of the relationship, in terms of property law, between the United States Government and the government receiving the aid. It must be recognized at the outset that, because of the poor quality of the oil in the case under discussion, there was a failure to render the requested aid, a failure analogous in part to a failure of consideration in the ordinary contract case. A medicinal oil was requested; a useless substance arrived.

No refund by the United States Government can be expected, of course, where the United States Government has been paid nothing. To determine what redress may be obtained by the recipient government, we must assess the true damage, if any, suffered by it. In a straight lend-lease transaction, as distinguished from a transfer based

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on current or deferred payment, the recipient government would have suffered only the nonfinancial damage of dearth or delay. If the need continued, replacement by the United States Government was assured. Insurance payable in dollars to the recipient government was unnecessary. While the war continued, lend-lease appropriations were always ample to pay for replacement and repair of lost and damaged articles. The only problem in these cases was the question of the record of aid rendered. It was standard lend-lease practice to enter the record of aid when "transfer" was effected, and ordinarily this occurred upon loading on ocean vessels when a shipping ticket was signed by a representative of the foreign government. Goods lost thereafter nonetheless appeared on the books as aid to that government, and the cost of replacements was merely added to that record. As a matter of fact, it was equally acceptable to enter a record of aid for goods lost before "transfer", since the United States taxpayer had paid for them in the interest of aiding the other government. An example would be a flight-delivered aircraft which crashed after leaving a factory but before the last take-off from a United States field, where a representative of the foreign government would have signed a receipt. Any possible injustice in the lend-lease practice has certainly been wiped out in the standard formula for settlement of lend-lease accounts, which calls for no payment for anything lost during the war. The case of loss before transfer very seldom occurred, however, because in most such cases a carrier or similar party could be charged, and the United States could pay for replacement or repair out of the sums collected.

The assurance of replacement that existed during lend-lease has not been present in the later relief and reconstruction programs, which command a more limited liberality in Congress. As a consequence, the nature of the damage suffered by a government receiving aid on a grant basis has more of a financial aspect because replacement through a grant may be impossible. In the face of such a financial loss, then, can the recipient government obtain redress by collecting dollars (a) from the United States Government or (b) from a party responsible for the harm done to the shipment? A claim against the United States would have to be based on some theory of a breach of contract or warranty. The relationship between the recipient government and the United States under the present ERP and the preceding interim-aid program does have some contractual characteristics. In the requisition or procurement authorization signed by the recipient government and countersigned by United States officials, a commitment by the United States to pay for the articles or services involved generally appears. This commitment, however, does not include a promise to deliver. Indeed, as between the two governments, the entire transaction is impliedly or expressly revocable. After revocation there would remain on the United States only the obligation to pay for goods under special circumstances. For example, the United States would have to pay for goods ordered through a government procurement agency. Also, the United States remains responsible for payment for articles procured in private channels of trade, even after revocation, if a supplier or a bank would otherwise suffer loss. This is protection against a change of United States policy toward a recipient government that might leave suppliers or banks with theoretical claims against a foreign government, already short of dollars, and now threatened with obscurity behind an iron curtain. The United States never makes a firm promise to the other government, however, that it will deliver the goods requested. Nor does the undertaking of the United States amount to a warranty. It is no more than a promise to meet the cost of what is actually delivered. Consequently a claim against the United States, based on the arrival of faulty goods, has no more substance than a claim based on nondelivery of goods.

If convincing evidence showed that damage to goods, such as the medicinal oil, occurred after loading aboard ship, as from improper storage near heat, and notices on the case to "stow in cool place" gave grounds for a conclusion that there was negligence, the ocean carrier would be liable to someone. If the material transferred to the recipient government had been procured by a United States Government procurement agency, or if the recipient government had made a contract of purchase with a private dealer in the United States, with the financing taken over by the United States under the aid program, the recipient government would have all the qualifications of a proper claimant except one: it did not pay for the goods. In such a case, would damages collected in dollars from the shipping line be a windfall to the recipient government? Certainly not if the dollars were

mmediately used to replace the goods. But hould the United States insist on receiving he proceeds of the claim as assurance of proper re-use? This action would be in line with end-lease policy and practice, which, for example, equired a foreign government to turn over to the United States all dollar insurance proceeds realized on lend-lease goods. The basic assumption, however, of the ERP, to wit, a dollar deficit in the ecipient country's balance of payments, might ave led to a different result. The countries of Europe have been found to have a shortage of a iven amount of dollars needed to restore trade vith the Western Hemisphere and among themelves. The Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was organized with the aim f promoting the use of all dollar and other reources of the countries participating in the ERP or purposes that will contribute to the accomplishment of the program. If it succeeds in this aim, recipient country must use any proceeds of a laim, based on damages to a United States financed shipment, for replacement in kind or in ome other manner consistent with recovery. This rocedure applies also to all the dollar resources f the participating countries, and yet United States aid is not rendered by turning over unfettered dollars to the participating countries. A lose control over the expenditure of assistance money is maintained, and similar control might be ppropriate for the funds realized as damages. Actually the Economic Cooperation Administration makes a practice of having such funds turned ver to it for re-use in approved programs.

The foregoing discussion of a claim by the government of a recipient country is equally apposite whether the article was intended for use by the overnment itself or was sold by that government a dealer or other private user in that country. uch a dealer or consumer in a country participating in the ERP, having paid his government for he useless goods, or having paid through his normal banking channels, would not have to be prevented by the United States Government from eceiving whatever damages the law allows him recover from a responsible carrier or other arty. The influence to be exercised by the United tates in determining the use of any of such proceeds, recovered in dollars, however, would have be the same as in the case of recovery by the ecipient government, and the Economic Cooperaon Administration is exercising the same control in both cases. The same conclusions would be applicable if the article, for which the United States had paid, had been procured in a third country and the recovery received by the dealer were effected in the currency of such third country.

Liability of Supplier to U. S. Government

It is conceivable, of course, that the supplier of the medicinal oil originally furnished low quality material or packed the capsules carelessly. Perhaps the cartons were improperly labeled for shipment abroad. The precise basis of the claim is not important in evaluating the positions of the various possible claimants in relation to the supplier. The claimant may be anyone in the chain of delivery, from the ultimate user abroad, or the dealer there, to the United States Government on this side.

In the case of procurement through a United States Government agency, that agency might be the claimant. Notice of the poor quality of the oil would probably be received by the United States through a mission in the United States representing the recipient government. The mission would be advised of the damage after redress had been sought from the recipient government by the aggrieved dealer abroad. As indicated above, the connection between the recompense made by the recipient government, in its own currency, and the dollar recovery due from the party at fault, is indirect. The approach to the United States Government must be merely in the nature of a notice, not a claim, in view of the absence of any direct financial loss by the recipient government, which has made no financial outlay. Having received notice, and detecting evidence on which to base a claim, the United States Government, now acting through its procurement agency, may proceed against the supplier. There may be difficulties in the way of collecting, however. Unlike the ordinary commercial transaction based on offer and acceptance, generally by mail or telegram, the United States procurement operation involves inspection in the United States and specific acceptance by United States officials. Any patent defects would presumably be waived. In the case of the capsules of oil, the type of packing, and the warning marks on the cartons would also be obvious, and failure to object to a defect could possibly be attributed to negligence or other fault of the United States Government agency. This negligence would estop the United States from re-

covery from the supplier. Inability of the United States to collect in such a case would mean a loss to the United States taxpayers in the sense that this investment failed to achieve its purpose, and a loss, at least theoretically, to the recipient government through the retardation of its recovery.

Recovery by the United States Government for breach of contract, although improbable, is not, however, impossible, as in a case where only ultimate testing by the prospective user can reveal a defect, and acceptance by the United States procuring agency cannot be interpreted as a waiver. If a right to recover is proved, the supplier might replace the goods, which would restore the transaction to regularity all along the line. If the recovery were in cash, however, whether from the supplier or from a carrier or other party at fault, the money could not be used again to replace the article, but would have to go into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury unless the agency can sustain the contention that the recovery merely amounts to a refund of the procurement cost. Similarly, the payments could be re-used in the case where a procurement agency had purchased goods from a revolving fund, such as the assets of a government corporation, and, at the time of recovery for loss or breach of contract, had not reimbursed the fund out of foreign aid appropriations. In the case of funds paid into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury, the United States taxpayers would suffer no loss, but economic recovery in the recipient country would not have been furthered despite the expenditure out of the appropriation.

Liability of Supplier to Others

An interesting question arises in the case of faulty goods if the recipient government makes redress in local currency to the dealer abroad and then seeks to recover from the supplier. Presumably erroneous acceptance of the goods by the United States procurement agency, which would give an immunity to the supplier, would leave the United States alone responsible for the loss, as far as the recipient government is concerned. But no collection is possible from the United States because of the donor-donee aspect of the relationship. Also, the United States bears none of the burden of refunding local currency to the dealer. If, however, the transaction were a grant under a program calling for deposit of the proceeds of sale in a special account, the payment to the dealer would reduce the amount on deposit in this special account. The United States would then be affected, because it must consent to any use of the funds in the account, and it is important to the United States to have as much of such funds as possible available for purposes that will contribute to recovery. Re-use by the dealer of the refunded local currency for a purchase in the United States could, of course, contribute as much to recovery as the original expenditure, but it would necessarily involve a new demand for dollars. This demand would mean, presumably, a new drain on the United States appropriation for aid. The net result is that, in a grant transaction where recovery from the supplier is foreclosed, the burden of the loss falls on the United States taxpayer, who has either made one fruitless investment in a foreign aid item or must make the investment twice in order to accomplish the purpose of the transaction.

An interesting instance of this problem arose during lend-lease operations. A quantity of steel cable was requisitioned by a lend-lease government for use in the fishing industry, which was supplying much needed food for the fighting nations. Steel cable was, of course, in extremely short supply, and only procurement through the lend-lease procedure, employing government channels, could assure reasonably prompt delivery. The requesting government, however, paid in advance for the material, making it a "cash reimbursement" lend-lease transaction. The approved requisition was transmitted by the policy agency, the Foreign Economic Administration, to the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department for purchase and transfer. In due course the cable was shipped. Shortly thereafter advice was received from the recipient government that the diameter of the cable was too great, and that it would not fit on the vessels for which it was intended. An examination of the original requisition showed that the smaller diameter had been requested. Further inquiry revealed that the representatives of the Treasury's Procurement Division accepted the wider diameter on the mistaken assumption that it would be acceptable. This assumption estopped the United States Government, or any party claiming under it, from collecting damages or the purchase price from the supplier.

The recipient government, however, had received useless cable and could expect to receive a proper replacement or have its advance payment

refunded. This equitable claim was recognized by the FEA, and the purchase price was refunded out of lend-lease appropriations and recorded as straight lend-lease aid to the recipient country. The cable itself was shipped back to the United States and sold as surplus. This government retained the proceeds. The difference between the purchase price and the amount realized constituted loss to the United States taxpayer; the whole purchase price was a fruitless drain on lend-lease appropriations; and the other government was deemed to have received an amount of lend-lease aid which never was actually furnished. If the whole transaction had happened in a straight lend-lease case, instead of in an instance of cash payment by the recipient government, the precise counterpart of the medicinal oil case would have been presented. No reimbursement would then have been made to the other government, of course, which would merely have been treated like a dissatisfied customer with a charge account. If the cable were returned, the effect on the United States however, would have been the same as in the cash case. In other words, the cash transaction was merely transformed into a straight lend-lease transfer. Under general principles adopted by the United States for lend-lease settlements, no payment is demanded for articles lost, consumed, destroyed, or returned. This arrangement assures that the entry in the lend-lease account would not cause a recipient country to be asked to make a payment for an article like the unsatisfactory cable.

The solution found in the case of the rejected cable, which started as a cash reimbursement lend-lease transaction, would not have been possible, of course, if lend-lease appropriated funds had not been available for reimbursement to the dissatisfied government. If the funds had been exhausted or had lapsed by the passage of time, the recipient country could have had no enforceable claim against the United States Government, which acted throughout on behalf of the other government and without any possible assumption of liability. The United States Government would, of course, have represented the recipient government in attempting to recover from the supplier, if fault could be attributed to the latter. In the absence of proof of fault, however, the loss would have to be borne by the recipient government. That is one of the effects of the unique relationship created under the stress of wartime supply procedures.

Aid on a Credit or Cash Basis

The analogy with a charge account customer leads to consideration of the case of aid rendered on a credit basis, where the recipient country agrees to pay for the assistance over a period of years. The expression "aid on a credit basis" is intended to convey a meaning slightly different from the concept of aid through "loans". The former connotes the furnishing of aid in kind, of articles calculated to achieve a special purpose, with a counter promise to pay the cost over a period of years. A loan, on the other hand, connotes the delivery of money, to be used generally as needed, with a promise to repay on credit terms. The British loan was such a transaction, and as far as the problems discussed in this article are concerned, the business of the Export-Import Bank is conducted on a loan basis. These problems do not arise when the loan method is used, for the relationship between the United States and the recipient government is then purely debtor and creditor, although the supplier has relations, in the legal sense, only with the recipient government.

Aid on a credit basis is found in some of the lend-lease "pipeline" agreements, concluded under authority of section 3 (*c*) of the lend-lease act. Under these agreements, involving only United States Government procured articles, transfers were made to the various countries, after the end of hostilities, of articles which were theretofore in process of delivery or under contract in the United States. The recipient countries had to agree to pay the cost of the articles, but payment could be made under various liberal terms, some calling for installments stretching over 30, 35, or 50 years. Delivery of the unsatisfactory shipment of oil under one of these credit agreements could be expected to result in elimination of the item from the recipient country's account. The agreement would have called for medicinal oil; delivery of something else would not call for payment. Any dollar proceeds realized by the recipient country from disposal of the residue abroad would, of course, belong to the United States, which would also have a right to receive any damages collectible from the persons at fault. In other words, the transaction becomes the same as straight lend-lease, as in the case of the oversize cable, as soon as the foreign government's obligation to pay is cancelled by virtue of an unexpected circumstance.

In the case of some of the lend-lease "pipeline" agreements, the payment was effected by a series of offsetting adjustments in an over-all settlement agreement, with the end result that nothing remains to be paid by the recipient government. In some cases the books were closed with payment of an immediate lump sum. These over-all agreements also contain general waivers of intergovernmental claims connected with lend-lease or other wartime activities. If the loss from the uselessness of the medicinal oil, for example, occurred before the signing of such an agreement, embodying a claims waiver and calling for no further payments for the pipeline material, any claim against the United States is clearly absorbed in the settlement. Where such a settlement agreement was signed before the shipment was started, the same result should be reached, despite the advance discharge the United States might thereby receive from the consequences of its own possible negligence. Only if the settlement agreement permits later adjustment of the amount to be paid can the incidence of the loss be shifted by deduction from the amount to be paid for the goods or by other means.

The transformation of a transaction from a cash or credit to a straight aid or grant basis, as a means of adjusting a recipient country's claim for damages, may also occur in the ERP or a new military assistance program when a recipient country has agreed to make some form of payment for the aid. There are not likely to be any cash-on-delivery (or before delivery) transactions in ERP, comparable with cash-reimbursement lend-lease, which was used mainly to overcome difficulties caused by wartime scarcities. The necessary preference for government procurement in lend-lease has given way to emphasis on private channels of trade. Aid on a credit basis, therefore, will be the more significant factor in the ERP. In view of the likelihood that, as in lend-lease, insurance will not be widely used, the burden of losses connected with this type of aid should fall in the same manner as with the long-term lend-lease pipeline credits.

In the ERP occasionally a transaction that started out on a credit basis will, as a financial matter, became transformed into something like a grant. It could occur where no third party can be held liable, such as where the goods involved were government procured. It could also occur where, the loss having been caused by factors beyond the control of the recipient government and there being no chance of recovery from third parties, the United States Government agrees to remove the cost from the column showing transfers against the credit. Such a concession might well be demonstrably in the interest of the economic recovery for which the whole program was devised. The transaction will not become a grant generally because the recipient government will have received no aid in return for the expenditure recorded by the United States, and clearly no "counterpart" deposit can be expected. In lend-lease this type of transformation from one type of aid to another was satisfactory because so much of lend-lease was delivered on the understanding that the terms of payment, if any, would be fixed after the end of hostilities, and one more item in this category would not be objectionable. In the meantime, the dollar sign, so far as possible, was taken out of aid to the fighting Allies. Less leeway may exist in the ERP, where Congress, for the first year's operations, imposed a limit on the amount of funds that could be spent without a promise to repay on credit terms. Taking a particular transaction out of the credit column could, consequently, have had the effect of reducing to that extent the ultimate amount of aid that country could receive. The burden of the loss, once shifted back to the United States, in recognition of its fault or the absence of fault in the recipient government, would then find its final economic resting place in the lap of the latter. Insurance, even if permitted, could not protect against this result because it would be caused by a mistake of a United States inspector coupled with the exhaustion of appropriated funds, rather than by one of the risks normally covered. Underwriters are unlikely to cover losses resulting, in the final analysis, from decisions of Congress in its exercise of the appropriation power.

Conclusion

This exploration of risk and burden of loss in various types of foreign-aid transactions has been undertaken as much in an effort to analyze the essential relationships between the aiding and recipient countries as to provide a guide to results to be reached in particular circumstances. The results follow naturally from the relationships. The analysis might prove useful in finding solutions to other legal and administrative problems met in the comparatively novel field of foreign aid.

Report on the Present Status of the Armistice Negotiations and the Truce in Palestine[1]

U.N. doc. S/1357
Dated July 26, 1949

I have the honour, in pursuance of the resolution of the Security Council of 15 July 1948, to submit a report to the Security Council on the armistice negotiations between the Arab States and Israel which have been undertaken in response to the Security Council's resolution of 16 November 1948 (S/1080), and on the present status of the Palestine truce.

I. The Armistice Negotiations

1. The Security Council resolution of 16 November 1948 (S/1080) called upon the parties directly involved in the conflict in Palestine to seek agreement forthwith by direct negotiations or by negotiations through the Acting Mediator on Palestine, with a view to the immediate establishment of an armistice. The armistice would include "the delineation of permanent armistice demarcation lines beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move", and "such withdrawal and reduction of their armed forces as will ensure the maintenance of the armistice during the transition to permanent peace in Palestine". The armistice would thus be the next step toward peace beyond the truce regime. In effect, the armistice would liquidate the military phase of the armed conflict in Palestine.

2. The Provisional Government of Israel promptly communicated its willingness to enter into the armistice negotiations called for, but the Arab States were slower in responding to the Security Council's call. Egypt, Lebanon and Transjordan, in December 1948, communicated their acceptance of the resolution in principle but were not immediately prepared to undertake the negotiations called for. It was not, therefore, until January 1949 that the first negotiations, involving Egypt and Israel, could be got underway.

3. As previously reported to the Security Council, armistice agreements have now been concluded between Egypt and Israel (S/1264), Lebanon and Israel (S/1296), Israel and Transjordan (S/1302), and Israel and Syria (S/1353). The agreement between Israel and Transjordan also covered the front held by Iraqi forces, and therefore made unnecessary any separate negotiations between Iraq and Israel. Since such Saudi Arabian forces as were involved in the Palestine conflict served under Egyptian command, they were covered by the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. Yemen has had no forces in the conflict and therefore no agreement involving Yemen has been necessary. As a result of these agreements, an armistice now applies to all of the fighting fronts in Palestine and by the terms of the agreements the military phase of the Palestine conflict is ended. Thus, the Security Council's resolution of 16 November 1948 has been fulfilled by the parties to the Palestine dispute.

4. The armistice agreements provide for a definitive end to the fighting in Palestine. Each agreement incorporates what amounts to a non-aggression pact between the parties, and provides for withdrawal and reduction of forces. The agreements have all been negotiated at the governmental level and signed for and on behalf of their respective Governments by delegations carrying credentials in good order. They are agreements

[1] Transmitted with a letter dated July 21, 1949, from the U.N. Acting Mediator on Palestine, Ralph J. Bunche, to the Secretary-General, Trygvie Lie. For text of the Israeli-Syrian armistice agreement, see BULLETIN of Aug. 3, 1949, p. 177; for texts of Israeli agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, and Hashemite Jordan Kingdom, see *Documents and State Papers* of May 1949, p. 798.

voluntarily entered into by the parties, and any breach of their terms would involve a most serious act of bad faith.

5. The negotiations leading to these agreements were, in each case, tortuous and difficult. But they demonstrate that once the parties could be brought together, they could, with United Nations assistence, be led to reasonable and honourable agreement. That these agreements have been obtained is due to the intensive and determined effort exerted by the United Nations, and its firm resolve that this dispute should be settled by peaceful means. The fruits of this effort have been successively the four weeks' truce, the imposed truce of 15 July 1948, and now the four armistice agreements. Negotiations looking toward the formal peace settlement are being conducted by the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission.

6. The voice of the United Nations has weighed heavily in all of the negotiations concerning the truce and armistice agreements. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has given full and invaluable support and has intervened effectively in the numerous crises. In these agreements the parties have negotiated as equals. The armed forces of both sides remain intact and largely unimpaired by the earlier fighting. Throughout the negotiations, the parties showed understandable reluctance to assume responsibility before the United Nations and world opinion for causing their collapse or failure. In each instance, the parties came to the negotiations with a sincere desire to achieve agreement but with firm ideas as to the basis for such agreement. In the final analysis, agreement was possible only because they were willing to accept considerably less than their original demands. The statesmanship and the spirit of conciliation shown by the Governments and their delegations in each case made final agreement possible. The agreements have proved effective in practice and I see no reason why they should not continue to do so. The fighting in Palestine has ended.

II. The Truce

1. The conflict which broke out in Palestine in May 1948, and which constituted a threat to the peace, was checked by means of a United Nations-sponsored truce. On 11 June 1948, the four weeks' truce called for in the Security Council resolution of 29 May 1948 (S/801) became effective, and it endured until 9 July 1948. This was a negotiated truce, voluntarily accepted by the Arab States and the Provisional Government of Israel. At the time this four weeks' truce went into effect, the conflict in Palestine was general and gaining in momentum. The truce which stopped the fighting and which checked the momentum of the conflict so effectively that it was never again to be resumed on a general scale was due primarily to the herculean efforts of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, the late Count Folke Bernadotte. In seven days of negotiation of unparalleled intensity, in Tel Aviv and the capitals of the Arab States, Count Bernadotte succeeded in gaining the acceptance of all parties for the conditions of the truce which he had formulated and for its effective date of 11 June. This original four weeks' truce was the turning-point in the Palestine conflict.

2. The four weeks' truce, by and large, was effective. There were a number of serious violations, but the general warfare was checked and the fighting fronts became more or less stabilized. When the Arab States rejected Count Bernadotte's appeal to prolong it beyond the four-week period, on the grounds that the truce had worked to the advantage of the Israelis, Count Bernadotte appealed in person to the Security Council to impose a truce. This was done in the Security Council resolution of 15 July 1948, ordering the disputing parties to refrain from further resort to force. All of the parties involved in the conflict informed the Security Council that they would abide by its decision. The resolution of 15 July constitutes an injunction which still remains in force. The imposed truce became effective on 18 July 1948, a date fixed by the Mediator.

3. The imposed truce was effectively applied until mid-October. There were local violations but none which involved serious fighting until the clash in the Negeb which began on 14 October 1948. In the Negeb and subsequently in Galilee, military activity under the truce led to important changes in the military situation which the Truce Supervision Organization could not rectify.

4. Prior to the October fighting in the Negeb, Count Bernadotte and I, after his death, had warned that the truce in Palestine could not be maintained indefinitely without the probability of serious fighting occurring and consequent military advantage accruing to one side or the other. It was apparent as early as September 1948, that an indefinite truce, under which the fighting forces would remain arrayed against each other in close proximity, would become increasingly uneasy and insecure, and that the Truce Supervision Organization would not be able to control the increasing violations unless the United Nations would take most severe measures against those guilty of violations.

5. The United Nations experience with the truce in Palestine indicated that an imposed truce could be effectively applied and supervised for a period of four or five months at the most, but should then be superseded by a further step toward permanent peace. Although the truce imposed by the Security Council on 15 July 1948 was of indefinite duration and included a permanent injunction against resort to force in the Palestine dispute, both sides came to regard the truce as a mere inter-

uption of hostilities, a phase in the fighting, ather than a definite end to the armed conflict. In naintaining the *status quo*, the truce inevitably erpetuated some conditions which after a period f months became so intolerable as to induce one ide or the other to undertake corrective measures ven at the expense of openly defying the truce.

6. When Count Bernadotte was called upon to upervise the four weeks' truce in the Security Council resolution of 29 May 1948, he had at his isposal in Cairo and Tel Aviv only seven mem- ers of the United Nations Secretariat, including ecretaries. He had to recruit military and civil- an personnel and fashion an efficient Truce Super- ision Organization virtually overnight. On 11 une 1948, when the four weeks' truce became ef- ective, the first military observers arrived in airo. Until they could be briefed and sent into he field, members of the Secretariat had to func- ion as observers and several of them displayed ingular courage in traversing no-man's land to ring local commanders together and in stopping ocal incidents of fighting. Members of the mis- ion, military and civilian alike, have served the Jnited Nations with great loyalty and ability.

7. The military observers from Belgium, rance and the United States of America, and he Swedish officers who served with Count ernadotte, deserve great credit for the courage- us service they have rendered and continue to ender to the cause of peace in Palestine. It as been a completely new experience for all of hem, but they caught the spirit of the effort uickly and have served the United Nations with reat devotion, even at the expense of their lives. he Governments which have made these un- rmed men available are due full appreciation rom the United Nations.

8. The United Nations effort in Palestine has een costly in casualties as well as in monetary xpenditure. Ten members of the Organization, ncluding the Mediator, have lost their lives over period of fourteen months, and twice that many ave been wounded. Some of these lives have een lost under conditions which would appear ully to justify the United Nations in holding he Governments concerned liable for the deaths. n some instances, as in the case of Count Berna- otte himself, had adequate protection been given, he deaths could have been avoided. Despite the asualties, however, bearing in mind the neces- ity for freedom of movement if truce supervision s to be effective, I firmly believe that the prin- iple adhered to in Palestine by Count Berna- otte and by me after his death, has been sound. n the absence of any protective United Nations orce, that principle has been to leave it to the iscretion of the local authorities to determine ow much or how little protection is needed by the United Nations personnel, since it is the responsibility of the local authorities to protect that personnel. Thus, neither Count Bernadotte nor I have ever asked any local authority for protection, nor did we ever refuse it when the local authority provided it.

9. Neither the Truce Supervision nor the Mediation operations could have functioned effectively had the United Nations not provided independent systems of communication and transportation. These involved great expenditure but they were indispensable to the work of the mission and often meant the difference between success or failure in negotiations, and indeed, life or death for the Mission's personnel.

III. Conclusions

1. The practical application of the Security Council's truce in Palestine has now been superseded by effective armistice agreements voluntarily negotiated by the parties in the transition from truce to permanent peace. Since all of these agreements are self-enforcing and establish the necessary machinery for their supervision, with the assistance of the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision and United Nations observers at his command, it would seem unnecessary longer to impose upon the States concerned the restrictive conditions of the Security Council truce. The Security Council resolution of 15 July 1948 imposed not only a truce and the conditions relating thereto, but ordered the Governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to desist from further military action.

2. In view of the existing state of affairs in Palestine, the Security Council might consider it advisable to review the situation in the light of the new conditions and to take appropriate action. Such action might declare it unnecessary to prolong the truce provided for in the Security Council resolution of 15 July 1948. It might, at the same time, reaffirm the order in that resolution to the Governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to desist from further military action, and might also call upon the parties to the dispute to continue to observe an unconditional cease-fire. Action along some such lines would be consistent with the realities of the present situation and would at the same time fully safeguard the basic objective of the Security Council that fighting in Palestine shall not be resumed.

3. In conclusion, I would respectfully call to the attention of the Security Council my communication to the Council of 17 January 1949 (S/1215). In my view, the action which the Council might now properly take should also provide, in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly of 11 December 1948 (S/807), for the termination or the transfer to the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission of such functions as now

remain to the position of Mediator under Security Council resolutions. With the armistice agreements concluded, there is no longer any useful function to be performed by the Mediator. Any further activity by me would inevitably impinge upon the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. This could create only confusion and duplication of effort and would serve no useful purpose whatsoever. Under the terms of the several armistice agreements, I have no responsibility for their implementation or supervision, since this responsibility, by mutual agreement, is assumed by the parties themselves. With the truce obsolete, the armistice agreements concluded, and the Palestine Conciliation Commission conducting peace negotiations, the mission of the Mediator has been fulfilled. I am happy to have had this great opportunity to serve the United Nations and the cause of peace in Palestine and in this, my final report, wish to thank the Security Council for the indispensable support which it has given to me in my efforts to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to me.

4. Finally, it is clear to me that the success or failure of any mediation or conciliation effort in a situation such as that presented by Palestine must depend very largely upon the measure of support afforded by the United Nations. If the voice of the United Nations is strong and clear, it can be the decisive factor in the mediatory effort to resolve the conflict. The most effective instrument at the disposal of a mediator or conciliator is the assurance of prompt and vigorous support and action by the United Nations.

5. I have taken the liberty of attaching to this report, as an annex, a memorandum suggesting the general lines of the action which the Security Council might now consider it appropriate to take.

(Signed) RALPH J. BUNCHE
Acting Mediator

Annex

The Security Council,

HAVING NOTED with satisfaction the several armistice agreements concluded by means of negotiations between the parties involved in the conflict in Palestine in pursuance of its resolution of 16 November 1948 (S/1080);

Expresses the hope that the Governments and authorities concerned, having undertaken by means of the negotiations now being conducted by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, to fulfill the request of the General Assembly in its resolution of 11 December 1948 to extend the scope of the armistice negotiations and to seek agreement by negotiations concluded either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, will at an early date achieve agreement on the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

Declares that the armistice agreements as an important step in the transition from truce to permanant peace in Palestine, render unnecessary the prolongation of the truce as provided in the resolution of the Security Council of 15 July 1948 (S/902);

Reaffirms the order set forth in its resolution of 15 July 1948 to the Governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to desist from further military action, and calls upon them to continue to observe an unconditional cease-fire;

Requests the Conciliation Commission, with the assistance of the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, to undertake the observance of the cease-fire in Palestine, and terminates all remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions;

Requests the Secretary-General to continue in existence such of the present Truce Supervision Organization as the Conciliation Commission, in consultation with the Chief of Staff, may require in maintaining the cease-fire and as may be necessary in assisting the parties to the armistice agreements in the supervision of the application and observance of the terms of those agreements.

Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography [1]

General Assembly

Palestine: Progress Report of the United Nations Media tion. A/807, December 20, 1948. 4 pp. mimeo.

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine First Progress Report. A/819, March 15, 1949. pp. mimeo.

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine Second Progress Report. A/838, April 19, 1949. pp. mimeo.

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine Third Progress Report. A/927, June 21, 1949. 13 pp mimeo.

Security Council

Letter dated 29 November 1948 from the Acting Mediato to the Secretary-General, transmitting a final repor on the Truce Violation by Arab forces on 22 Septembe 1948. S/1101, December 2, 1948. 5 pp. mimeo.

Letter dated 11 January 1949 from the Representative o the Provisional Government of Israel addressed t the President of the Security Council. S/1201, Janu ary 11, 1949. 3 pp. mimeo.

[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United State from the International Documents Service, Columbi University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents may be consulted at certain designated libraraies in th United States.

[August 13–19]

Economic and Social Council Debate on Forced Labor

The Economic and Social Council in session in Geneva since August 3 debated for several days the item "Survey of Forced Labor and Measures for its Abolition." The United Kingdom representative charged that the Soviet Union practiced forced labor on a mass scale involving millions of people and referred in detail to the "corrective labor codex" of the Soviet Union. The Soviet representative denied these charges, maintaining that Soviet legislation provided for re-education as well as punishment and arguing that under the capitalist system all labor was in effect forced labor. The representative of the United States noted that the Soviet Union in effect did not deny that forced labor existed on its territory but that it advanced reasons for its application. He declared that the Soviet corrective labor codex included at least nine violations of the Declaration of Human Rights.

The United States representative submitted a resolution proposing the creation of an eleven-member commission (five designated by the Economic and Social Council, five by the International Labor Organization, and the eleventh elected by the ten designated members) to investigate the question of forced labor. The Soviet delegate submitted a resolution that also proposed the establishment of a commission of investigation consisting of representatives of various national and international trade union organizations, and suggested that the commission investigate the problem of employment, semiemployment and labor conditions in colonies and dependent territories. Supported by the representatives of Poland and Byelorussia, the Soviet representative charged that forced labor was common in the dependent territories.

The Council finally rejected the Soviet resolution by 14 votes to 3, with one abstention. The majority of the Council decided that it was useless to set up any kind of investigation committee unless all governments, particularly the Big Five, were willing to accept that investigations take place on their territory.

By 10 votes to 0, with 8 abstentions, the Council adopted a resolution by which it notes that the replies of governments received so far to the Secretary-General's questionnaire did not sufficiently indicate whether a Commission of Inquiry could effectively carry out its task. This revised United States resolution therefore requests the Secretary-General to ask governments which have not yet declared their willingness to cooperate in an impartial inquiry whether they could not envisage the possibility of giving a reply to this question before the next Council session.

Atomic Energy

Representatives of the six sponsoring powers met on August 9 in implementation of that part of the General Assembly resolution which "requests the six sponsors of the General Assembly resolution of January 24, 1946, which are the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission, to meet together and consult in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and to report to the General Assembly the results of their consultation not later than its next regular session." It was decided to hold closed meetings for the time being.

Palestine

The Security Council on August 11 adopted a joint resolution submitted by Canada and France in connection with the acting mediator's report which, among other things: calls the recently signed armistice agreements "an important step towards the establishment of permanent peace in Palestine" and declares that the agreements supersede the Security Council's truce (containing injunctions such as the arms embargo); reaffirms, pending the final peace settlement, the Council's cease-fire order of July 15, 1948; expresses hope that the parties will soon achieve agreement on the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them through direct negotiation or with the Palestine Conciliation Commission; and relieves the acting mediator of any further responsibility under Security Council resolutions.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Illiteracy and Adult Education Conference

The Department of State announced on July 27 that Loyd S. Tireman, professor, University of New Mexico, has been named chairman of the United States delegation to the Conference on Problems of Illiteracy and Education of Adults in the Americas, scheduled to be held at Quitandinha (near Rio de Janeiro), July 27–September 3, 1949. Mrs. Anna Clark, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, has been named to serve as delegate.

The Conference is being held under the joint auspices of UNESCO, the Organization of American States and the Government of Brazil. It will offer an opportunity to the American States to undertake a practical program of cultural cooperation directed toward the realization of one of the essential purposes for which they associated themselves with UNESCO, that of offering a fundamental education to their peoples.

The forthcoming meeting will study modern techniques to be used against illiteracy, including the study of such subjects as the instruction of the American peoples in attainment of health, improvement of working conditions, conservation of natural resources, community life, stability of the home, and worthwhile and creative use of leisure time.

International Wheat Council Committees

The Department of State announced on July 29 the composition of the United States delegations to the meetings of two committees of the International Wheat Council. The following have been named to attend the first meeting of the Advisory Committee on Price Equivalents, scheduled to convene at London, August 3, 1949:

Representative

Fred D. Entermille, Assistant Director, Grain Branch, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

Alternate Representative

F. Marion Rhodes, Assistant Director, Price Support an Foreign Supply Branch, Production and Marketin Administration, Department of Agriculture

Adviser

Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Attaché, American Embass London

Named to the United States delegation to the firs meeting of the Executive Committee, schedule to convene at London, August 8, were: Mr. Rhode as representative; Mr. Nyhus, as alternate repre sentative, and Francis A. Linville, Assistant Chie International Resources Division, Department o States, as adviser.

International Film Meetings

The Department of State announced on Jul 29 that Chester A. Lindstrom, Chief of the Mo tion Picture Service, Office of Information, De partment of Agriculture, has been named Unite States representative to two international fil meetings. He will attend the Tenth Interna tional Exhibition of Cinematographic Art, sched uled to be held at Venice, August 11–Septembe 1, under the auspices of the Italian Governmen and the International Film Festival, schedule to be held at Cannes, September 2–17, 1949, und the auspices of the French Government.

The film festivals are being held for the pu pose of giving public recognition to the film which exhibit outstanding progress in th medium of artistic expression and cultural a vancement. Prizes will be awarded for the be films. At both Venice and Cannes, Mr. Lin strom will present films produced by vario United States Government agencies.

It is expected that approximately 20 countrie a number of international organizations, a numerous motion picture producers will partic pate in these two international events.

Testimony on Military Assistance Program

STATEMENT ON UNION OF WESTERN EUROPE

by Louis Douglas,
American Ambassador to Great Britain[1]

1. If Communist parties of Western Europe have been losing ground during the course of the last 18 months, if Communist influence in Western Europe has perceptively been on the wane, if the Soviets now appear to be receptive to at least minor adjustments of our differences, in sharp contrast with the ruthless imposition of the blockade of Berlin a year ago, it is not because of any philosophical persuasion that the Western powers have been able to bring to bear. It is rather because, stimulated by the European Recovery Program, reassured by the North Atlantic pact and the prospect of the Military Assistance Program, Western Europe has commenced to recapture at least a part of the potential authority and power which were stripped from her by the devastation of war. It is the restoration of power in this area with which our strategic security is so intimately linked and from which we have derived so much of our cultural heritage which will ultimately make possible a settlement of the differences now dividing the East from the West. No amount of dialectical persuasion will achieve this result. A redressing of the unbalance of power in Europe caused by the last war to an extent unprecedented in modern history is a prerequisite to stable relations. For this reason it is, I believe, essential to our vital national interest to give no evidence of slackening or faltering but rather to press on full steam ahead with our program. I therefore hope that the military assistance legislation will be promptly enacted by the Congress. This is the language which is understood.

2. When I mention Western Europe, I am not referring to the heterogeneous conglomeration of uncoordinated national sovereignties that existed before 1939. I am referring rather to a Western Europe now generally conscious of the fact that if its cultural and political estate is to be preserved, it must move as rapidly as possible along the road to integration. This is a significant and historical development. Already in the short span of about a year and a half this consciousness has produced important measures of cooperation among the countries of Western Europe. This development has taken place in a wide variety of fields and among several groupings of countries in this area. It has been empirical and pragmatic rather than formal and legalistic. No country has formally surrendered its sovereignty, but in fact, both tacitly and formally, countries of Western Europe have voluntarily imposed certain restraints on the exercise of sovereignty. They are acting more in concert than ever before, and are increasingly aware that separately they fall, bound together they stand.

3. It is my very strongly held conviction that the consolidation of the military potential of the Western European countries is as essential to our own security as it is to theirs. The extent to which this is achieved may be largely determined by the help we extend and the cooperation we provide, as the accomplishments of the past 18 months have to an important degree rested on our material support and political cooperation.

4. I should like to give you a brief outline of the growth of European cooperation. The testimony of ECA representatives before this and other committees has covered much of the same field that this statement covers, and in addition has referred to the development of economic cooperation, a subject which I will therefore pass over, though it is of central importance.

[1] Submitted on behalf of Ambassador Douglas to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Aug. 2, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

5. While the European Recovery Program was still in its formative stage, European leaders realized that more was necessary than close cooperation in the economic sphere. Without reviewing here the rapid deterioration of East-West relations following the war, it became clear that the aggressive actions of the Soviet Union made imperative the consolidation of European defense. In a speech in the House of Commons on January 22, 1948, Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, advocated the formation of a Western Union and stated that to that end he had proposed to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg the negotiation of a treaty as a first step. On March 17, 1948, the Brussels treaty between the Five Powers was signed.[2] The foundations were laid in that treaty for far-reaching cooperation in the military, economic, cultural, and social fields.

6. The Five Powers have deliberately sought to avoid publicity about the greater part of the work done under the treaty during the first 15 months of its existence. They have believed that by quietly seeking to work out their common problems and developing practical cooperation they could accomplish more than by publicizing every move they took. That is why you have heard comparatively little of the concrete achievements under the Brussels treaty. Let me review with you now some of these accomplishments.

7. The body set up for the over-all direction of the work under the Brussels treaty is the Consultative Council which consists of the Foreign Ministers of the five countries The Council meets regularly every 3 months and in special session if the need arrives. However, in order to have a body continuously at work on the common problems of the five countries, a permanent commission was established, made up of the French, Belgian, and Netherlands Ambassadors in London, the Luxembourg Minister, and a representative of the British Foreign Office, at present Sir Gladwyn Jebb, a Deputy Under Secretary. The permanent commission is always available: it provides continuity and makes it possible for the cooperative effort to progress steadily without interruption. It coordinates the various aspects of the joint undertakings of the Consultative Council so that the Foreign Ministers can in the minimum time consider and make decisions on the many problems confronting them in this vast new undertaking. This permanent joint commission, which already has many accomplishments to its credit, is a new and effective day-to-day instrument of cooperation.

8. Following the most recent meeting in Luxembourg on June 17 and 18, 1949, of the Consultative Council, statements were issued about the work in the cultural and social fields. Here are some of the things which were announced for the first time. Liaison sections have been set up in the Ministries of Labor, of Public Health, and of War Pensions in each of the five countries to work on common problems. A network of agreements is well on the way to completion which will make it possible for a national of one Brussels treaty country living in one of the others to benefit from the social security system of the country in which he resides. Furthermore, a multilateral agreement is being worked out under the terms of which, for example, a Belgian who had lived in England and then moved to France could enjoy the benefits, while still living in France, of previous payments made under the social security schemes both in Belgium and in the United Kingdom.

9. Achievements like this in the social and cultural fields may sound unspectacular, but they are the strands from which the fabric of unity is knit.

10. Far more impressive, and of the utmost importance, is the degree of cooperation achieved in the military field. Following the signing of the Brussels treaty, the Five Powers established a committee of military experts to implement the military clauses of this pact. As a result of the studies of this committee, a comprehensive international and interservice military defense organization was developed.

11. This organization is headed by the Western Union Defense Committee consisting of the five Ministers of Defense which in turn is served by two high level official bodies, the Western Union Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Western Union Military Supply Board. The Chiefs of Staff Committee, consisting of all the Chiefs of Staff, advises on all matters affecting the defense of Western Europe as a whole. The Supply Board, consisting of one member of high standing from each of Five Powers, advises on all questions affecting military supplies. In addition, the Five Powers have established a Finance and Economic Committee for the purpose of resolving financial problems arising from the necessity for increasing the output of military supplies. It is the task of this committee not only to plan with the Supply Board the additional military production but also to see that it does not adversely affect the civilian economy, or interfere with the economic recovery programs in the countries concerned.

12. With regard to the command organization the governments of the Five Powers have appointed a Commander-in-Chief Committee with Field Marshal Montgomery of Britain as its chairman. Additional members are the Commander-in-Chief designate of the land and air forces, and the Flag Officer for Western Europe. This committee is responsible to the Chiefs of Staff for the preparation of the plans for the defense of Western Europe and in addition would provide the nucleus for the wartime High Command.

[2] BULLETIN of May 9, 1948, p. 600.

13. The defense organization has made a very considerable progress, particularly as regards planning. Plans have been made for the ground and air defense of Western Europe, and for the coordinated action of naval forces in the event of war. Communications requirements have been assessed, plans made, and in some cases communications systems are already in operation. Estimates of the forces required for war have been made, and five-power agreement reached on a common organization for their employment. Since during the present period of economic reconstruction the peacetime forces of the Five Powers must necessarily be limited, their organizational structure must allow for immediate expansion to war strength on the outbreak of war. The geographical position of the Five Powers is such that they must also have a large trained reserve, capable of mobilization without delay and their plans so provide. Compulsory military service exists in all powers for periods of from 1 to 2 years and of the total Western Union population of 108 million, some one and one-half millions are serving in peacetime.

14. With reference to equipment it will be remembered that during 1940 to 1945, the countries which were occupied by the enemy lost the bulk of all types of their military equipment. However, during the later stages of war these countries were provided by us with some equipment with which to start rebuilding their armed forces. In addition they are taking steps in common to increase the provision of equipment from within Western Union. Programs are being prepared to implement the additional effort which the governments propose to make in the production field. Warships have been lent by one country to another. Equipment excess to the requirements of one country has been distributed to others in need of it, and arrangements have been made for the manufacture of standardized items, under license, in the different countries. Also information has been pooled regarding a number of types of equipment, and the exchange of blueprints has been effected.

15. The defense organization has also achieved very considerable progress in the combined training of Western Union forces. Naval, air, and army field exercises involving forces of different countries have already been held. These measures, plus the progress in harmonizing the organization of the Five Powers, are unprecedented in the history of international relations. These training accomplishments have the effect of enabling the Western Union forces to work jointly under a single control in all phases of warfare, and thus a foundation has been laid for complete integration.

16. The United States has been kept fully informed of the steps taken by Western Union to consolidate its defense organization, and United States representatives have participated as observers in the various Western Union committees.

The Council of Europe

17. In addition to the forces working toward unity through the European Recovery Program and the Brussels treaty there is another development which I would bring to your attention in this connection. In London on May 5, 1949, the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, France, the Irish Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom and a representative of the Belgian Government signed an agreement providing for the establishment of a Council of Europe. It is contemplated that the West German Government, when formed, will be invited to join. The Council of Europe consists of a Committee of Ministers and a Consultative Assembly, together with a Secretariat. The Committee of Ministers will be made up of representatives of the participating governments, and will act on the basis of unanimity. In the Consultative Assembly, however, the representatives from the different countries will not only be chosen from the parties in power, but may be members of opposition parties or even independents with no political affiliation. They will be free to speak and vote as they please on matters within the competence of the Assembly. The British Government in a White Paper issued June 21, 1949, stated "the Assembly will not merely reflect the main groups of public opinion in the member countries, it should also in its debates create and formulate a European opinion, and in its recommendations tender united European advice to member governments."

18. The Council is to hold its first meeting in August in Strasbourg. It is too early to predict what contribution it may make to the unification of Europe. But it is another indication of the way the European countries are moving.

Conclusion

19. Institutions of international cooperation are not created over night, or by the signing of a document. They grow, and healthy growth is usually a slow process. However, against the backdrop of history and in view of the diversity of race, language, religion, and law among European nations, the progress they have already made in voluntary cooperation is remarkable. It has no parallel in recent history. In the political, the military, and the economic spheres, the first steps toward unification have been taken. From these beginnings a real and enduring unity of Europe may well develop.

20. However, the countries of Western Europe are convinced that there would be little worth saving if they were to undergo another occupation and liberation. Our objective therefore is two-

fold. First, we must seek to deter any would-be aggressor, and second, failing that, we must in our own interests as well as theirs, make sure that the defense of Western Europe is strong enough to hold.

21. There is no escape from the conclusion that the countries of Western Europe, even standing together, do not have at the present time sufficient strength to act as a deterrent to an aggressor, nor have they the resources to equip the forces necessary successfully to defend Western Europe. This fact, however, should not cause us to lose sight of the great contribution in manpower and industrial capacity which the countries of Western Europe can bring to the defense of the North Atlantic area. What is needed from us is the marginal amount necessary to enable them to go forward with the implementation of their present plans for the defense of the West. It is this margin which the Military Assistance Program is designed to provide. The return to us under the circumstances will be out of all proportion to the size of our outlay on the Program. For, instead of having an inadequate defense in Western Europe, which is in fact no defense, we would have begun to build defensive forces capable of holding the West. I need not tell you that the gain to our security would be immeasurable.

22. During the past 2 years I have been working in London, and to some extent on the Continent, trying to serve American interests. As a part of my duty of serving American interests, it has been my responsibility to help Great Britain and the other countries find the answers to some of the problems which can be solved only by our joint efforts. During this time I have become more and more convinced of the interdependence of the countries on both sides of the North Atlantic. There is no field in which this is more true than in the sphere of defense. Our enlightened self-interest calls on us to assist the nations of Western Europe in implementing their defense plans, for in the world in which we live today, their defenses are in effect our defenses.

STATEMENT ON MILITARY AID TO GREECE

by Henry F. Grady,
American Ambassador to Greece [3]

I have come before you to discuss the Greek portion of the Military Aid Program.

Our Greek-aid programs were established by the Eightieth Congress under Public Law 75 of May 22, 1947, which provided military and economic assistance through the fiscal year 1948. In the following fiscal year, 1949, economic aid to Greece was extended through the Economic Cooperation Administration, under Title I of Public Law 472 and military assistance was continued under Title III of that act. It is proposed that military assistance to Greece in the fiscal year 1950 be extended within the framework of the military-aid legislation now before you.

I am convinced that American aid to Greece has been a tremendously important factor, one of the most important factors, in the preservation of Greek independence during the past 2 years. It is certain that had it not been for the continued flow of American material there would have been a complete break-down in the Greek economy and a collapse of the resistance by the Greek people to the foreign-supported attempt to impose a Communist regime in Greece. The political and strategic losses to the United States and the Western democracies would have been very great. The fact that we have been successful in the principal objective of the program, that is, the prevention of a Communist conquest of Greece, has greatly encouraged other countries resisting Communist infiltration and has given them confidence in the determination of the United States to support them.

We have had disappointments in implementation of the economic and military assistance program in Greece. It has not, for example, been possible to put an end to the guerrilla movement by cutting it off at its source; namely, the foreign support provided the guerrillas by the Communist bloc of states in Eastern Europe. The United Nations has been effective in obliging these states to limit and disguise their aggression against Greece and this had been most helpful.[4] But it has not been possible to go much beyond this, partly because the Soviet veto in the Security Council would preclude application of the more affirmative measures envisaged in the Charter, partly because Greece's northern neighbors have been unwilling to heed the General Assembly's recommendations or to go along with the various conciliation proposals made under General Assembly auspices. One of Greece's northern neighbors, Albania, has in fact been used to a greater extent than ever before as a channel and base for providing aid to the Greek guerrillas.

The intensified guerrilla activity made possible by this continuing foreign Communist assistance has imposed a tremendous strain on the Greek economy and made the economic reconstruction of the country much slower than had been hoped. The effects of bandit attacks and devastation emphasize the necessity for restoring internal security

[3] Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Aug. 2, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

[4] For a discussion of the Greek Question, see *Documents and State Papers* for January 1949.

ity in Greece before economic development can proceed at a rate which will enable the Greek economy within the foreseeable future to maintain itself on a self-sustaining basis. Before substantial progress on the economic front can be obtained, the areas presently threatened by guerrillas must be made safe for more than a million refugees who have fled from their rural homes to the overcrowded cities; this relief problem is a large drain on Greek Government finances. A return of confidence in the security of the country is essential before appreciable numbers of private investors will again invest in productive enterprises.

While there are many problems yet to be overcome, the request for continuation of military aid to Greece comes at a moment when the outlook for the successful conclusion of the campaign against the guerrillas is the most optimistic since the inception of the program.

In the international sphere, the United Nations may be expected to maintain and increase its pressure for the termination of foreign Communist aid to the Greek guerrillas, and it now seems likely that this task will be facilitated by growing and more overt divergences within the camp of Communist nations.

The internal Greek military outlook is also definitely brighter. With American material assistance and military advice, the Greek armed forces have been greatly improved and, especially during recent months, have been increasingly effective in antiguerrilla operation. The total forces of the Greek armed services now number approximately 260,000 officers and men in all categories. In January of 1949, command of the forces was handed to General Papagos, who had earned the respect and confidence of the Greeks and of Allied military leaders by his brilliant direction of the Greek forces which heroically turned back Mussolini's invading armies in the early days of World War II. Following his assumption of authority, he concentrated aggressive action in Greece's southern extremity, the Peloponnesus, in order to eliminate guerrilla forces from that area before transferring the bulk of the troops to central and northern Greece. At the same time, General Papagos ordered the army to abandon its static defense concept and to protect vital areas through the use of mobile forces. Inefficient commanders were relieved; summary action was taken against officers who failed to act aggressively. This strategy first showed results in the highly successful defense of the northern city of Florina, which was attacked by heavy concentrations of bandit forces, and in the recapture of the town of Karpenision in mid-February. In the Peloponnesus, organized guerrilla activity has now been virtually eliminated. Throughout the remainder of Greece the Greek Army has pursued the guerrilla forces and has inflicted heavy losses upon them. It is becoming increasingly difficult for these losses to be replaced through the force-recruiting methods which in the past have characterized the expansion of bandit forces. The American-sponsored program of tactical training has shown increasingly valuable results, and Greek commanders appreciate that this training has made possible successful offensive operation with minimum losses to Greek forces.

The mountainous terrain contiguous to the northern borders of Greece, particularly in the Albanian sector, is still the area of greatest danger. In the past, when dislodged from these mountain positions, the bandits have merely retreated across the border to safety and returned at another point to fight another day. Nevertheless, the guerrillas in northern Greece are now effectively contained, on the Greek side of the border at least, by the Greek national forces.

The total bandit strength in Greece now numbers roughly 18 thousand combatants as compared with nearly 30 thousand less than a year ago. Moreover, whereas a year ago the distribution of guerrilla strength was approximately 50 percent in the border areas, and 50 percent scattered throughout the rest of the country, 90 percent of the remaining guerrillas are now concentrated in the border zones. This means that the Greek national forces can focus their attacks on substantial targets, and that a greater part of the country is relatively tranquil. The shrinking areas of guerrilla control also make forced guerrilla recruitment increasingy difficult. Such recruitment in the past has been an important factor in compensating for guerrilla casualties which have, in fact, been considerably higher than the difference between the 30 thousand and 18 thousand figures would indicate.

Unless the extent and nature of foreign assistance to the guerrillas are appreciably augmented, the operations in central and northern Greece which have now begun should make it possible during the course of the next fiscal year to reduce the guerrilla problem in internal Greece to one which can be controlled by mobile units of medium size. Concentrations of troops will continue to be necessary along the borders if organized support continues to come to the bandits from the countries to the north.

Any reduction in American support to Greek operations at this time would have a disastrous effect upon the spirit of the army. The resulting loss of momentum in the present military effort would neutralize gains made this winter and spring, and would prolong the struggle. On the other hand, continued support would provide continuity of the present offensive efforts and would secure utilization of maximum benefits from American military aid.

The effective conduct of military affairs has been enhanced by the support afforded military commanders by a broadened coalition government.

In January of this year four leading parties, the Liberal, Populist, Unionist, and so-called "New" Parties, combined to form a government under normal parliamentary processes. This government was slightly changed in April by the exclusion of three members of the New Party, who were replaced by ministers from the Liberal Party, and again at the end of June following the death of Prime Minister Sophoulis; but the government has remained substantially the same since the beginning of this year. While the present government is to a degree handicapped by certain defects common to its predecessors, and its continuance is potentially jeopardized by partisan pressures, it gives promise of being able to deal with its great tasks. It includes a number of ministers of outstanding technical ability and initiative, and in general has manifested a spirit of cooperation with the American missions.

It is not my purpose or intention to depict the present Greek Government or its various predecessors as faultless. As the President said in his message to Congress on March 12, 1947: "No Government is perfect." And the Greeks undoubtedly have their share of human frailties. However, I do ask you to believe that much of the criticism commonly heard of the Greek Government is based on half-truths, distortions of the truth, and downright lies originating in the propaganda mill of the Kremlin. The "Big Lie" is one of the most potent weapons in the arsenal of Communism. It has been used unceasingly and ruthlessly by the Communists in their efforts to install a Communist police regime in Greece in place of the legitimate and freely elected Greek Government. In the process, that government has been made the target of an unprecedented campaign of calumny. The Communists have so obscured the Greek picture with red herrings that it is often difficult to see the facts for the fish. I believe, for example, that in recent weeks the executive branch and also members of Congress have been intensively circularized with so-called "information" claiming that the Greek Government is executing "hundreds of patriots," that it is persecuting "trade union leaders," that it is "muzzling the press," and so forth and so on. Some letters along these lines are undoubtedly written by honest and loyal Americans who have sincere misgivings about what is going on in Greece. If you share any apprehensions on this score, I will endeavor to clear them up with the detailed facts during the question period, or I will see that you get the detailed facts. For the moment I will say only this. The Greek people by tradition and instinct are profoundly attached to democracy. The present Greek Government and all of its predecessors since the 1946 elections have come into office through the normal, established procedures of parliamentary democracy. Those governments, and most of their officials and agents, have made and are making a sincere effort, with American support and encouragement, to maintain the basic essentials of democracy—open trials, an independent judiciary, freedom of the press and trade unions, and political and religious liberty. They have done this in the midst of all the chaos, human suffering, and human passion generated by the Communist aggression against Greece. Possibly the effort has not been 100 percent successful. But a commendable effort has been made, and the basic principles of democracy have been maintained. That is much more than can be said of the fake, so-called "popular Democracies," whose leaders daily slander Greece for measures made necessary by the troubles in Greece they themselves have instigated.

The picture in Greece is reassuring on the military and political fronts. It is also reassuring on the economic front despite the severe handicaps I have mentioned. Progress is being made in the implementation of various economic programs which the government has undertaken in its 4-year recovery plan. Drastic taxes have been imposed, especially on the wealthier classes, and fiscal reforms have been carried through. Reconstruction projects have gone ahead as rapidly as possible under circumstances prevailing in Greece. Improvements have been made in the distribution of supplies. The first concrete steps have been taken in a program to decentralize Greek Government functions which heretofore have been too closely confined within the Athens ministries, and the heads of the regional administrative districts are now, for the first time, to be appointed solely on the basis of merit and not of politics. Delegation of responsibility to local officials and participation by the people in municipal government is necessary if the democratic process is to be given the necessary strengthening. Machinery for local elections has been established, and it is expected that these will be held in secure areas this autumn. While the possibility of national elections remains questionable until further progress has been achieved in establishing security, the prerequisite revision of electoral rolls, suspended for the past 2 years, has been started.

The recent successes of the government in the military field and its earnest endeavors in economic and political matters have instilled an increasing feeling of confidence among Greek people of all classes. In the absence of adverse developments this confidence should lead to increased effectiveness of the government in dealing with critical problems still facing Greece on the economic, military, and political fronts.

The Greeks are a volatile people with a sharp sense of reality. They cannot be sustained for long on propaganda alone. Their morale can be sustained if military successes continue and if they are made to realize that needed social, political and economic reforms will come with the restora-

tion of security. They realize keenly the vulnerable geographic location of their country, and as a consequence they feel strongly the need for American support at this critical hour. Our continued support will indicate to them our belief in their faith in their own future. This support is vital for maintaining that high Greek national morale which is necessary in eradication of the Soviet bandit menace.

There are various possible approaches to the Greek problem. However, if we set aside as impractical or undesirable at this time the application of more affirmative United Nations measures against the foreign instigators of the Greek guerrilla warfare or the use of American force in Greece, we are faced, in practice, with three policy alternatives in that country.

We could, conceivably, pull out of Greece altogether. If this were to happen, and the Greeks were left to their own devices, the simple fact is that they would no longer be able to support the defense establishment necessary to resist Communist pressure and they would inevitably be forced, against their will, into the Soviet orbit. In terms of economy this would mean throwing away the entire investment we have already made in Greece. What it would mean in terms of strategy is clear from the map. Morally, it would mean the abandonment of the principles on which the peace is established. Politically, it would immeasurably strengthen Communism throughout the world, leading in all probability to the consolidation of Soviet influence in those countries already under Communist control and to its early extension to other countries as well. Finally, it would tend to undermine the great effort that is being made to unite and strengthen the defenses of the free, peace-loving nations of the Atlantic area. Withdrawal, therefore, is not a feasible alternative. We cannot ignore the problem of Greece. We cannot adopt the policy of the ostrich.

Secondly, we could continue giving aid to Greece but in more limited amount. Of all possible courses of action, I feel that this disastrous policy of too little and too late would be the most unwise and uneconomic from the viewpoint of American interests, and the most cruel to the people of Greece. The provision of less than the minimum amount of aid needed to do the job would perpetuate the fighting in Greece to no purpose. We simply cannot afford the policy of the shoestring.

Thirdly, we can, and I believe we must, provide the Greeks with the aid necessary to enable them to wind up this guerrilla warfare as quickly as possible, to restore internal security, and to go forward with the economic rehabilitation of their country. Naturally, in so doing, we must remain alert for any genuine opportunity to reach an honest settlement of the Greek problem in the proper diplomatic forum. Moreover, the possibility of reaching such a settlement is likely to be enhanced in direct proportion to the determination we show in carrying on our Greek-aid program.

It is no easy thing to estimate and put a dollar sign on the amount of military aid needed by Greece. Wars are not successfully fought on a tight budget, and victory is not purchased at the bargain counter. On the other hand, extravagance must be avoided in the interest of the American taxpayer and of our other commitments. It is, however, the best estimate of the executive branch, after expert weighing of all relevant considerations, that Greece's military needs during the fiscal year 1950 can be met within the figure specified in the MAP Bill for countries outside Western Europe and with recourse to the emergency fund in the event of special contingencies. It is also our best estimate that Greece's needs cannot be met for less, for it will not be possible to expect any great economy in Greek-military aid during the course of fiscal year 1950 even under the most favorable circumstances.

While substantial reductions can and must be made in the Greek forces if the guerrilla movement is successfully brought under control, these forces obviously cannot be abolished altogether or reduced below a safe minimum. Internal security will still have to be maintained; isolated bands of die-hard guerrillas will have to be rounded up; a careful watch will have to be kept on the border to prevent renewed guerrilla incursions from abroad. To use a medical analogy, the wise doctor knows that he cannot stop treating a patient just as soon as the major symptoms disappear. He knows that therapy must be continued until the last microbe has been eradicated and the patient is sufficiently strong and well to resist external reinfection. And all of this may be a painstaking and time-consuming process. I submit that we must be as cautious in dealing with matters of foreign policy, such as Greece, which affect our national security as we would be in dealing with our personal health. For in a very real sense the welfare of millions of Americans is involved.

Address by Ambassador Jessup

On July 30 Ambassador Philip C. Jessup delivered an address on the subject of the Military Assistance Program before the Virginia Bar Association, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. Text was issued as Department of State press release 584.

Basic Principles of U.S. Policy Toward the Far East

Statement by Secretary Acheson

As you are all aware, the United States is confronted by a situation in China which will test to the full our unity of purpose, our ingenuity, and our adherence to the basic principles which have for half a century governed our policy toward China. The background of that situation and the extensive and persistent efforts of the United States during the past 5 years to assist the Chinese people are fully described in the document which the Department is issuing on August 5. They are summarized in my letter of transmittal to the President. Secretary Marshall in February 1948 confidentially told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee in executive session many of the facts which are now being published as well as the conclusions drawn from those facts. He made it clear why public disclosure at that time seemed inadvisable, and I have pointed out in my letter to the President why we feel the information should be made public now. As I also said in that letter, the strength of our system of government is based on an informed and critical public opinion, and it is in order that our people may be fully informed in regard to the background of our Far Eastern policy that this record is now being published.

The situation in China serves to emphasize a vital factor in connection with the question of United States aid to foreign nations—that is, that, while the United States can with the best of intentions contribute substantial aid to a foreign government, it cannot guarantee that that aid will achieve its purpose. The achievement of that purpose must, in the final analysis, depend upon the degree to which the recipient government and people make wise use of our assistance and take effective measures of self-help. Without such action by the recipient, no amount of American aid can avail. This is no less true in China than in other parts of the world.

Our traditional policy of assisting the Chinese people to resist domination by a foreign power or powers is now faced by the gravest difficulties. On the one hand, there is in China a Communist regime which, while in fact serving the imperialist interests of a foreign power, has for the present been able to persuade large numbers of Chinese that it is serving their interests and has been able to extend its sway in constantly widening circles. On the other hand, there is the National Government of China which has been unable to rally its people and has been driven out of extensive and important portions of the country, despite very extensive assistance from the United States and advice from eminent American representatives which subsequent events proved to be sound.

This means that United States policy toward China is confronted by a situation in which alternatives are very sharply limited. We must not base our policy on illusions or wishful thinking. I am convinced however that the basic elements of our traditional policy toward the Far East remain valid now as in the past, and I should like to state certain basic principles by which we should continue to be guided. These are:

1. The United States desires to encourage in every feasible way the development of China as an independent and stable nation able to play a role in world affairs suitable for a great and free people.
2. The United States desires to support the creation in China of economic and political conditions which will safeguard basic rights and liberties and progressively develop the economic and social well-being of its people.
3. The United States is opposed to the subjection of China to any foreign power, to any regime acting in the interest of a foreign power, and to the dismemberment of China by any foreign power, whether by open or clandestine means.
4. The United States will continue to consult with other interested powers, in the light of conditions in the countries concerned and in the Far East as a whole, on measures which will contribute to the continuing security and welfare of the peoples of that area.
5. The United States will encourage and support efforts of the United Nations to achieve these objectives and particularly to maintain peace and security in the Far East.

Statement by the President on the China White Paper

[*Released to the press by the White House August 4*]

The Department of State is publishing tomorrow a volume on United States relations with China, particularly during the last five years. I asked the Secretary of State to have this record compiled and published.

My primary purpose in having this frank and factual record released at this time is to insure that our policy toward China, and the Far East as a whole, shall be based on informed and intelligent public opinion. This is the way in which our system of government acquires its strength. As I said in my speech at Chicago last month, "Only if men know the truth are they in a position to work for a stable and peaceful world . . . in this nation, foreign policy is not made by the decisions of a few. It is the result of the democratic process, and represents the collective judgment of the people."

The role of this government in its relations with China has been subject to considerable misrepresentation, distortion, and misunderstanding. Some of these attitudes arose because this government was reluctant to reveal certain facts, the publication of which might have served to hasten the events in China which have now occurred. In the present situation, however, the mutual interests of the United States and China require full and frank discussion of the facts. It is only in this way that the people of our country and their representatives in Congress can have the understanding necessary to the sound evolution of our foreign policy in the Far East.

The Secretary of State in transmitting this record has made a clear and illuminating statement of the situation that exists in China, the nature of the problems that are presented, and the governing principles of our policies toward China. This statement will also be published and should be read, with the record, by everyone who is interested in problems of the Far East.

The warm feeling of friendship between the people of the United States and the people of China has been one of the most notable facts in American foreign relations. That friendship is as strong today as it has ever been. The problem of finding ways to give practical expression to that friendship will continue to receive, day in and day out, the closest attention of this government, and I know that it will receive the hopeful, constructive, forward-looking thought of the American people.

It is obvious that these basic principles require ecification and elaboration in the light of the isting situation in order to be effectively car-ed out. At the direction of the President, we are king several concrete steps to this end. The icers of the Department charged with Far East-n matters are engaged in a comprehensive sur-y of the impact of developing conditions on our sic policy. In addition, I have enlisted the rvices in a consultative capacity of Raymond osdick, former president of the Rockefeller oundation, and Everett Case, president of Colgate University, who in collaboration with Ambassador at Large Philip C. Jessup, will advise me and my staff in the Department of State. Mr. Fosdick will be here on Monday [Aug. 8], and Mr. Case will arrive in the Department later this month. We shall be prepared to draw on other assistance as we go along. We shall of course continue to maintain the closest liaison with the National Security Council and the National Military Establishment in working on these problems. On economic and financial matters we shall have the benefit of the experience and knowledge of the Department of the Treasury and of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Throughout all of our study of this problem, we shall maintain contact and close consultation with the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. All of these steps are designed to bring to bear the united wisdom and resourcefulness of our government in meeting the present situation and any future developments in Asia and the Far East.

Until the thorough review of our Far Eastern policy, which I have just outlined has made substantial progress, I shall wish to restrict my comment on particular aspects of that policy, since any detailed comments now might prejudge the conclusions of our review. I can assure you, however, that the work is being and will be pressed with the greatest possible speed. In the meantime, we will take every opportunity in the day-to-day conduct of our foreign policy to support the five principles I have stated to you. Although I have indicated the seriousness of the situation, I do not in any degree share the defeatist attitude which some current comments reflect. The Chinese Communists, in attempting to establish a totalitarian domination over the Chinese people in the interests of a foreign power and in basing this attempt on a willfully distorted concept of world realities, are committing themselves deeply on the basis of unproved assumptions as to the extent of their own strength and the nature of the reactions which they are bound to provoke in China and elsewhere. The United States, for its part, will be prepared to work with the people of China and of every other country in Asia to preserve and to promote their true interest, developed as they choose and not as dictated by any foreign imperialism.

Copies of the full report, *United States Relations With China With Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949*, Department of State publication 3573, may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, for $3.00 a copy. The Letter of Transmittal from the Secretary of State to the President is reprinted from the report as Department of State publication 3608, entitled *A Summary of American-Chinese Relations.*

U.S. Asks Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania To Refer Disputes to Peace Treaty Commission

[*Released to the press August 1*]

The United States Government on August 1 invoked a new stage of the peace treaty procedures in its disputes with the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian Governments over their violations of the clauses of the peace treaties obligating them to secure to their citizens the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Two months have passed since the United States and United Kingdom representatives in Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest asked their Soviet colleagues to consider the disputes in accordance with the treaty provisions. The Soviet Government, in disregard of these provisions, declined to authorize its representatives to discuss the matter. The treaties provide, as the next step, for the establishment of commissions composed in each case of a representative of each party to the dispute and a third representative chosen by mutual agreement from the nationals of another country. If agreement cannot be reached on the third member, the Secretary-General of the United Nations may be requested by either party to make the appointment. The commissions are empowered by the treaties to reach by majority vote decisions which shall be definitive and binding.

In their notes delivered on August 1 the United States and the United Kingdom called upon the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian Governments to join with them in naming these commissions. Their obligation to do so is clear. The Department of State earnestly hopes that the commissions may have placed before them all the available evidence in order that the serious charges which have been made against these three countries may receive a full hearing and that the responsibility for violation of the treaties may be clearly assessed.

The text of the United States note to the Hungarian Government is given below. Substantially similar notes were delivered to the Governments of Bulgaria and Rumania.

"The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary [Bulgaria, Rumania] and, acting on instructions from the United States Government, has the honor to refer to the Legation's note of May 31, 1949,[1] regarding the dispute which has arisen concerning the interpretation and execution of Article 2 [3] of the Treaty of Peace.

"The Soviet Ambassador has made no reply to the letter of the United States Minister under date of May 31, a copy of which was attached to the Legation's above-mentioned note of the same date, proposing consideration of this dispute by the three Heads of Mission in accordance with Article 40 [36, 38] of the Treaty of Peace. The Soviet Government, in spite of the provisions of the Treaty, has informed the United States Government that it does not see any grounds for a convocation of the three Heads of Mission for this purpose and has not seen fit to authorize its Ambassador to join his United States and British colleagues in considering the dispute. Although two months have elapsed since the Soviet Ambassador was invited to meet for this purpose, no meeting has taken place and the dispute remains unresolved.

"Article 40 [36, 38] of the Treaty provides that any dispute of this kind which is not resolved by the three Heads of Mission within a period of two months shall, unless the parties to the dispute mutually agree upon another means of settlement, be referred at the request of either party to the dispute to a commission composed of one representative of each party and a third member selected by mutual agreement of the two parties from nationals of a third country.

"The United States Government, in the circumstances, requests that the dispute be referred to a commission to be constituted in accordance with the provisions of Article 40 [36, 38] of the Treaty of Peace. Accordingly, the Legation of the United States has been instructed to ask the Hungarian [Bulgarian, Rumanian] Government to join the United States Government in appointing such a commission."

[1] BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 756.

U.S. Rejects Soviet Charges on Italy's Adherence to North Atlantic Treaty

Text of United States Note to U. S. S. R.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to acknowledge receipt of Note no. 89 of July 19, 1949, concerning the adherence of the Italian Government to the North Atlantic Treaty.

The United States Government must reject the allegation in the note under reference that the North Atlantic Treaty pursues aggressive aims. On April 2, 1949, two days prior to signing the Treaty, the Foreign Ministers of the present signatory nations made this clear in a statement as follows:

"The Foreign Ministers of the countries assembled here in Washington for the signing of the North Atlantic Pact have taken note of the views of the Soviet Government made public by that Government on March 31, 1949.

"The Foreign Ministers note that the views expressed by the Soviet Government on March 31 are identical in their misinterpretation of the nature and intent of this association with those published by the Soviet Foreign Office in January, before the text of the Pact was even in existence. It would thus appear that the views of the Soviet Government on this subject do not arise from an examination of the character and text of the North Atlantic Pact but from other considerations.

"The text of the Treaty itself is the best answer to such misrepresentations and allegations. The text makes clear the completely defensive nature of this Pact, its conformity with both the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations, and also the fact that the Pact is not directed against any nation or group of nations but only against armed aggression." [1]

In connection with the Soviet Government's statement that the participation of Italy in the North Atlantic Treaty represents a violation of the Italian Peace Treaty, the United States Government calls attention to the following statement, which was submitted by the United States Department of State on April 28, 1949, to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate:

"It is understood by all parties to the treaty that the participation of Italy in the North Atlantic Pact has no effect on the military provisions, or any other provisions, of the Italian peace treaty. Any contribution which Italy makes to the collective capacity for defense of the North Atlantic area must be within the limits fixed by the military provisions of the Italian peace treaty."

With regard to the Soviet Government's reference to Article 46 of the Italian Peace Treaty, no changes in the military requirements of that treaty are now being sought by Italy as far as the United States Government is aware, nor is Italy prevented from participating in the North Atlantic Treaty by the terms of the Peace Treaty as they stand. Italy is left quite free by the provisions of the Peace Treaty to join with other states in a collective defense arrangement. Moreover, there is nothing in the arrangements envisaged in the exchange of notes between the Italian and United States Governments of April 6 and 7, 1949, which calls upon Italy to depart from the obligations assumed under the terms of the Peace Treaty. Therefore the United States Government considers that the participation of Italy in the North Atlantic Treaty in no way represents a violation of the Italian Peace Treaty.

In view of the foregoing considerations the United States Government must reject as utterly without foundation the charges contained in the Soviet note no. 89 of July 19.

[1] BULLETIN of Apr. 10, 1949, p. 457.

VOA Increases Service to China and Far East

[Released to the Press July 31]

The Department of State Voice of America increased its news broadcasting service to China beginning Monday, August 1, in an effort to open new channels of information to the Chinese people to take the place of the United States Information Service and other news operations which the new Communist regime is suspending.

The increased service will comprise a new 2-hour breakfast-time broadcast to the Far East.

In addition, broadcasts will be inaugurated in Cantonese to carry news to the population of China who speak that dialect and who have heretofore been denied the Voice of America services because of the absence of their language from the VOA schedules.

Present broadcasting to the Far East is in English, Mandarin, Korean, and Russian. Addition of Cantonese brings to 22, the number of languages in which Voice of America programs are broadcast.

The morning broadcast, half in English and half in Mandarin, will be from 7:00 to 9:00 a. m., China time (6:00 to 8:00 p. m., e. d. s. t.) and will consist of news, commentaries, and features. The programs will originate in the New York studios of the Voice of America.

The new Cantonese language program will be incorporated into the regular evening transmission to the Far East from 9:00 to 9:30 p. m., China time (8:00 to 8:30 a. m., e. d. s. t.).

The increase of broadcasts to the Far East follows the suspension by Chinese Communist officials of the United States Information Office operations in Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Hankow, and Nanking. Suspension of these activities, and other acts of the Chinese Communist regime have severely curtailed or cut off almost entirely the access of the Chinese people in the Communist-dominated areas to impartial news reports from outside their country.

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The Department of State bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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THE FRANCO-ITALIAN CUSTOMS UNION[1]

NNEX I

RANCO-ITALIAN DECLARATION AND PROTOCOL OR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CUSTOMS UNION

FRANCO-ITALIAN DECLARATION

The French and Italian Governments, noting that the vork of the Committee on European Economic Cooperaion, now meeting in Paris, has clearly brought to light he benefits that would result from the establishment of a ustoms union, extending as far as possible to the Euroean States, have, on the initiative of the Italian Governnent, examined the conditions under which a practical tudy of the realization of such projects could be underaken, in so far as they are concerned.

They have decided to establish at once a joint commision responsible for conducting a thorough study of the ata on the basis of which a customs union could be conluded between Italy and France. A protocol will deterine the competence of this commission.

This study should permit the determination of whether his union at the beginning should be limited to Italy and rance, or should, on the contrary, embrace from its inption other European States; it will also have for its bjective the determination of whether or not the estabshment of a Franco-Italian customs union would be of a ature as to facilitate the participation of Italy and rance in a broader European Customs Union.

The joint commission is to present its report to the two overnments before the end of 1947.

PARIS, *September 13, 1947*

For France:
BIDAULT

For Italy:
CAMPILLI

PROTOCOL

Following the declaration which has been published to ake known the intention of the Italian and French overnments to effect a study of a project for a Francoalian customs union, a joint Franco-Italian commission established under the following conditions and with e following powers:

This commission shall be composed of an Italian delegaon and a French delegation, each comprising a chairman nd ten members.

The commission shall be presided over alternately by both chairmen. It shall meet for the first time before September 15, in order to determine its methods of work and the frequency of its meetings; it shall establish the program according to which the two delegations are to conduct their work during the periods between meetings. The chairmen shall have full power to set up such subcommittees as they may deem necessary and, in the work of these subcommittees, may call upon all experts whose presence may be necessary. They shall fix the places for the meetings of the joint commission. A permanent secretariat shall be formed to ensure liaison between the two delegations.

The joint commission shall, before December 31, 1947, present a thorough study on the timeliness of establishing a customs union between Italy and France. It shall, in particular, devote its attention to the following points:

1. Customs, fiscal, and administrative questions;
2. Financial and monetary questions;
3. Industrial questions;
4. Agricultural questions;
5. Communications and transportation;
6. Movement of persons and questions relating to labor;
7. Economic relations with third parties;

As well as all other questions not listed above which may be within its competence.

PARIS, *September 13, 1947*

For France:
BIDAULT

For Italy:
CAMPILLI

ANNEX II

PROTOCOL REGARDING THE FORMATION OF CUSTOMS UNION

The French Government and the Italian Government:

desiring to hasten the reconstruction of the French and Italian economies and to assure the solidity and stability of these economies;

considering that they would cooperate in this manner with the reorganization and development of the European economy and of world trade;

inspired by the work of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation which met at Paris in August and September 1947;

[1] An article on the Franco-Italian Customs Union by oward J. Hilton, Jr. appeared in the BULLETIN of Aug. 5, 1949, p. 203.

have, by a declaration dated September 13, 1947, indicated their determination to study the bases on which a Customs Union might be concluded between France and Italy; and for this purpose entrusted the task of proceeding with this study to a Commission composed of French and Italian delegates.

This Commission, after a close examination of all aspects of the problem, issued a report on December 22, 1947. The conclusions were favorable to the establishment of a Customs Union which should be realized by steps and with suitable adjustments during the transition period in order not to injure the interests of the two countries.

The French Government and the Italian Government have decided to adopt the conclusions of the Report of the Commission and declare, therefore, their formal desire to establish a Franco-Italian Customs Union.

The two Governments are convinced that this Union will permit the development of consumer markets, improve the specialization of production, lower production costs and attain full employment of manpower; in addition they believe that the European reconstruction will be strongly aided by the measures that may be adopted and declare in the interest of this reconstruction that they are favorable to an extension to other countries of the Franco-Italian Customs Union in order to assure the cooperation of the largest number of economic forces.

Since the conditions of application of the Customs Union must be in harmony with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the two Governments will consult with the signatory parties to that Agreement and furnish them, with regard to the Union, all information which will permit them to submit to the French and Italian Governments all useful reports and recommendations.

The two Governments are decided to create a Mixed Commission which shall determine as soon as possible the terms of an agreement that will define the plan and program for the realization of the Customs Union taking into account the recommendations contained in the Report of December 22, 1947.

The provisions of this accord shall be submitted for the approval of the two parliaments in accordance with the parliamentary procedure existing in each of the two countries.

Made at Turin in two copies in French and Italian, March 20, 1948.

For France	For Italy
George Bidault.	Count Carlo Sforza

ANNEX III

DECISION TAKEN BY FRANCE AND ITALY AT THE FIRST SESSION, HAVANA, MARCH 20, 1948

The Contracting Parties decide in terms of paragraph 5 of Article XXV that the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade shall not prevent the establishment of a customs union or interim agreement for a customs union between France and Italy which union or agreement conforms to the following requirements:

1. (*a*) The duties and other regulations of commerce imposed at the institution of any such union or interim agreement in respect of trade with contracting parties shall not on the whole be higher or more restrictive than the general incidence of the duties and regulations of commerce applicable in the constituent territories prior to the formation of such union or the adoption of such interim agreement, as the case may be;

(*b*) Any interim agreement referred to in sub-paragraph (*a*) above shall include a plan and schedule for the attainment of such a customs union within a reasonable length of time.

2. If in fulfilling the requirements of sub-paragraph 1 (*a*), one of the parties proposes to increase any rate of duty inconsistently with the provisions of Article II of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the procedure set forth in Article XXVIII of that Agreement shall apply. In providing for compensatory adjustment, due account shall be taken of the compensation already afforded by the reductions brought about in the corresponding duty of the other constituents of the union.

3. (*a*) The two parties, deciding to enter into a customs union or an interim agreement leading to the formation of such a union, shall promptly notify the Contracting Parties and shall make available to them such information regarding the proposed union as will enable them to make such reports and recommendations to contracting parties as they may deem appropriate.

(*b*) If, after having studied the plans and schedules provided for in an interim agreement under paragraph 1, in consultation with the parties to that agreement and taking due account of the information made available in accordance with the terms of subparagraph (*a*), the Contracting Parties find that such agreement is not likely to result in a customs union within the period contemplated by the parties to the agreement or that such period is not a reasonable one, the Contracting Parties shall make recommendations to the parties to the agreement. If the parties are not prepared to modify the agreement in accordance with such recommendations they shall not maintain it in force or institute such agreement if it has not yet been concluded.

(*c*) Any substantial change in the plan or schedule shall be notified to the Contracting Parties which may request the two parties concerned to consult with them if the change seems likely to jeopardize or delay unduly the achievement of the customs union.

4. (*a*) A customs union shall be understood to mean the substitution of a single customs territory for two or more customs territories, so that

(i) tariffs and other restrictive regulations of commerce (except, where necessary, those permitted under Articles XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XX and XXI of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) are eliminated on substantially all the trade between the constituent territories of the union or at least on substantially all the trade in products originating in such territories and

(ii) substantially the same tariffs and other regulations of commerce are applied by each of the members of the union to the trade of territories not included in the union, subject to the provisions of paragraph 5;

5. The preferences referred to in paragraph 2 of Article I of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade shall

not be affected by the constitution of a customs union but may be eliminated or adjusted by means of negotiations with contracting parties affected. This procedure of negotiations with affected contracting parties shall in particular apply to the elimination of preferences required to conform with the provisions of sub-paragraph (*a*) (i) of paragraph 4.

ANNEX IV

TREATY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CUSTOMS UNION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ITALY

The President of the French Republic and the President of the Italian Republic,

Considering the declaration of 13 September, 1947, whereby the French and Italian Governments expressed their desire to study the material on the basis of which a Customs Union might be established between the two countries mainly with a view to reducing prime costs and selling prices, raising the standard of living and ensuring full employment;

And considering the favourable conclusions reached in its Report of 22nd December 1947, by the Joint Franco-Italian Commission charged with this study;

And considering the Protocol signed at Turin on 20 March 1948, whereby the two Governments adopted the said conclusions and signified their formal intention of establishing a Franco-Italian Customs Union;

And considering the Report dated 22 January 1949, drawn up by the Joint Franco-Italian Commission charged by the Turin Protocol to formulate the plan and the programme for the implementation of the said Union;

And considering the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment of 24 March 1948, to which France and Italy are signatories, and Article 44 of the Havana Charter;

Have decided to promote the action necessary to establish a Customs Union regime between France and Italy, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the French Republic:

Mr. Robert Schuman, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

The President of the Italian Republic:

Mr. Carlo Sforza, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

Article 1

A Customs Union is hereby constituted between Metropolitan France and the Departments of Algeria, of the one part, and Italy, of the other part.

TARIFF UNION

Article 2

Within one year from the date of entry into force of the present Treaty, a common customs tariff shall be brought into application on the external frontiers of the Union in accordance with uniform legislation and regulations to be subsequently established.

Article 3

From the date of application of this tariff, no customs duties shall be levied on the importation into any of the territories of the Union of national or nationalized goods originating in another territory of the Union.

As from the same date, no customs duties shall be levied on national or nationalized goods exported from any of the territories of the Union for importation into another territory of the Union.

Article 4

Pending the equalization of fiscal charges in the two countries, the goods referred to in the foregoing Article shall be entitled, in the exporting territory, to exemption from, or refund of, internal duties or charges levied on behalf of the State and shall remain liable in the importing territory to duties and charges other than customs duties.

Article 5

The apportionment of customs receipts between the two countries shall be regulated by a subsequent agreement.

ECONOMIC UNION

Article 6

As from the date of entry into force of the present Treaty, appropriate measures shall be taken to foster economic relations between France and Italy in such a way as eventually to achieve an Economic Union between the two countries.

Concurrently with the co-ordination of French and Italian legislation as provided under Article 15, paragraph 2, restrictions on the movement of goods and persons from one territory of the Union to another shall be progressively abolished.

Within two years of the date on which it takes up its functions, the body referred to in Article 9 shall make such proposals as it may deem expedient regarding the time-limit within which the Economic Union should be fully achieved, it being the desire of the two High Contracting Parties that this time-limit shall not exceed six years.

Article 7

As from the date of the entry into force of the present Treaty, and during the period referred to in Article 6, countervailing measures, especially duties established exceptionally and provisionally by either of the two Governments, may be applied to the goods referred to in Article 3.

The object of such measures shall be either to offset the difference in charges resulting from disparities between the two legislations until such time as the latter have been co-ordinated, or to regularize and mitigate the effects of the abolition of quantitative restrictions.

The total incidence of these measures shall be such that the protection resulting therefrom is less than that provided in respect of the same goods originating from third countries.

Article 8

The two Governments shall have the right to maintain monopolies established by them and at present in force.

CUSTOMS UNION COUNCIL

Article 9

A joint body to be known as the "Council of the Franco-Italian Customs Union" shall be set up within one month of the date of entry into force of the present Treaty.

Each State shall be represented thereon by a Delegate-General, a deputy Delegate-General and seven members chosen for their personal competence.

A joint administrative Secretariat shall be established, its members being appointed on the joint nomination of the two Delegates-General. The cost of maintaining the Secretariat shall be shared equally by the two Governments.

Article 10

The Council shall meet at regular intervals. Extraordinary sessions may be held at the request of either of the Delegates-General.

Each of the two Delegates-General shall preside over the Council in turn for a period of one year.

No formal business may be conducted by the Council unless there is a quorum of at least two-thirds of the members of each Delegation.

The Council shall draw up its own rules of procedure and determine the manner in which its proceedings shall be organized and conducted

Article 11

The Council shall set up joint technical commissions to examine the various individual problems raised by the implementation of the Union.

Such commissions shall be placed under the authority of the Council, which shall determine their membership and powers.

The members of the commissions may be either representatives of the government departments of each of the two States, or experts appointed by the Governments, whether directly or on the nomination of the trade associations or trade unions.

Article 12

Each Delegate-General shall assign to the Delegation of the other country a representative responsible for liaison between the two Delegations. The said representative shall be appointed by his Government on the nomination of its Delegate-General.

Article 13

A permanent section of the Council comprising the two deputy Delegates-General, delegates nominated jointly by them and the two representatives referred to in the previous Article, shall meet at intervals to be fixed by the Council, and more frequently if the need arises. The Permanent Section may invite experts to attend its meetings.

Article 14

The Permanent Section shall examine and co-ordinate the work of the technical commissions and at each of the Council's sessions, it shall submit reports on the items on the agenda and where necessary, on any other questions to which it deems it advisable to draw the Council's attention.

Article 15

Whereas the power to take decisions and to execute them is reserved entirely for the respective Governments, the functions of the Council shall be as follows:

1. To prepare the tariff union and ensure its implementation within the time-limit laid down in Article 2.

2. To prepare the economic union and ensure its implementation. To this end, the Council shall submit to both Governments on 1 October of each year, and in the first instance on 1 October 1949, a programme of measures to be taken during the ensuing year, together with such texts as may need to be adopted to ensure its execution with special reference to the co-ordination of agricultural industrial, social, fiscal, monetary and customs legislation and in general of all legislation having a bearing on economic affairs.

3. To make such proposals as it may deem expedient for the achievement, *inter alia*, of the following ends:

—the fullest and most rational use of manpower with a view to raising the standard of living in both countries

—the development of the economic activity of each country in accordance with the best interests of the Union

—the adoption of measures for the development of trade between the two countries and with other countries

4. To facilitate, promote and direct relations of every kind which the formation of the Customs Union is calculated to foster and develop between the government departments, public services and trade associations and trade unions of both countries.

5. To advise on measures referred to it by either of the two Governments. In particular, the measures envisaged in Article 7, shall in all cases be referred by each of the two Governments to the Council; the Council may make recommendations to the Governments on such measures especially with regard to their duration, maintenance amendment or abolition.

Article 16

Each Delegate-General shall be responsible for liaison between his Government and the Council.

He shall acquaint his Government with the proposals of the Council and keep the Council informed of the action taken on them. He shall submit to the Council his Government's requests for an advisory opinion and transmit the Council's replies to his Government.

He shall keep himself informed of all questions relating to the Customs Union and shall at all times be consulted upon them by his Government.

FINAL CLAUSES

Article 17

Any dispute with regard to the interpretation of the present Treaty which it has not been possible to settle by

(*Continued on page 263*)

Basic Issues on Atomic Energy

Statement by Frederick H. Osborn, Deputy U.S. Representative in AEC[1]

Eight months ago the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the recommendations of the Atomic Energy Commission for an international system to control atomic energy.[2] This plan provides for the prohibition of atomic weapons and for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, through an international cooperative to include all nations.

In the opinion of all those who have closely studied this problem the replacement of national rivalries by such a cooperative endeavor is the only way to make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons and to promote best the development of atomic energy for the equitable benefit of all nations. In spite of the long study and debates on this subject, there are certain details of the approved United Nations control plan that have been either misunderstood or misinterpreted by many people, and even by some members of this Commission.

One of the misinterpretations concerned the stages by which the proposed treaty should go into effect. The Soviet delegates have persistently clung to the mistaken idea that it was the intention of the majority that the international control of mines producing fissionable material should be the first step in putting the plan into operation. I believe we have made it incontrovertibly clear in the course of these recent discussions—and that the records will bear me out—that the recommendations approved by the Commission and the United Nations Assembly nowhere require that control over mines should be the first stage.

A second misinterpretation has to do with the timing of prohibition. Under the plan approved by the General Assembly, nations are prohibited from the manufacture, possession, or use of atomic weapons. This prohibition can become effective only when the international agency takes over the ownership of the explosive and dangerous materials contained in such weapons.

In the approved recommendations, nations and persons are prohibited from owning, operating, or managing atomic facilities which use or produce dangerous atomic materials. This prohibition can become effective only when the international agency actually takes over the ownership, operation, and management of such facilities, as provided in the plan.

It should be clear now that under the approved plan and recommendations, the prohibition would go into force at the same time as the corresponding controls are brought into force. There is no longer any justification for anyone saying that controls would go into effect before prohibition. These misinterpretations are dangerous because they tend to confuse the more basic issues which are of a very different kind.

The basic differences on the control of atomic energy have to do with whether this new discovery, which can be so dangerous and may in the future be so beneficial, can safely be left in the hands of nations, or whether it must be put in the hands of an international cooperative. Out of this controversy, spring the two plans which have been under discussion for almost 3 years.

The United Nations plan has been criticized not only by the representative of the Soviet Union on this Commission but by various elements in other countries as well. It has been attacked on the ground that it would take away some of the sover-

[1] Made before a meeting of the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission on July 20, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

[2] BULLETIN of Nov. 14, 1948, p. 606.

eign rights of the nations which accepted it. This is true. Each nation would be deprived of the right to compete with other nations to see who could amass the greatest quantities of atomic materials, which can be used either as explosives or, at some later date, in the production of power.

It has been attacked by those who say that existing atomic plants and mining operations would be under the sole control of an international agency, and nations could not direct their operation if they wanted to. This is a true charge. The plan itself provides that known stocks of atomic materials suitable for either explosives or fuels should be kept to a minimum consistent with proven beneficial uses, including research and development. This provision was incorporated in the approved recommendations at the suggestion of the delegation of the United Kingdom, and is made necessary by security considerations.

The plan has been criticized on the ground that the system of inspection which it proposes would open to the world all those countries whose borders are now closed. But the question arises: if the system of inspection is thus to be made inadequate, how could distrust and suspicion between nations be avoided?

The plan has been criticized because the larger nations would be limited to a specified proportion of the total world supply of electrical power that can be obtained from atomic energy. This provision for quotas, written into the treaty, was proposed by the French delegation precisely in order to prevent national rivalries among the larger countries and to assure an equitable distribution of atomic resources for peaceful purposes among all nations, including the smaller nations who would not otherwise be in a position to obtain their share.

Finally, it is said that this plan is ahead of its time. That the world is not ready yet for so novel and large a plan which would be in effect a world cooperative in the field of atomic energy.

These and many other objections to the plan have been voiced not only by the delegation of the Soviet Union in the Atomic Energy Commission, but have also been expressed in various quarters in many countries. Some of these objections are made by the most reactionary elements; others are voiced by idealists who believe that the world has grown so good that each nation can be trusted to possess atomic explosives without using them, or threatening to use them.

Yet, notwithstanding all these and many other weighty objections, the fact remains that at the meeting of the General Assembly in Paris in 1948, this plan was approved by 46 nations in the plenary session or in committee. Only the Soviet Union and its five associated states opposed it.

These 46 nations approved this plan because it is the only plan which anyone has yet been able to devise which would, in so far as is humanly possible, prevent preparation for atomic war, which would stop national rivalries in atomic materials and weapons, and which would at the same time protect the interests of every nation, great or small, in the development and equitable distribution of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The Soviet Union has proposed an alternative to the United Nations plan. The Soviet Union would have each of the larger nations continue to own explosive atomic materials, and continue to own and operate plants for making explosive atomic materials in accordance with the rules agreed to in an international convention. A control commission is provided for, with powers to make recommendations to governments and to the Security Council and empowered to make periodic inspection of declared facilities. Such a system has never been successful in preventing international competition even in ordinary armaments in the past.

There is another aspect of the Soviet's position which throws a particularly interesting light on the Soviet attitude toward these negotiations. The Soviet Union insists that their proposed national ownership of explosive atomic materials and national ownership and operation of plants making explosive atomic materials should be supervised by an international agency, whose recommendations would be subject to the veto of any one of the five powers which are permanent members of the Security Council. Such a power of veto would make any treaty unenforceable. The proposal indicates a complacent refusal to face the reality of the dangers which threaten mankind if the present national rivalries in atomic explosives go much longer unchecked.

To leave the development of explosive atomic materials in national hands would not only fail to provide the necessary safeguards for enforcing the prohibition against weapons, but it would inevitably continue national rivalries of a most dangerous sort. An international agency charged with the supervision of such national activities would, in our opinion, be faced with an impossible task. It would be engaged in a constant struggle to control the actions and decisions of well-entrenched atomic energy commissions in every country.

Under such circumstances it seems to us inevitable that there would be constant friction, leading to extremely dangerous mutual suspicions and distrust. Each nation would feel that it must protect its national interest. National rivalries in the field of atomic energy would be continued in a form more dangerous than at present because the existence of a treaty would give the people of the world a false sense of security.

Yet, this is the plan proposed by the Soviet Union and is the only plan on the basis of which the Soviet Union is willing to carry on discussions. In April 1948, this plan was rejected in

the Atomic Energy Commission by a 9 to 2 vote. The Commission found that: "They [the Soviet proposals] ignore the existing technical knowledge of the problem of atomic energy control, do not provide an adequate basis for the effective international control of atomic energy and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and therefore do not conform to the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission." The General Assembly of the United Nations itself, by an equally overwhelming vote, rejected these Soviet proposals in November 1948. Yet throughout the meetings of the Atomic Energy Commission in 1949, the representatives of the Soviet Union have insisted that the basis for the further work of the Commission must be these rejected proposals, and the Soviet representatives have refused even to take part in constructive discussion of the plan of cooperative control approved by so large a majority of all nations in the General Assembly.[3]

It is therefore very evident that the impasse as it is analyzed in the third report of this Commission still exists. There is also much evidence in our recent debates that our discussions in the Commission are not bringing us any closer. On the contrary these discussions only harden the differences with the Soviet delegates. It is apparent that these differences cannot be reconciled at the Commission level.

The Commission has a heavy responsibility to make clear to the United Nations and to the world just what is the nature of the situation confronting the Commission. The Commission also has a responsibility to state in concise terms to the General Assembly the basic reasons why it is neither practicable nor useful to continue its discussions in the Commission until such time as the sponsoring powers have found that there exists a basis for agreement.

I am therefore presenting a resolution to the Commission which we believe fulfills these responsibilities of the Commission and at the same time expresses the intent of the two resolutions passed in the Working Committee and now on our agenda.

Draft Resolution

U. N. doc AEC/41
Dated July 20, 1949

The Atomic Energy Commission

Reports that in accordance with the instructions in General Assembly resolution 191 (III) of 4 November 1948, the Atomic Energy Commission has surveyed its programme of work in order to determine whether further work would be practicable and useful;

That the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukrainian SSR continue to reject the recommendations of the Commission approved by the General Assembly on 4 November 1948, including those forms of control contained in the plan approved by the General Assembly "as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission";

That the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukrainian SSR continue to insist on the adoption of the draft resolution proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and rejected by the General Assembly on 4 November 1948, to prepare immediately separate conventions based on the proposals of the Soviet Union of June 1946 and June 1947, which provide among other things for national ownership of dangerous and explosive atomic materials, and for national ownership, operation and management of dangerous atomic facilities. This in the opinion of the other members of the Commission, would not remove causes for suspicion, fear and distrust among nations, would render ineffective the prohibition of atomic weapons, and would continue dangerous national rivalries in the field of atomic energy.

Concludes that the impasse as analysed in the third report of the Atomic Energy Commission still exists; that these differences are irreconcilable at the Commission level, and that further discussion in the Atomic Energy Commission would tend to harden these differences and would serve no practicable or useful purpose until such time as the Sponsoring Powers have reported that there exists a basis for agreement.

Address by Ambassador Austin

On August 11 Ambassador Warren R. Austin delivered a statement on subject of the Report of the Acting Mediator on Palestine, Ralph J. Bunche, before the Security Council. Text was issued as United Nations press release 667.

[3] For further information on the subject see, *International Control of Atomic Energy—Policy at the Crossroads*, Department of State publication 3161; *The Third Report of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission of the Security Council, May 17, 1948*, Department of State publication 3179; and *Atomic Impasse, 1948*, Department of State publication 3272. Each of the publications for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. at 45¢, 25¢ and 15¢ respectively.

Three Years' Account of AEC Distribution of Isotopes

[*Released to the press by AEC August 3*]

Three years ago the first shipment of radioactive elements—radioactive isotopes—was made from the atomic "furnace" at Oak Ridge National Laboratory for use as tracer atoms by researchers in the United States. On August 3, the third anniversary of the initiation of the distribution program, the Isotopes Division of the Atomic Energy Commission here announced that a total of 7,613 shipments have gone to various institutions and individuals for use as invaluable tools of science, agriculture, medicine, and industry. In addition 750 shipments of separated, nonradioactive stable isotopes were also made.

The program has grown to such an extent that the Atomic Energy Commission is constructing a special area at the laboratory to facilitate the processing and packaging of the radioactive isotopes for distribution throughout this country and abroad. Research laboratories for improving present processing techniques are also being constructed and will soon be ready for use. Expansion of the program has been possible because of the advances made in production by the staff of the Operations Division of the laboratory, the AEC said.

To date over 1,850 scientific and technical publications describing isotope studies have been made, with approximately 200 papers being published each month.

Of the total number of shipments, 7,025 have gone to research laboratories and hospitals in the United States. Since September 1947, when the foreign distribution program was announced, 588 shipments have gone to researchers in 21 countries.

Many of the stable isotopes shipped were made in the facilities of the Electromagnetic Plant in Oak Ridge. Both the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and the Electromagnet facilities are operated by Carbine and Carbon Chemicals Corporation for the Commission.

To round out a comprehensive program of distribution of radioactive materials, the AEC announced on July 24, 1949, the availability to researchers in the United States of cyclotron-produced radioisotopes. With this additional supply of radioisotopes which are produced in the accelerator type of atom-smashing machines added to the varieties produced in the Oak Ridge laboratory's reactor, researchers will have a new collection of tracer atoms to find answers to problems in general science, medicine, industry, and agriculture. These radioisotopes are produced in machines at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Pittsburgh, Washington University at St. Louis, and the Crocker Radiation Laboratory at the University of California. They are processed at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and allocated in the usual manner by the AEC's Isotopes Division.

To date, 307 institutions and 557 departments of institutions in the United States have received shipments of radioactive isotopes produced in the laboratory's reactor. During the same period, 144 institutions and 209 departments of institutions have received shipments of stable isotopes.

Researchers in the following countries have received radioactive materials from Oak Ridge, mainly for medical and biological studies: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of South Africa, and United Kingdom.

In addition, eight other countries have qualified to receive shipments but so far have not instituted orders. They are Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, India, Ireland, Lebanon, Mexico, and Uruguay.

Examples of uses of the radioactive materials follow:

Medicine—(1) Researchers have been using radioactive iodine in tagged radioactive dye (diiodofluorescein) to locate brain tumors before surgery. The dye is taken up more selectively by brain tumor tissue than by normal brain tissue. The gamma radiation from the radioactive iodine penetrates the skull of the patient and can be used to show the surgeon where the tumor mass is located; (2) more recently some investigators have used radioactive phosphorus or P 32 as a supplementary tool in brain tumor surgery. The beta radiation from P 32 cannot penetrate through the skull and therefore cannot be used in the same

way. If the patient is given P 32 before surgery, however, it also is selectively absorbed by brain tumor tissue. After the surgical incision has been made the surgeon can insert a small Geiger-counter tube (about ⅛ inch in diameter) through the incision into the mass of the brain and determine by the concentration of radioactivity what part of the tissue is abnormal.

Agriculture—The United States Department of Agriculture has extended its studies of phosphate fertilizer uptake with radiophosphorus. During the current growing season these studies are being carried out in 14 States on such crops as corn, potatoes, tobacco, pasture, sugar beets, alfalfa, oats, clover, ryegrass, cotton, and peanuts. The studies are designed to tell the farmer how much fertilizer he should use in respect to type of soil, crop, climate, and where he should place it. Results obtained thus far show that with some soil and crops, the crop gets a major portion of its phosphorus from the soil phosphorus already present rather than from the fertilizer phosphorus.

Industry—Two new industrial uses of radioisotopes have been made in the last year. One, the study of friction with radioactive piston rings, is an extension of earlier friction studies. The other is a new method for studying the flow of oil through pipe lines.

With radioactive piston rings, it is possible to trace engine wear with great accuracy and in a short period of time while the engine is running continuously. The radioactive particles worn off the rings drop into the lubricating oil. Radioactivity measurements on the oil in turn indicate the amount of wear which has taken place.

The pipe line study involves using a radioactive tracer to follow the flow of a boundary between two different types of crude oil. If crude oil type A is of higher grade than type B, it is necessary to direct them through the same pipe to different sections of the refinery. Before introducing type B into the pipe after type A has just passed through, a small amount of radioactive material is added. The radioisotope then serves as a means of telling where the boundary between the two crudes is located.

Many new uses of radioisotopes have been made possible by the availability of an increasing number of complex tracer or isotope-tagged materials from commercial and nonprofit laboratories outside Commission facilities. The Commission recently made contract agreements with six outside laboratories to develop procedures for the synthesis of selected tagged materials which have not yet been made available. Approximately 70 tracer compounds are now available, and preparation procedures are being developed for an additional 45 compounds. These compounds will include such important biological substances as hormones, amino acids, sugars and proteins.

Because of an increasing interest in the use of isotopes for cancer research, diagnosis, and therapy, the Commission in April 1948 initiated a program of making available radiosodium, radiophosphorus, and radioiodine free of production costs to investigators proposing to use the materials for such purposes. On February 25, 1949, the Commission announced that this program would be supplemented by making available free of production costs for use in cancer research all radioisotopes normally distributed from its facilities. To date the cancer program has accounted for 2,059 shipments of isotopes of approximately 10 elements. Over 90 percent of this number has been shipments of either radiophosphorus or radioiodine.

U.S. Approves Continuation of Interim Committee

Statement by Charles P. Noyes, Deputy U.S. Representative on the Interim Committee[1]

Mr. President: I should like to make a few brief remarks in support of the recommendations contained in the report of subcommittee 7 of the Interim Committee. The United States is a member of that committee and fully approves the draft resolution which it has submitted to the Interim Committee.

The members of the subcommittee found themselves in entire agreement that the Interim Committee should be reestablished for an indefinite period. It is our hope that this recommendation will commend itself to members of the Interim Committee.

It is the belief of the United States delegation that the reestablishment of the Interim Committee on the basis recommended will strengthen the machinery for peaceful settlement of the

[1] Made before a meeting of the Interim Committee on Aug. 10, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

United Nations and will make the facilities of the General Assembly continuously available between regular sessions of the General Assembly. We believe that the experience of the last 2 years indicates that the Interim Committee can make a valuable contribution towards the success of the United Nations.

As we all know, and as was pointed out by various members of the subcommittee, the Interim Committee has not during the past year undertaken any work of a political nature. I do not believe that this fact should lead us to doubt its value. It may be that in this aspect of its work during the past year the Interim Committee, like a fire department, had more value as insurance than in any specific material contribution. We know, however, that fires may occur, and under these circumstances, it seems important that we should be prepared.

We have just completed our work on another aspect of the Interim Committee's functions, namely, the pacific settlement studies. I am sure we are all in agreement that these studies are valuable and that the Interim Committee should continue to carry them forward in accordance with the agenda which was adopted last March. I do not think we should underrate the contribution which can be made to the United Nations by this continuing process of reexamination, in an atmosphere removed from immediate political issues, of the work of the United Nations in the field of pacific settlement. I think all of the members of the United Nations are coming more and more to realize that chapter VI of our Charter has as yet unexplored possibilities of development. The work that the Interim Committee has set out to do in this field can, in our opinion, contribute significantly to the success of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

There is one other aspect of the Interim Committee's work, namely, the field of preparation of political issues in the General Assembly, in which the Interim Committee has not yet been active. This function of the Interim Committee remains a potentiality, but it is my opinion that as the member nations learn by experience that the Interim Committee can make a useful contribution in this field, its potentialities will gradually be developed. This development depends, in our view, more on learning how to use the Interim Committee under its present terms of reference than on any modification in the terms of reference themselves.

You will note that the subcommittee expressed its regret that six members of the United Nations have declined to participate in the work of the Interim Committee, and that the hope was expressed that in the light of the experience of the Interim Committee these members might be persuaded to reconsider their attitude. This follows very closely a similar statement of the Interim Committee made last year. The absence of these members may have made some of the work of the Interim Committee less conclusive than it might otherwise have been. However, the absence of these six members has not prevented the Interim Committee from doing the work which has been assigned to it and making a valuable contribution to the United Nations. Furthermore, I think it must now be clear that the membership of the United Nations is not using the Interim Committee, as the Soviet Union has charged, as a crude device to bypass the Security Council. While we may continue to hope that these six member states may change their views and come eventually to participate in the Interim Committee work, we believe it undesirable as a matter of principle, in the light of the Soviet Union's policy in and out of the United Nations, that the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations should abandon this constructive effort simply because of Soviet opposition and nonparticipation.

The United States is earnestly concerned with strengthening the United Nations, and it is our view that the continuation of the Interim Committee on the basis suggested in the report of the subcommittee will contribute to that end. We therefore urge the Interim Committee to approve the report and the draft resolution annexed to it.

U.N. Secretariat Procedures Upheld by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 3*]

The following is the text of the reply of Secretary Acheson to a letter of July 26, 1949, from Byron Price, Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, regarding the release on July 24, 1949, by a Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate of certain testimony concerning the Secretariat of the United Nations.

August 2, 1949.

My dear Mr. Price: In your letter of July 26 you direct my attention to a news release issued on July 24 by a Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate reproducing certain proceedings of the Subcommittee, including the questioning of a witness with regard to matters concerning the Secretariat of the United Nations. Your letter requests that, in view of the deep concern of the United Nations, you be informed of the views of my Government on this subject.

I appreciate your concern over the release of this testimony by a subcommittee of the United States Senate and over the publicity which ensued. However, the United Nations is aware, I am sure, of the traditions and practices of the United States in the matter of freedom of expression. You are also aware of the principles of the separation of powers under which the United States Government operates and of the manner in which the legislative branch conducts its affairs, including the practice of Congressional investigation as a basis for legislation.

I agree with the views expressed in your letter of July 26 with regard to the proper relationship between Member governments and the United Nations Secretariat. You may be assured that the United States Government is fully aware of its obligations under Article 100 of the United Nations Charter "to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities". The United States has subscribed to these provisions and continues to support them wholeheartedly. The United States Government is fully cognizant of the methods and procedures which the United Nations has established for the review of the activities of the Secretariat by the General Assembly through appropriate committees, and will continue to use those methods to criticize and seek the correction of any questionable practices on the part of the United Nations Secretariat which might appear.

So far as the particular incident is concerned, I am not aware of the identity of the secret witness before the subcommittee and cannot say, therefore, what might have motivated this person to make such a statement. You may be assured, and you may assure Secretary-General Lie, that my Government has great confidence in his ability and integrity, and in his administration of the Secretariat. I should also like to express our confidence in the handling of matters of personnel, which are under your own care as Assistant Secretary-General for Administrative and Financial Services. I am confident that a situation like that described by the anonymous witness would not be tolerated.

Very sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON

Trusteeship Council Considers Report on Strategic Areas

U.N. doc. S/1358
Submitted July 28, 1949, to Security Council

I. Introduction

In accordance with Article 83 of the Charter, and with the resolution adopted by the Security Council at its 415th meeting on 8 March 1949 and the resolution [1] adopted by the Trusteeship Council at the forty-sixth meeting of its fourth session on 24 March 1949, the Trusteeship Council has carried out on behalf of the Security Council those functions of the United Nations under the International Trusteeship System relating to political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, designated as a strategic area.

II. Provisional Questionnaire

In accordance with the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council, the Secretary-General, at the request of the Trusteeship Council, had transmitted the Provisional Questionnaire [2] to the Security Council. No observations having been made by that Council within one month, the Secretary-General had transmitted the Provisional Questionnaire to the Government of the United States of America as Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, on 3 May 1949.

III. Examination of the Annual Report

The report of the Government of the United States of America on the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the period ended 30 June 1948 was transmitted [3] to the members of the Trusteeship Council on 1 April 1949 and was placed on the agenda for the fifth session.

Rear-Admiral Leon S. Fiske, Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, who had been appointed as the special representative of the Administering Authority, submitted written answers [4] to written questions addressed to him by

[1] 46 (IV), U.N. doc. T/296.
[2] U.N. doc. T/44.
[3] U.N. doc. T/329.
[4] U.N. doc. T/359.

members of the Council on the report and on the administration of the Territory. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth meetings the special representative of the Administering Authority answered oral questions of members of the Council.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth meetings, the Council held a general discussion with a view to formulating conclusions and recommendations relating to the report and to conditions in the Territory, and appointed a Drafting Committee consisting of the representatives of Australia, Costa Rica, Iraq and the United Kingdom to draft a report to form part of the report of the Trusteeship Council to the Security Council on its activities at its fifth session with respect to strategic areas under Trusteeship.

The draft prepared by the Drafting Committee [5] was considered by the Council at the twenty-sixth meeting and adopted with one minor amendment.

. . . . .

PART II
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL

1. General

1. The Trusteeship Council, taking into account the comparatively brief period that has elapsed since the Administering Authority assumed responsibility for the administration of the Territory, and recognizing the difficulties arising from the destruction caused by the war, commends the Administering Authority for the progress it has already made in the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants, and for the full nature of the information submitted both in the annual report and in the supplementary data provided by the special representative.

2. The Trusteeship Council, recognizing the desirability of the closest possible contact between the Administering Authority and the inhabitants, notes that the Administering Authority is giving consideration to the possibility of transferring the seat of government from Guam to a site within the Territory itself, and believes that this will facilitate closer association between the Administering Authority and the indigenous inhabitants.

2. Political Advancement

3. The Trusteeship Council notes with gratification that the Administering Authority has under preparation an organic act for the Trust Territory.

[5] U.N. doc. T/378.

4. The Trusteeship Council, while noting with approval the extent to which purely local forms of self-government have been fostered and encouraged, recommends that the Administering Authority increase its efforts to develop regional governmental organs on a representative and elective basis and that it endeavour to bring representatives of the indigenous population into the territorial government, if only in an advisory capacity in the initial stages.

5. The Trusteeship Council noting that some of the 137 municipal governments established in the Trust Territory enjoy a real measure of autonomy welcomes the efforts of the Administering Authority to establish democratic organs of purely local government and hopes that further steps may be taken to ensure that the will of the people rather than hereditary considerations, prevail in the election or appointment of such bodies.

6. The Trusteeship Council, noting that generally speaking the people of the Marianas Islands are relatively advanced, noting also that they do not yet possess a regional council, and noting the willingness of the Administering Authority to consider the possibility of establishing an appropriate regional organ for the Marianas, recommends the Administering Authority to press forward with this measure.

7. The Trusteeship Council welcomes the steps taken by the Administering Authority to effect a real separation of administrative and judicial powers and expresses the hope that, wherever practical, further steps will be taken to effect this separation.

3. Economic Advancement

8. The Trusteeship Council welcomes the declaration of the representative of the Administering Authority that it seeks no profit or aggrandizement from the Trust Territory. It further welcomes the stated policies of the Administering Authority to protect the indigenous inhabitants against loss of their land and institute a sound programme of economic development along lines which will ensure that the profits and benefits accrue to the inhabitants and will assist them in achieving the highest possible level of economic independence.

9. The Trusteeship Council, noting the arrangements at present in force for the purchase of copra by the Island Trading Company, recommends that the Administering Authority keep these arrangements under constant review in order to ensure that the interests of the copra producers are safeguarded by receiving a fair return for their industry.

10. The Trusteeship Council, noting with concern that, in spite of the recommendation of the United States Commercial Company in 1946 that the entire output of the Anguar phosphate mine should be retained as soon as possible for use within the Territory, arrangements to export the

ntire estimated tonnage of phosphates to Japan re still in force, and noting further that apart rom a royalty of 25 cents per ton, the Trust Terri- ory derives no benefit even from a processing tax rom the phosphates, recommends that the Ad- inistering Authority subject this arrangement further review and, in the light of this review, assure the Council that the interests of the Ter- tory and its inhabitants have been safeguarded.

11. The Trusteeship Council urges the Admin- tering Authority before granting any permits outside fishing companies to develop the marine sources of the Trust Territory, to explore again e possibility and practicability of developing e fishing industry as a purely indigenous enter- rise with assistance from the Administering Au- ority itself.

12. The Trusteeship Council recommends the dministering Authority to keep the taxation stem in the Trust Territory constantly under re- ew with a view to the ultimate abolition of the head tax and its substitution by a more progressive system of taxation based upon the capacity of the individual to pay.

4. Social Advancement

13. The Trusteeship Council, noting that the living standards of the indigenous inhabitants are still below pre-war levels, recommends that the Administering Authority take such steps as may be practicable further to raise the standard of living.

5. Educational Advancement

14. The Trusteeship Council commends the Administering Authority for its achievements in the educational field but recommends that it consider the possibility of establishing secondary schools in the Territory to meet its progressive needs.

15. The Trusteeship Council notes that the Administering Authority is sending promising indigenous students to Hawaii and the continental United States for higher education and urges it to continue doing so.

esolution on Higher Education in the Trust Territories in Africa

N. doc. T/387
lopted July 19, 1949

The Council,

(1) HAVING CONSIDERED sub-paragraph (d) of the sixth ragraph of resolution 225 (III) of the General As- mbly which recommends that the Council study the ancial and technical implications of a further expan- n of facilities for higher education of the inhabitants Trust Territories of Africa,

(2) HAVING ESTABLISHED by its resolution 84 (IV) the mmittee on Higher Education in Trust Territories with e following terms of reference:

"Having regard to the existing facilities for higher edu- tion in Africa already provided by certain Administer- g Authorities and bearing in mind the plans already ade and to be made for their development, to make a eliminary study of the financial and technical impli- tions of a further expansion of these facilities, includ- g the practicability and desirability of establishing in 52 and maintaining a university to meet the higher ucational needs of the inhabitants of Trust Territories Africa",

(3) HAVING RECEIVED from the Committee a report on e financial and technical implications of a further ex- nsion of facilities for higher education in Africa, and

(4) HAVING EXAMINED the report of the Committee in- ding the statement of the technical expert of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, as well as the statements of individual experts heard by the Committee;

I. Higher Education

(5) *Notes* that the Government of Belgium has decided to organize the establishment of higher education and classes preparatory to higher education in Ruanda-Urundi and in the neighbouring regions of the Belgian Congo and that it has established (a) a School of Humanities (*Collège d'Humanités*) in the Kivu area, accessible to students of Ruanda-Urundi, (b) a humanistic section (*section latine*) and "modern" section (*section moderne*) of secondary education in Ruanda, and that it is preparing to establish (a) a humanistic section (*section latine*) and modern section (*section moderne*) of secondary education in Urundi, (b) a university centre in Ruanda-Urundi which will begin in time to enable it to function regularly in 1955 when the first students have completed their humanistic studies, (c) a university centre at Kisantu in the Belgian Congo which will start its regular functioning as early as 1953, and (d) a university centre at Leopoldville;

(6) *Notes* that the Government of France maintains the Medical College and the newly established College of Science at Dakar in French West Africa and plans to establish by October 1950, a Law School to form part of the projected University of Dakar;

(7) *Notes* that the Government of the United Kingdom has established a University College at Ibadan, Nigeria, the University College of the Gold Coast and Makerere College in Uganda which are designed also to serve the three Trust Territories under United Kingdom administration;

(8) *Commends* the Administering Authorities for the achievements and plans which they have made so far in the field of higher education, and urges the intensification and strengthening of these efforts to the fullest extent possible;

(9) *Notes* that some Africans have been appointed to the staffs of certain institutions of higher education in Africa and expresses the hope that the Administering Authorities will increase their efforts to appoint as many qualified Africans as possible to the staffs of institutions of higher education;

(10) CONSIDERING the existing needs and the desirability for the development, expansion or strengthening of institutions of higher education within the Trust Territories themselves, possibly at the initial stage in the form of junior, preparatory or university colleges, university institutes or other post-secondary facilities,

(11) CONSIDERING the necessity of the simultaneous development of higher education with primary, secondary, teacher and technical education,

(12) CONSIDERING the differing educational policies, differences of language and other technical difficulties, which indicate the impracticability of establishing at this time a single university for the six African Trust Territories,

(13) *Expresses the hope* that the Government of Belgium will proceed as speedily as possible with the implementation of its plans for the establishment of a University Centre in Ruanda-Urundi and recommends that the Government of Belgium consider the initial establishment of suitable preparatory institutions of higher education by 1952.

(14) *Recommends* that the Government of France consider the establishment of institutions of higher education for the Trust Territories under its administration if possible by 1952, and expresses the hope that the Government of France will pay particular attention to the higher educational needs of the Trust Territory of Cameroons under French administration, and, specifically, consider the establishment in the Trust Territories of university institutes or university colleges of a technical or professional character which might be integrated with other institutions of higher education in territories under French administration;

(15) *Recommends* that the Government of the United Kingdom consider, without prejudice to the normal development of Makerere College, the possibility of establishing in Tanganyika, as soon as possible, facilities for higher education, including vocational and technical education; and, with a view to facilitating the expansion of higher education in Togoland and Cameroons under British administration, recommends that the Government of the United Kingdom take all possible steps to increase the number of scholarships for students from the two Territories;

(16) *Recommends* to the Administering Authorities concerned that in the planning and establishment of institutions of higher education particular attention be paid to the technical and cultural needs of the Trust Territories with the objects of advancing human knowledge and of equipping students for responsible citizenship;

II. Scholarships

(17) *Notes* that the Governments of France and the United Kingdom provide scholarships for the inhabitants of the Trust Territories under their administration to study in the institutions of higher education in Africa, the United Kingdom and France;

(18) *Recommends* that the Administering Authorities consider the possibility of progressively increasing the number of scholarships for higher education in Africa and overseas available to the inhabitants of the African Trust Territories, and to that end

(*a*) *Urges* that all possible steps be taken to make available to qualified students from Trust Territories fellowships, scholarships, and internships which have been or may be established by the United Nations or by its specialized agencies,

(*b*) *Invites* the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to furnish the Administering Authorities with complete information with regard to all fellowships and scholarships and the terms and conditions under which such fellowships or scholarships have been established, and asks the Administering Authorities to collaborate with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other specialized agencies, in the establishment and implementation of scholarship programmes with regard to Trust Territories

(*c*) *Invites* the Administering Authorities to give full publicity with regard to all fellowships, scholarships and internships available to the inhabitants of Trust Territories;

III. Financial Considerations

(19) CONSIDERING the financial difficulties which are at present limiting, according to the statement of the Administering Authorities concerned, the development of education in the African Trust Territories,

(20) *Invites* the Economic and Social Council, in consultation with the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authorities concerned, to take into account the higher educational needs of Trust Territories in its study of programmes of technical assistance for under-developed areas;

(21) *Suggests* to the Administering Authorities concerned that in financing the expansion of higher education in Africa attempts be made to seek the assistance of such private organizations as may be in a position to give financial support;

IV. Reports

(22) *Requests* the Administering Authorities concerned to make available in the annual reports information with regard to the implementation of the foregoing recommendations.

[August 13–19]

ECOSOC

The Economic and Social Council closed its ninth session on August 15.

The session ended with a series of meetings devoted to putting the finishing touches on an expanded program of technical assistance to to underdeveloped countries.

This program, which the delegate of the United Kingdom described as "the most substantial achievement of the Council in its history", now goes to the General Assembly in September for final approval.

In his closing address, James Thorn of New Zealand, president of this session of the Council, declared that the consideration of this matter had lent distinction to the session, and added: "The underdeveloped areas will now be regarded as being within the sphere of influence of the United Nations, to be assisted in their own interest and that of the world."

By a vote of 15 to 0, with the Soviet Union, Poland, and Byelorussia abstaining, the Council proposed to the General Assembly a plan for international machinery to operate the Technical Assistance Program. The plan provides, first, for an organizational and administrative arrangement, with mechanism for coordination of the efforts of participating countries, the United Nations, and the specialized agencies; second, for the problem of financing the program; and third, for the determination of general principles and policies by which the program is to be developed.

Acting on a United States proposal, the Economic and Social Council voted to create a Technical Assistance Board for the purpose of coordinating the efforts of all parts of the Technical Assistance program. The Board would be composed of representatives of the participating specialized agencies, who would through this means exchange information regarding the development of their separate programs.

A division of the Council over the question whether such a system of cooperation and coordination would be preferable to a plan for centralized direction and control over the activities of the various sovereign agencies, advocated chiefly by the representative of Australia, but the question was resolved in favor of the former approach.

For the preparation of policy decisions by the Council on technical assistance matters, as presented to the Council by the Technical Assistance Board, the Council set up a standing committee of the whole, to be known as the Technical Assistance Committee of the Council. This plan was based on a proposal offered by the United States and Chile, and represented a modification of a New Zealand and Australian proposal for a smaller policy supervisory body.

The Council agreed to an allocation of contributions in the following percentages: Food and Agriculture Organization, 29 percent; the United Nations, 23 percent, World Health Organization 22 percent; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 14 percent; International Labor Office, 11 percent; and International Civil Aviation Organization, 1 percent.

UNSCCUR

More than 700 scientists assembled for the 3-week session of the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources at Lake Success on August 17, with the aim of promoting the application of science to harnessing the world's resources for enriching man's living standards. President Truman suggested 2 years ago that the United Nations hold such a conference, expressing the hope that international science could itself become a great international resource.

United States Secretary of Interior Krug stated in his opening address, "You are bringing together outstanding specialists in many resource fields to exchange knowledge and share wisdom in a common cause of improvement of man's standard of living, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of the world, through the protection and wise use of man's common heritage of natural wealth, wherever it may be."

Fairfield Osborn, president of the Conservation Foundation and the New York Zoological Society sounded a sober note when he told the meeting that, barring some cataclysm, a world population of 3 billion was in prospect for the year 2000, and that certain tropical regions or very northerly regions are "the last remaining frontiers." Predicting the exhaustion of "commercially extractable" reserves of copper, lead, and zinc within the lifetime of some of the hearers, Mr. Osborn said that technologists offer our brightest and principal hope. The drain upon the earth's resources, he said, has increased geometrically to the greater numbers of people demanding a greater variety of products from an infinitely more complex industrial system.

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Western Hemisphere Participation in International Telecommunication Activities

Substantial progress was made in solidifying international cooperation in the telecommunication field at the International Telecommunication Union Region 2 Fourth Inter-American Radio Conference, which met in Washington from April 25 through July 9. Representatives from 24 countries as well as observers from the International Civil Aviation Organization, the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and UNESCO[1] attended the Conference. The three basic documents, signed at the final plenary session, are good indications of the objectives attained at the Conference: the Inter-American Radio Agreement, Washington, 1949 with Annexed Declarations, Resolutions and Recommendations; the International Telecommunication Union Region 2 Resolutions and Recommendations; and the International Telecommunication Union Region 2 Report to the Second Session of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference.

For the consideration of substantive matters the Conference was divided into three main sections corresponding with the final documents produced. The section dealing with inter-American radio matters constituted the fourth of a series of specialized inter-American conferences on this subject, initiated in Habana in 1937. The Region 2 section of the Conference was concerned with radio-communication problems in the Western Hemisphere as they relate to world-wide communications. This phase of the Conference represented one of a series of regional conferences provided for under the Atlantic City telecommunication convention, 1947, to formulate regional frequency assignment plans for all users of the radio spectrum. It also dealt with specific problems of the allotment of exclusive HF (high frequency) frequencies for aeronautical radio communications in the Western Hemisphere. This portion of its deliberations was one of a series of regional meetings requested by the first session of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference (IAARC) for the determination of specific regional aeronautical frequency requirements.

Inter-American Radio Agreement. The new inter-American radio agreement will replace the Santiago agreement of 1940. It includes a regional plan for the allotment of radio frequencies to bands of services for the entire Western Hemisphere. The plan covers assignments of aeronautical, maritime mobile, standard band broadcasting, tropical broadcasting, and amateur services in the portion of the radio spectrum from 10 to 4000 kc. It is the first radio-frequency assignment plan to be completed for any region of the world under the provisions of the international radio regulations of Atlantic City, 1947. Its adoption is regarded as an important step forward in world-wide efforts, under the auspices of the International Telecommunication Union, to effect an orderly registration and utilization of frequencies throughout the radio spectrum.

Attached to the inter-American radio agreement is a strong declaration reaffirming the principles of freedom of radio communication for the American region. It is intended that consideration be given to including such of these principles as are

[1] The conference was headed by J. Paul Barringer, deputy director of the Office of Transport and Communications of the Department of State. The two vice chairmen were Rafael Arias, chairman of the Mexican delegation and Rafael J. Milans, chairman of the delegation from Uruguay. The Secretary of the conference was Gerald C. Gross, Assistant Secretary General of the International Telecommunication Union, Geneva.

Mr. Barringer also served as chairman of the United States delegation. Vice chairmen were Harvey B. Otterman, associate chief of the Telecommunications Division of the Department of State and Albert L. McIntosh, chief of the Frequency Allocation and Treaty Division of the Federal Communications Commission.

appropriate in the provisions of the next inter-American telecommunication convention. The Conference also adopted resolutions covering the interchange and retransmission of radio broadcast programs and the reaffirmation of the resolution adopted by the Inter-American Telecommunication Conference, Rio de Janeiro, 1945, on liberty of information in radio communications. These measures are designed to assure in radio expression the same effective guarantees as the press enjoys.

ITU *Region 2 Regulations and Resolutions.* The International Telecommunication Union Region 2 regulations and resolutions include a plan for the allocation of certain frequencies to bands of services in the Western Hemisphere. The plan coincides with the one included in the new inter-American radio agreement and will form the basis for the incorporation of American region station lists in the Master International Frequency List, which will be prepared at a special administrative conference of the International Telecommunication Union some time this fall.

ITU *Region 2 Report to* IAARC. The plan for the assignment of aeronautical mobile frequencies in Region 2 will be presented to the second session of the International Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference, which is now meeting in Geneva to formulate a world-wide aeronautical radio frequency plan.[2] The unanimous adoption of an aeronautical frequency allotment plan for the exclusive HF aeronautical mobile frequencies for Region 2 is regarded as a major accomplishment of the conference. It is a real step forward toward increased safety of human life in aircraft. Representatives of the International Civil Aviation Organization collaborated in its preparation.

The conference as a whole was characterized by harmony and unity of purpose and a genuine willingness to compromise—a necessary prerequisite for productive international meetings in this field. It is a concrete demonstration of the spirit of cooperation on telecommunication matters in the Western Hemisphere. At the invitation of Uruguay, it was decided to convene the fifth Inter-American Radio Conference in Montevideo 15 days after the next world-wide telecommunication conference to be held in Buenos Aires in 1952.

South Pacific Commission Research Program 1949–50

The South Pacific Commission is a consultative and advisory body established in 1948 by the Governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States to encourage and strengthen international cooperation by promoting the economic and social welfare and the advancement of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories in the South Pacific region administered by these governments.[3]

The main auxiliary body of the Commission is the South Pacific Research Council, which held its initial meeting in April–May 1949 and which will meet annually hereafter. The Research Council consists of the deputy chairman of the Council, three specialist members representing the fields of health, economic development, and social development respectively, and a number of associate members chosen for their special knowledge of the problems of the area. The chief task of the Research Council is to advise the Commission on what investigations are necessary and with the assistance of the Secretary General to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out studies approved by the Commission.

The third session of the Commission took place for the first time at its permanent headquarters at Nouméa, New Caledonia, May 7–17, 1949. At this meeting, which followed the first meeting of the Research Council, the Commission was so impressed by the realistic approach of the Research Council's proposals to the aims of the Commission that the draft program was adopted with only slight variation. The Commission approved 29 projects recommended by the Research Council designed to further the purposes of the South Pacific Commission. These projects are briefly summarized below.

HEALTH

Project H. 1.—Project for improving, extending and speeding up the collection and dissemina-

[2] The first session of IAARC was recessed last summer because of insufficient information on specific regional aeronautical frequency requirements to proceed with the formulation of a world-wide plan.

[3] A report by Emil J. Sady on the South Seas Conference at which the preparatory work for the establishment of the South Pacific Commission appears in the BULLETIN of March 16, 1947; the record of progress of the Commission during its initial year by Dr. Felix M. Keesing, the senior United States Commissioner, is published in the BULLETIN of July 4, 1949, p. 839.

tion of epidemiological intelligence in using temporarily the facilities of the South Pacific Health Service in Suva. The adoption of the project was made subject to the concurrence of the Inspector-General of the South Pacific Health Service. Project for standardization of the Quarantine Regulations.

Project H. 2.—Research in the preparation of suitable infant food during the weaning period; food to be prepared safely in a village community from the usual staples and accessories.

Project H. 3.—Appointment of a special team to compare

(i) the different antigens and methods used in tuberculin tests.

(ii) the radiographic appearances in different races at different ages,

with a view to producing simple techniques suitable for use under field conditions. The Senior Commissioners for the United Kingdom and the United States reserved their decisions.

Project H. 4.—Establishment of liaison between the various field groups actually working on filariasis and elephantiasis problems and research to determine further the specific investigations needed on these diseases.

Project H. 5.—Collection of the existing data on diet and nutrition of communities and of individuals.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Project E. 1. — The introduction of economic plants from without the Area or transfer from within for study and improvement in special gardens and arboretums looking to improvement, saving and availability of such plants for distribution.

Project E. 2.—Review and summary of the information on cash crops to make available the accomplishments in production, cultural and processing techniques, and their place in Area economy, with an estimate for the future of cacao, rice, the coconut and its principal product, copra.

Project E. 3.—Improvement in tropical pasture grasses leading to improved animal nutrition and associated mixed farming to the end of broadening and raising standards in human diet and nutrition.

Project E. 4.—Preliminary to a general land-use project in connexion with conservation of resources, a pilot land-use survey is to be undertaken to point the way in the establishment of hydrological and forestry reserves, erosion control, identity of crop and pasture lands and possibly soil classifications. Adoption made subject to reconsideration of location.

Project E. 5.—An attempt by co-operative agreement to secure Area standards in the grading and quality of plant products to the end of improvement in quality and a protection of grower, shipper, carrier and buyer in transactions involving perishable or semi-perishable plant products. Adoption made on understanding that it referred to all agricultural products.

Project E. 6.—A study of atoll and low island economy, designed to improve cash and subsistence crops and handicrafts to widen commercial opportunity and provide greater security for island peoples.

Project E. 7.—A study of fishery methods in their many indigenous and commercial aspects. The Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council will be asked for guidance in the several divisions of fishery improvement.

Project E. 8.—An examination of diet of indigenous peoples with the objective of amplifying it; and the study of the kinds of working tools needed for mechanical skills, both with the aim toward better subsistence economies.

Project E. 9.—The expansion of biological controls by cooperative and other means, to effect the control of the mosquito, of insect pests that attack economic plants, of weeds, and to develop plant hygiene and extend rodent control.

Project E. 10.—A proposal to discover ways of making available commercial credit for the development of agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises, in the hands of indigenous peoples.

Project E. 11.—Co-operative acceptance of the proposed World Food and Agriculture Organization plan to carry out an agricultural census in 1950.

Project E. 12.—Solicitation of favourable consideration by the authorities of the Colonial Development Fund for certain new research projects to be carried out by the Fiji and Western Pacific Research Council.

Project E. 13.—Request directed to Member Governments for a statement of the principal research investigation now in progress or contemplated by their recognized institutions, particularly in the field of animal husbandry and all technical aspects of land-use having implication to the Area of the South Pacific Commission.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Project S. 1.—A survey of the facilities for professional and technical training in the South Pacific, with a view to future development.

Project S. 2.—The use of visual aids in education among island peoples.

Project S. 3.—A study of the most suitable techniques for teaching literacy in the Area.

Project S. 4.—The convening of a Conference of Educationists, to study educational needs and problems in the various territories.

Project S. 5.—A review of research in social anthropology, with emphasis on what still needs to be done.

Project S. 6.—A survey of work done and still required in the field of linguistic research.

Project S. 7.—The co-operative movement in the South Pacific and its development.

Project S. 8.—The determination of the most suitable building types for the various climatic zones and conditions in the Area.

Project S. 9.—Pilot projects for community development in two selected areas.

Project S. 10.—The preservation of archaeological sites.

GENERAL

Project G. 2.—Statistical Service.

The Commission resolved that, for the adequate performance of the work of the Commission and the Research Council, expert statistical assistance will be necessary. For the time being action is to be limited to the appointment of a qualified statistical officer.

A modest but comprehensive program of active work of collaboration in the welfare of island peoples has thus been undertaken. The implementation of the Work Program is supervised and coordinated by the deputy chairman of the Research Council, Dr. L. G. M. Baas Becking, and the work in the three fields is directed by permanent members of the Research Council: Health, Dr. E. Massal; Economic Development (including agriculture), Dr. H. G. MacMillan; Social Development (including education), H. E. Maude. The entire program is under the direction of William D. Forsyth, Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Telecommunications Revision Meeting

The Department of State announced on August the United States delegation to the Conference for the Revision of the Bermuda Telecommunications Agreement of 1945, scheduled to convene at London, August 8, 1949. The United States delegation is as follows:

Chairman

Wayne Coy, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission

Vice Chairman

Brevanion Henry Ernest Nesbitt, Assistant Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Advisers

Harold J. Cohen, Assistant General Counsel, Chief of the Common Carrier Division of the Bureau of Law, Federal Communications Commission

John R. Lambert, Chief of Tariffs-Telephone Rates Branch, Bureau of Accounting, Federal Communications Commission

Marion H. Woodward, Assistant Chief Engineer, Chief of the Common Carrier Division of the Bureau of Engineering, Federal Communications Commission

Industry Advisers

Thomas J. Allen, European Director of Communications, United Press

L. Bradford, Vice President and General European Manager, United Press

James A. Kennedy, Vice President and General Attorney, American Cable and Radio Corporation

Thomas D. Meola, European Representative, RCA Communications, Inc.

Bruce Mitchell, Director, The Western Union Telegraph Company

John H. Muller, Assistant to the Executive Vice President in charge of Operations, RCA Communications, Inc.

Haraden Pratt, Vice President, American Cable and Radio, All American Cables and Radio, The Commercial Cable Co., Mackay Radio and Telegraph Co.

The Bermuda agreement, which was signed in 1945 by six countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations—Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom—and by the United States, involved the operational and rate aspects of radio-telegraph communication, between the signatories. Since this agreement has been in force, increases in wages and operational practices have altered the basis for the rate features of the agreement. Because of this and the fact that changes will undoubtedly be effected as a result of the recent International Telecommunication Union Administrative Conference to Revise the International Telegraph and Telephone Regulations, held at Paris, the parties to the 1945 Bermuda agreement decided to meet again to revise the rate aspects of that agreement.

In addition to seven of the original parties to the agreement, the United Kingdom has invited Ceylon and Pakistan to participate in the forthcoming meeting.

Conservation and Utilization of Resources Conference

The Department of State announced on August 11 that the President has approved the nomination of Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, as chairman, and Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, and Charles Sawyer, Secretary of

Commerce, as members of the official United States group of participants to the United Nations Scientific Conference on the conservation and utilization of resources. The conference is scheduled to be held at Lake Success, New York, August 17–September 6, 1949. Other members of the official United States group are as follows:

Wilson Compton, President, the State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington
Joseph D. Coppock, Adviser, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State
Paul D. Foote, Executive Vice President, Gulf Research and Development Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Carl N. Gibboney, Deputy Director, Commodities Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
Arthur Goldschmidt, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of the Interior
Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Arville I. Levorsen, Dean, School of Mineral Sciences, Stanford University, Stanford, California
Fairfield Osborn, President, The Conservation Foundation, New York, New York
Mrs. Clifford Pinchot, Washington, D.C.
Charles J. Potter, President, Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Company, Indiana, Pennsylvania
Frank J. Welch, Dean, College of Agriculture, Mississippi State College, State College, Mississippi
Gilbert F. White, President, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania
Ralph R. Will, Administrative Officer, Office of the Secretary, Department of Agriculture

Public Relations Officer

Carlton Skinner, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of the Interior

Secretary of the Official United States Group

Basil Capella, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Personal Secretary to the Chairman

Margaret Ramsey, Department of the Interior

This official group will coordinate United States participation in the Conference which will be attended by approximately 200 scientists, engineers, resource technicians, economists, and other experts from this country.

The Conference is to be devoted to an exchange of ideas and experience on the techniques of resource conservation and utilization, their economic costs and benefits and their interrelations. Six general subjects: mineral resources, fuel and energy, water, land resources, forests, and wildlife, fish and marine resources will be discussed. The Conference will have no policy-making responsibilities, and it will not bind governments nor will it formulate recommendations to them.

In addition to the sessions of the Conference at Lake Success, there will be a post-conference field study trip sponsored by this government. The purpose of the trip is to enable experts from abroad to observe and study industrial and government projects and methods of conservation and utilization of resources throughout the eastern part of the United States. The trip starting from New York will proceed through Pittsburgh, Columbus, the Tennessee Valley area, the Washington, D. C.–Beltsville, Maryland area and return to New York. At Pittsburgh, Columbus, and the Washington, D. C.–Beltsville, Maryland area, several local field trips to projects covering different phases of the agenda will be available to the participants depending upon their specific interests.

Road and Motor Transport Conference

The Department of State announced on August 9 the United States delegation to the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport, scheduled to convene at Geneva, August 23, 1949. The members of the United States delegation, most of whom will sail on the *Queen Mary*, August 12, are as follows:

Chairman

Henry Hagans Kelly, Assistant Director, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State

Vice Chairman

Herbert S. Fairbank, Deputy Commissioner of Public Roads, General Services Administration

Delegates

Michael C. Connors, President, American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators
Charles A. Horan, Bureau of Customs, Department of the Treasury
John H. Hunt, Consulting Engineer, American Automobile Manufacturers Association
Serge G. Koushnareff, Acting Chief, Division of Transportation, Department of Commerce
Edward G. Sparrow, representing the American Automobile Association, and the American Automobile Touring Alliance

Advisers

John Martin Cates, Jr., Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Douglas M. Clarke, Road Transport Adviser, United States delegation to the Economic Commission for Europe
John Warner Foley, Jr., Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State
Clarence F. Rogers, Highway Engineer, Bureau of Public Roads

Assistant to the Chairman

Mrs. Doris Whitnack, Department of State

The Road and Motor Transport Conference is being held primarily for the purpose of preparing a new world treaty on the international movement of motor vehicles, as a means of facilitating international automobile touring and other forms of traffic. The conference is expected to last 3 weeks and will be attended by most of the nations of the world.

For several months the agencies to be repre-
ented on the United States delegation, and numer-
us other interested groups, have been studying a
raft convention prepared by the United Nations.
he United States position on this draft, which
ill form the basis for the delegation's work at
eneva, embodies the recommendations of many
tate governments, of Federal departments, and of
rivate organizations concerned with motor trans-
ort, automotive manufacturing, and highway
fety.

The principal items in the proposed treaty relate
identification of a vehicle and its driver, facili-
tion of customs procedure, a few basic safety
les, and certain technical requirements. Its
ope is limited to the operation of private vehicles,
cluding commercial bus and truck operations.

The proposed treaty is applicable only to inter-
tional traffic and does not affect domestic traffic,
hich remains within the boundaries of the home
untry. From the standpoint of the United
ates, the advantage of becoming a party to a
orld treaty of this kind is that it will provide
gal status for United States motorists and their
hicles when motoring abroad, and thereby facili-
te their travel in foreign countries. At present,
ch status is enjoyed by United States motorists
ly in the Western Hemisphere, under the pro-
sions of the Inter-American Convention on Reg-
ation of Automotive Traffic, to which the United
ates became a party in 1946.

ary M. Cannon To Attend Inter-merican Commission of Women

eleased to the press August 8]

Mary M. Cannon, Chief of the International
vision, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor,
ll attend the special assembly of the Inter-
nerican Commission of Women, which, at the
vitation of the Argentine Government, is sched-
ed to be held at Buenos Aires, August 8–22, 1949.
iss Cannon has been the United States delegate
the Commission since April 8, 1944, when the
esident approved her appointment to succeed
ary Winslow.

The purpose of the Commission is to extend the
il, political, economic, and social rights of the
men of the Americas. In addition to the re-
ion of the internal regulations of the Commis-
n and the election of a chairman, vice chairman,
d members of the Executive Committee, the
thcoming meeting will consider and propose
ans for carrying out the resolutions adopted by the Ninth International Conference of American States (held at Bogota, in 1948) which pertain to conventions on civil and political rights of women and to economic conditions of working women in the Americas.

Organized in 1928, the Inter-American Commission of Women is the oldest intergovernmental group responsible for improving the status of women. Each of the 21 American Republics is represented on the Commission by one official delegate. The Organic Statute of the Commission, adopted at the Bogota conference, defines it as "a permanent entity attached to the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States". Its headquarters are at the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C.

The last meeting of the Commission, the fifth assembly, was held at Washington in December, 1946.

U.S. Educational Commission Established in France

The Department of State announced on July 29 that the United States Educational Commission, established in France under the terms of the Fulbright Act, has appointed Dr. William A. Shimer, as executive officer, with headquarters in Paris. The Commission is responsible for carrying out the Fulbright program, which may involve an annual expenditure of $1,000,000 in francs for educational exchanges between the United States and France.

Customs Union Annexes—*Continued from page 246*

direct negotiation shall be decided by arbitration in accordance with a procedure to be laid down in each case by mutual agreement.

Article 18

The present Treaty, which is drawn up in two copies, one in the French language, the other in the Italian language, shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional rules in force in each of the two States.

It shall come into force on the date of exchange of ratifications.

In faith whereof the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Paris, *26 March 1949*

For France:
R. Schuman

For Italy:
C. Sforza

[*Signed at Paris, 26 March, 1949*]

Practical Effects of Proposed Military Assistance

Statement by Secretary Acheson[1]

The Senate, in approving the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty by a decisive vote, has made a contribution of incalculable importance to the preservation of world peace and the strengthening of the institutions of freedom. I need not dwell here on the far-reaching effects which this action will have in world affairs. The members of these two Committees are thoroughly familiar with that aspect of the matter, as well as all others pertaining to the treaty.

I should like to deal at this time with the Military Assistance Program, which I am convinced is the next essential step we should take in carrying forward the positive and vigorous action the United States is taking in cooperation with other free nations to assure peace and stability in the world.

Since the end of World War II, the free peoples of the earth have been undergoing an ordeal scarcely less exacting than war itself. The nature of the struggle is different, but the issue is exactly the same—the survival of free nations with their integrity and independence inviolate.

The peoples of the free European nations have met this new test with courage and resolution and a higher degree of unity than ever before attained in times of peace. Aware that the common danger could be overcome only by common action, they have joined forces in a sustained and concerted effort for the preservation of world peace and their own liberties. I think it can be said with confidence that the low point of their fortunes has been passed, but further great exertions are requirec to maintain the forward movement with undi minished force.

The scope and variety of this effort are withou precedent in human affairs. This is necessaril so because of the complexity of the problem to b met, which is part economic, part political, an part military. All the parts are interrelated an interacting. Concentration upon one to the ne glect of the others might well be fatal. The va rious measures undertaken to deal with differen aspects of the situation must make an ordered an cohesive whole.

The United States is the leader and chief sourc of strength of the free world, and therefore w have special cause to measure the effects of an proposed action in international affairs agains the effects on our basic strength.

With respect to Europe, primary emphasis ha been placed upon the revival of the economies c the free nations as the necessary foundation c their social structure and political organizatio The European Recovery Program has in fac achieved a gratifying degree of economic re habilitation. It also has produced salutary re sults in the form of greater political stability an renewed confidence in the future.

Yet it has become increasingly clear that ec nomic measures alone are not enough. Econom recovery itself depends to a considerable degre upon the people being inspired by a sense of s curity and the promise of the future to put fort their best effort over a long period. This sens of security and faith in the future in turn depen upon a firm belief in the ability of the free natio to defend themselves against armed attac Such a belief is notably lacking in Weste Europe today. Therefore, the capacity of m

[1] Made before the Senate Foreign Relations and the Armed Service Committees on Aug. 8, 1949, and released to the press on the same date. For previous testimony by Secretary Acheson, by Ambassadors Douglas and Grady before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the President's message to the Congress, see BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 186, and Aug. 15, 1949, p. 229.

al self-defense on the part of the free nations Europe must be increased, largely by their own fort, without impeding progress toward eco-mic recovery. We must not now by failing to cognize fully the fear of security which is grow-g out of the clear pressures exacted from the ast, lose the gains already made. Prompt ac-n is imperative to create the conditions that ll allay that fear and will erase the conditions at might encourage an aggressor to resort to ilitary force.

It is for these reasons that the European Re-very Program, the North Atlantic Treaty, and e proposed Military Assistance Program are ements of a broad and soundly conceived policy th definite and attainable objectives. Two of e pillars are in place. Favorable action on the ilitary Assistance Program is vitally necessary w as an essential element of the structure.

One of the basic premises for such action is the istence of a very real and very strong commu-ty of interest between this country and the free tions of Western Europe. In addition to her considerations, this common bond is a rec-nition of the demonstrable truth that the se-rity of the United States and the security of estern Europe are one and the same thing and fact are indivisible. The treaty which we ve just ratified is the formal acknowledgment a relationship that has long existed in fact—e mutual dependence of the members of the lantic community.

The nations of Western Europe, with the ex-ption of Great Britain, were virtually disarmed a result of enemy occupation during the war. ey have begun to rebuild their defenses but ve made barely a beginning, because the greater rt of their effort has properly gone into eco-mic recovery. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union s continued to maintain the largest armed rces in the peacetime history of any country, s substantially expanded the areas under its ntrol, and has used, or attempted to use, its ob-us military superiority to intimidate and co-e smaller nations. The serious imbalance of litary strength in postwar Europe has exposed e nations of Western Europe to the constant nger of aggression and has created a wide-read sense of insecurity which has impaired nfidence in the future and impeded the recovery ort.

What is the meaning of this situation for our n country? It is important that the American ople fully realize the extent to which the cir-mstances I have outlined have radically altered e security position of the United States. In th of the two World Wars in which we have gaged, our allies in Western Europe were rela-ely strong—in fact, at the outset they possessed ore military power than the United States. They grappled first with the enemy and fought the early stages of both wars with comparatively little help from us. In each case, only after a period of intensive training and rearming were we able to throw our full weight into the struggle and tip the scales on our side.

The first line of defense is still in Europe, but our European allies today do not have the military capacity to hold that line. The shield behind which we marshalled our forces to strike decisive blows for the common cause no longer exists. In that sense, the United States is open to attack on its own territory to a greater extent than ever before.

But in a broader sense this weakness in the front line of defense in Europe produces not only strategic dangers to our own country—it increases the danger of war itself. In and of itself it is an invitation to aggression and hence a threat to the maintenance of peace. The dictators of recent times have become involved in war, when, in their belief, their intended victims would fall easy prey without substantial risk to the aggressor. The strengthening of the defenses of Western Europe is designed to prevent a repetition of the tragic consequences of such dangerous self-deception. Its first objective, like that of the North Atlantic Treaty, is peace.

Thus, history and common sense dictate the wisdom that the preservation of peace and of our own security is immeasurably advanced by the strengthening of Western Europe to resist aggression. The North Atlantic Treaty, reflecting this wisdom, is based on the concept of the common and collective defense of that area by the member nations. This purpose is in turn advanced as the members progressively become more able to play their parts in collective action.

The treaty does not contemplate that one nation undertakes the defense of the area, but that all do. The nations of Western Europe have every desire to play their full part. Their peoples passionately want to avoid the indignities and suffering of another occupation. They know only too well that, even though they might be subsequently liberated, they might never recover from the destruction of their free institutions and the shattering of the very foundations of their civilization. They want to be able to defend themselves if attacked and to be able to hold the aggressor at bay until we can come quickly to their aid. They can realize this purpose only if they actually possess adequate defense forces in being, not planned on paper for some future date or concentrated three thousand miles away on this side of the Atlantic. Both the will to fight and the ability to fight in Western Europe will be perceptibly increased by the provision of the means with which to fight.

To accomplish this fully will take time both to develop the necessary plans and to carry them out. The effectiveness of this will be greatly strengthened through the coordination made pos-

sible by the North Atlantic Treaty. Article 9 provides for the establishment of a Council on which all members of the treaty will be represented. The Council will appoint a defense committee charged with making recommendations for implementing the military clauses of the treaty. It is expected that this will result in the development of integrated defense plans for the North Atlantic area. Each member will be assigned specific duties and functions as part of the over-all plan. This will result in a logical and practical division of labor which will produce greater effectiveness and greater economy of effort and expenditures.

This is the beginning of a process with far-reaching implications. The principle of common defense is the basis of the present program. General Bradley has already described the strategic factors underlying the broad concept that dictates the division of responsibilities among these nations. The nations of Western Europe no longer plan to maintain complete, balanced defense establishments on an individual basis. Instead each will specialize in the kinds of forces and the production of weapons for which it is best suited and which will fit into a pattern of integrated defense. The program proposed now is based on that pattern of integrated defense.

The practical application of this principle will ultimately bring into being a defensive strength far more effective than the sum total of what the member countries might be able to achieve individually, and at a considerable over-all saving. This concept is of particular interest to the United States as promising not only a revitalized defense force for Western Europe, but also one which the Europeans in time can support without further direct assistance from us. But all this will not come about overnight. The carrying out of such a principle is unprecedented in peacetime, and will require time, patience and much hard work before it can be fully realized.

But at the moment, the urgent and pressing need is to strengthen with essential equipment the existing and presently authorized forces in Western Europe which are the foundation upon which all planning and development must build. That is the purpose of the present bill and the present program. It is to enable the builders to build upon something real.

It is for this compelling reason that the proposed Military Assistance Program is being urged for adoption at this time, both for its immediate effects and for the practical basis it will provide for the development of the full details of an intergrated defense. The arms to be supplied under the proposed program will serve at least in part to meet the present dire need of the European recipients in making their existing and presently authorized forces effective. They will become the nucleus around which effective detailed planning for the defense of the area can be realistic.

Much will be gained and nothing will be lost by extending this military assistance now. The allocation of equipment and materials is based upon the minimum requirements of the North Atlantic community as a whole. The distribution has been carefully planned by the representatives of the United States working with full knowledge of the collective deficiencies of the defense forces in Western Europe.

These basic requirements of the presently authorized defense forces of Western Europe are apparent today. They are indispensable for this purpose and they are valid whatever form future plans may take. Therefore, it is possible now to place the weapons and materials where they are needed. Under the proposed program—and I think this is of paramount importance—the planes, tanks, guns, and other equipment provided will be placed without delay, ready for use if necessary, in the hands of the men who would be called upon to handle them in the collective defense. Many months will be saved by following this procedure. Since the present weakness invites the danger of war and since future planning cannot impair the validity of this program, it would be foolish to risk the possible consequences of delay.

The strongest proof that the Military Assistance Program now before the Congress fully accords with the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty and is in fact urgently needed to achieve its purposes is the attitude of the other members of the pact. The Western European members clearly recognize that their chances of preventing aggression, or of repelling aggression if it comes, rest on the concept of collective preparation and collective action. The compulsion to unite in organizing an integrated defense for the Atlantic community is even stronger on their part than on ours, because of their exposed position and military weakness.

The Brussels treaty countries have already set up a centralized defense group which is actively coordinating the unitary defense plans of the members. They already have a single staff organization to develop and effectuate the common defense plan. They and the other European members of the North Atlantic pact are eager to join in the larger effort of planning the collective defense of the Atlantic community. But they well know that no amount of planning, without an equipped force upon which to build, can be more than a paper defense. As an indispensable preparation for giving substance to those plans, they have urgently requested arms from the only source open to them—the United States. They strongly feel that rebuilding their present forces, by their own efforts supplemented by ours, is the first essential for making the North Atlantic Treaty a truly effective force for peace.

They are, in fact, already making strenuous exertions on their own behalf. They are currently spending the equivalent of about 5.5 billion dol-

ırs annually on their defense establishments—a ım approximately five times as large as the mount proposed for allotment to them under the Iilitary Assistance Program. Their collective efense expenditures bear approximately the same atio to their total national incomes as do our own.

We must never forget that we are dealing not ıith abstractions, but with people. Our allies in Vestern Europe are human beings, with human opes and fears. Because of the constructive and roductive efforts which we and they have put orth together in recent months, their hopes today re greater than their fears. We must keep their opes in the ascendancy.

Under the proposed legislation, the United tates would meet this situation by authorizing he President to supply military assistance hereto- ore requested by nations which have joined with s in the North Atlantic Treaty for purposes of ollective defense, on the basis of self-help and ıutual aid. The amount of assistance proposed or these nations is approximately 1.1 billion dol- ırs for the period ending June 30, 1950. Our id, as I have pointed out, will supplement what hese countries are doing for themselves and for ach other. Witnesses from the government gencies concerned, who have worked out the de- ails of the program, will give you the exact na- ıre of the aid to be provided in the form of equip- ıent and materials and will give you in detail the ctive program of self-help and mutual aid al- eady in operation in Western Europe. But no ıatter how willing these nations are, they cannot ebuild their defenses without our help, because ıany of the vital things they need can be bought nly with dollars, which they do not have. More- ver, too great an exertion for defense prepara- ions would reduce the effectiveness of the recov- ry effort.

Part of the dollar aid we alone can provide can e used to increase military production in Western Europe, however, without retarding economic re- overy. Certain facilities for military produc- ion not in use now because of the lack of tools or ıaterials that must be bought with dollars can be ctivated and manned by labor that also is avail- ble, if the critical equipment and material are upplied. The present allocations in the Military ıssistance Program include 155 million dollars o enable the European countries to increase their ıilitary output in this way. It is estimated that s a consequence of this help, they will be able hrough their own efforts over a 2-year period to ugment their military production by the equiva- ent of 700 million dollars of military equipment ıithout adversely affecting the recovery effort.

One effect of this procedure will be to reduce the mount of aid required from this country in the uture. Future requirements of military assist- ance to the European countries also will be re- duced by the supply, under the program now recommended, of many capital items that will not have to be renewed in peacetime.

I cannot attempt to predict at this time, how- ever, how long we may need to continue some military assistance to the European members of the pact. Many variables, over which we have little control, are involved, such as the rate of economic recovery, the imminence and extent of the aggressive threat, and strategic considerations and developments in the art of warfare.

It is also proposed to continue aid to the Greek people in their gallant resistance to the attempt of a Communist-led minority to owerthrow by vio- lence the legally constituted government. The prospects are now good that the campaign against the guerrillas may soon be successfully concluded. We also intend to assist the Turkish people in resisting heavy Soviet pressure. An amount of $211,370,000, is requested for this aid to Greece and Turkey for the period ending June 30, 1950.

The remainder of the funds requested in the amount of $27,640,000 would enable us to help strengthen the defenses of certain other free nations exposed to danger. We propose to grant assistance to the Republic of Korea, where a gov- ernment established as a result of free elections under the auspices of the United Nations is men- aced by the threat of internal subversion and ex- ternal force. We propose to aid Iran, which has been under insistent Soviet pressure and to which we have supplied limited military assistance and sent two military missions. We propose to con- tinue military aid to the Philippine Republic, as originally undertaken under the act of June 26, 1946.

In addition to aid in the form of grants, the legislation before you would authorize the Presi- dent to provide procurement assistance to coun- tries which have joined with us in a collective defense and regional arrangement. Before any such contract is entered into, any such country would make available to us the full cost of such procurement. Thus there is no cost to us, nor any risk of cost to us, in providing this assistance. This provision would enable us to assist the efforts of certain friendly countries, such as Canada and other American Republics, to increase their de- fensive strength, since it would facilitate their purchase of American military equipment. It would also assist us in achieving standardization of military equipment, one of the objectives of the collective defense and regional arrangements in which we have joined.

In considering all aspects of the Military As- sistance Program, the special complexities of the problem should constantly be borne in mind. Al- though the countries to which we can furnish aid are limited to those specifically covered in the legislation before you, unforeseen emergencies, necessitating prompt and appropriate action, may arise at any time. It would not be wise to pre-

scribe too rigid a statutory framework for the execution of this policy. If the limitations were too stringent, the Executive might find that he was constrained from taking the very action which some ur pected situation demanded in the national interest. For this reason, some small degree of flexibility in determining the amount of aid to be furnished to authorized recipients is required.

The President is directed to terminate such assistance to any nation upon its request. He would be required to cut off such assistance when it is no longer consistent with our national interest or with our obligation under the United Nations Charter to refrain from aiding nations against which preventive or enforcement action is taken.

The legislation provides for centralized control of the program within this government. Overall direction would be exercised by the Department of State because of the intimate relations between military assistance and our foreign policy as a whole. The Department would work closely with the other government agencies concerned with the program; particularly the National Military Establishment and the Economic Cooperation Administration. The National Military Establishment, for example, would provide equipment from its stocks, military advice, and training assistance, and would procure the new items to be manufactured. The Economic Cooperation Administration would provide the proper coordination with the European Recovery Program and safeguard the priority of economic recovery against any tendency of the recipient countries to emphasize military production at the expense of recovery needs. To the greatest practicable extent, administration of the program abroad would be conducted through normal diplomatic and military channels, to ensure integration with the other overseas operations of our foreign policy.

I am convinced that this program is the most logical and effective way of dealing with a major problem which cannot be ignored or allowed to go unchallenged but must be recognized and met with firm and forthright measures. If the job of assisting the free nations to strengthen their defense against aggression is worth doing, it is worth doing well. When the stakes fundamentally at issue are our own freedom and security, I do not believe the American people will be satisfied to settle for half measures.

I think we can put this proposal in proper perspective by considering what its practical effects are likely to be.

First: Would it strengthen or weaken the security of the North Atlantic community? Western Europe is now an organism with a soft shell, and as such it invites attack from the predatory. It must develop a hard shell of adequate defen forces to discourage such an attack. It is to ou interest to hasten the growth of that protective d vice without weakening the economic health Western Europe. The quickest way we can a celerate the strengthening of the defense mec anism of Europe without impairing its revivin economy is by sharing some of our own milita strength. This will not lessen our own prote tive strength but in due course will increase it putting the means of defense in the hands of o friends who are on the front line of possib danger.

A realistic understanding of the nature of t struggle being waged in Europe warns us th we must consider the ever-present possibility aggression and take effective action to forestall Whatever the Communists may claim for the su posedly superior appeal of their ideology to t minds of men, the record shows that no Comm nist government has come to power in any count by the free choice of the people, openly express in an honest election. The pressure of the lar military forces maintained in readiness at all tim behind the Iron Curtain is the club in the clos of every Communist government in Europe, a there is little effort made to keep the weap concealed.

The record also shows, notably in the cases France and Italy, that if strength in the hands democratic governments is resolutely and wise used, they can prevent aggressive Communist m norities from seizing power by force. The mi tary assistance proposed for Western Euro would go to governments which have alrea proved themselves capable of dealing with su version. The further strengthening of their fenses would make them still less vulnerable internal threats to their security and more pable of resisting aggression against th frontiers.

It is not intended that there should be ma tained in Western Europe forces-in-being capa of defending all Europe against an all-out atta But, it is essential to international peace and own security that there be maintained in We ern Europe forces sufficient to convince any wou be aggressor that he could not by quick marc gain easy victories.

Second: Would it strengthen or weaken the curity of the United States? I have already in cated the reasons why I believe it is of paramou importance to the security position of this cou try to help recreate the defense capabilities Western Europe. Events have proved that national security requires the preservation of independence and integrity of the free nations Europe. Even though our defenses in this cou try may be strong, we are only partly protec as long as the European members of the Atla community are woefully weak. The transfer some of our military potential to Western Euro without weakening us at home, is a form of

surance which is soundly conceived and which we can afford. It is simply common sense to shift part of our strength, which at the moment is the major element of strength of the Atlantic community, to the point where it may be needed first and can be used with quick effectiveness.

Third: Would military assistance strengthen or weaken the chances of world peace? The greatest danger to world peace today is the possibility that an aggressor, in an ill-considered attempt at easy conquest, might launch an attack on an intended victim which would draw other forces into the conflict and precipitate an all-out war. The Military Assistance Program is designed to preclude that possibility by providing free nations under pressure the means to defend themselves effectively and thus to discourage a potential aggressor from making the attempt.

The Military Assistance Program is wholly defensive in nature. The Soviet Government is aware that the peoples of Western Europe, who, unlike the Russian people, have a voice in their own destinies, earnestly desire peace. We all know that there is one major source of danger to world peace today. The purpose of the Military Assistance Program is to help protect the free nations against the danger from that source.

Fourth: Would the Military Assistance Program strengthen or weaken the United Nations? The primary objective of the United Nations is the preservation of world peace by the collective action of nations which agree to settle their disputes of pacific means, according to the principles and provisions of the Charter. Again, we all know which nation has frustrated the search for collective security in the United Nations and has continued to use force as an instrument of national policy in violation of the principles and provisions of the Charter.

It is the responsibility of the peace-loving members of the United Nations, acting individually or collectively as the need may require, to meet this primary threat to the principle of collective security realistically and unequivocally. It is their responsibility to demonstrate to any transgressor the inexorable necessities which make the safety and well-being of any one nation dependent upon what other nations may do.

It was this historic fact of interdependence which led to the creation of the United Nations, and it is against this broad current of history that the leaders of the Soviet Union have unhappily set their course. We shall stand in criminal neglect, and the ideals of the United Nations will be seriously jeopardized if we do not do all that we can, by both moral and material means, to bring home to these men the wisdom of leading their peoples toward world cooperation and world peace.

When the inescapable fact of interdependence is clearly understood, and fully accepted, then we shall have a stronger United Nations in which every member will have genuinely renounced force as an instrument of national policy. The peace-loving nations of today are building the structure of that fuller cooperation. They never have accepted and never will accept the viewpoint that peace lies only on the far side of another war. It is a bitter commentary on our times that the most persuasive means to peace is an armed security. Yet, we are certain of our facts. The leaders of totalitarian states will cooperate when they are convinced that the free nations are too strong to be overcome by external aggression or internal subversion. We may hope that other arguments will move them to take their responsible places in the world community, but we dare not risk our homes and our lives on a wishful premise.

Until the collective security system envisioned by the founders of the United Nations is wholly effective, those members sincerely devoted to that principle should work together to accomplish the same purpose through regional arrangements and associations for collective self-defense. The Military Assistance Program is fully consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and by strengthening the free nations against the dangers of aggression will hasten the day when war will be abandoned as unprofitable by aggressors, as well as condemned as immoral by humanity itself.

Judged pragmatically by the existing conditions and needs of the world in which we live, the Military Assistance Program is a necessary and workable measure for the solution of a major problem of our time—the collective defense of peaceful nations against the known dangers of aggression.

Meeting of the Council of Europe

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 12*]

This government is gratified that the first meeting of the Council of Europe is being held. As we have repeatedly stated, we welcome any development which promotes constructive international integration. The mere fact that the Council has been established, although its powers are naturally limited, demonstrates that measures which until very recently were considered beyond the bounds of practical politics have come to be practical and have actually been taken. The election of Paul-Henri Spaak as its President gives the Council the leadership of a man who combines exceptional breadth of vision with highly practical statesmanship and augurs well for the Council's future.

Economic and Political Forces in Germany

Statement by John J. McCloy, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany [1]

Being here on a rather hurried trip in connection with certain administrative problems in Germany which arise out of the impending transfer of authority from Military to Commission Government, I have been asked to give you some impressions I have gathered from my relatively short stay there.

Many who have been in Germany have reported to the American people their impressions. American correspondents and commentators are daily reporting on conditions in Germany. I do not know that I can add much to the picture they have already given you.

There are many evidences that the American people sense the play of great forces about Germany today and are fully aware of the deep significance to the United States of the future development of that country. Too often forces generated in Germany have deflected the people of the United States from their normal peaceful pursuits. The memory of terrible brutalities inflicted on innocent people has almost become subconsciously associated with the mention of Germany and Germany's leaders in the minds of Americans. Incidentally, I have felt that many right-minded Germans still do not fully realize the mistrust which still pervades the world regarding their country. The result is a determination to remove permanently the menace of further German militarism and intolerance. At the same time, the American people have an enlightened and firm desire to see the German people repair their wounds and restore themselves to a useful and constructive position in the community of nations. As yet we have no peace treaty, and we have a divided country ruled by widely divergent motives. There are pulls and hauls of policy as a result of this situation, all of which can very rapidly be sensed after a very short stay in the country, yet Western Germany has very greatly progressed since the surrender. General Clay, my predecessor, has stated that the punitive stage of our occupation of Germany has abou ended. We are entering now upon a new stage We are about to permit the people of Western Germany to set up a government of their own se lection. In a few days an election to choose th legislators of the new state will take place, an shortly thereafter the new government will b formally instituted.

I have referred to the misgivings which remai in people's minds as to how the new Germany wil devote itself to peace because I suppose that th one question that I am most frequently asked i the short time since my return from Germany i whether I feel that there are signs of a dangerou revival of Nazism or Nationalism in Germany.

The related question which I am also frequentl asked is whether the economic recovery of Ger many is attended by any danger to the security o the Western European nations.

Let me attempt to give you my first impression on both of these questions. First, as to the growt of Nationalism, certainly many people in German are growing more assertive than they have bee at any time since the close of the war; there is mor to eat, at least in the Western zone, and, as th fear of starvation and the shock of a total militar defeat have receded, people are beginning to asser themselves more than they were disposed to whe they were hopeless, hungry, and absorbed only i finding a living among the rubble. In spite o their defeat, the German people remain patriotic and the great majority of them feel imposed upo when they are blamed for what they consider to be the faults of others whose policies they are now prepared to disclaim. I do not believe Nazism as such is being revived; I do not believe that new leaders today would get far if they really attempted to resurrect Nazism or reglorify Hitler. All that is too closely associated with defeat and disgraceful acts. There is another sign and a much more hopeful one. There is now, in Western Germany at least, a determined and strong group who are truly devoted to the concept

[1] Made over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Aug. 9, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

a peaceful nonaggressive Germany. There is trong core of freedom-seeking people among general population, and they have earnestly perated in the efforts made to democratize the ntry. They are to be found among the liberals, ong labor, as well as among what the Comnists love to call the "Bourgeoisie." All these uld set their forces hard against the revival any purely militaristic or Nazi cult. I would ss that they would not be easily overwhelmed the old forces of militarism and Nazism.

Yet it is a fact that today, roughly speaking, ut 30 percent of the more important positions the government and industry are occupied by n who were formerly Nazi followers. This ies with localities, and my figures are very xact.

Generally speaking, these men are not former ivists though, here and there, they crop up . The group I speak of is made up of folers, collaborators, people who were definitely resisters to the Nazi regime; but in judging m, bear in mind that there were relatively few o did resist; bear in mind the old German cont of authority and blind obedience to all officials l to the state, and the heavy penalities meted for resistance; and bear also in mind that many o did resist are now dead. Out of the 45 mil in the Western zone, there is no doubt that far re than 30 percent went along, so to speak, with zi domination.

Now, however, by our own rules, after having ginally cleared out all Nazis, German Courts trying the less virulent ones, and after the rts have cleared them whether by acquittal, by , or other punishment, the defendants are red to civil activity. Until recently these peo were ostracized entirely from such activities. ey did not have the opportunity of participat in the political or industrial life of their comnities. Since these clearances all occurred ently, it is natural that the large percentage of newcomers in the field are of this class. I do think this fact by itself is a bad omen. Ined, it would be a bad omen, I believe, if all those o had been Nazi followers were permanently luded from engaging in the normal activities citizens. I am not speaking of the Nazis who nmitted acts of such a nature that their crimes st in all decency be requited, but these apart, are coming to the time, and I think it is presly upon us, when we must test the German ple more on their present disposition than upon at they did or did not do 10 or 15 years ago.

Now as to the matter of economic recovery; at I have seen of Germany in my first weeks of ce contrasts vividly with what I saw in 1944 1945, when I was last there. Trade is mov, chimneys are smoking, and generally there is s shabbiness, less dirt, and less despair about. The rather phenomenal growth of Germany's trade and production in the last year is something for which we should be deeply thankful. My fervent hope is that all this will last. There is no menace in recovery; there would be more than a menace if none occurred; but the recovery, phenomenal as it is, has left some severe problems in its wake—lack of capital funds for investment, unemployment, high prices—all these exist in spite of the upward production curves on the charts.

Germany has lost many productive territories—for example Silesia, the Saar, and East Prussia. The country itself remains divided, one part of which is heavily oppressed. The population in the Western zones has greatly increased as a result of the expulsions or flights from the Eastern territories. Although the production figures show 80 to 90 percent of the 1938 levels, we know that countries in Europe which have been able to get their production up to as high as 140 percent of 1938 are still in trouble economically. This leaves a wide gap indeed between the German level of production and what certain of Germany's competitors have attained.

It is also significant that the exports of Western Germany are roughly estimated to be only 25 percent of what they were prewar. We should also bear in mind that there will be coal control boards, steel control boards, a Ruhr Authority, the Military Security Board, to mention only certain of the supervisory bodies. I believe with all this there is not much reason to fear that the revival of the present Western German economy will lead to a new German aggression. The essential security is our own resolution to act in timely fashion if and when we see real signs of German militarism returning. We must remember that it was not lack of knowledge of what Germany was doing in the Hitler days that held our hand; it was Allied irresolution.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. Have you any comment on the recent statements of German political leaders, which are critical of occupation authorities and occupation policies?

Answer. While I suppose one can expect some rather loose and indeed demagogic statements to be a natural phenomena of any political campaign, I must say that I am disappointed in the emphasis which seems to have been placed by certain political leaders in Germany on "pin-pricking" the occupation. With so many tremendous problems facing the new German Government, with all of the substantial issues which attend the formation of that government, and with the vital necessity for objective consideration of those problems and issues, one could reasonably hope that more time and discussion would be directed

to such matters. These leaders realize, even if the German people as a whole have not yet been fully made aware of the fact, that but for the forces of occupation and but for the treasures which are being poured into Germany in order to insure that the people are fed and well-maintained, their condition would be as precarious and miserable as it was in 1945. While no occupation is popular and I do not suppose any of the occupation authorities expect to be popular, the fact is that the occupation by the Western powers is assisting the German people to recovery and that it will last just as long as and no longer than we feel it is necessary to accomplish our objectives.

Question. There has been considerable question about the future status of Berlin due in part to announcements that there was to be some consolidation of Military Government personnel in Frankfort, the raising of the airlift, and the meeting of the Bonn legislature. Does this indicate that we are in any way abandoning Berlin or placing less emphasis upon our position there?

Answer. No. I am glad to be able to answer that question. If anything, I believe our position in Berlin is strengthened. The mere shift of some Military Government personnel for administrative convenience from Berlin to the Frankfort area has absolutely no relation to our policy in regard to Berlin.

We shall continue to maintain our forces and a strong staff in Berlin. General Maxwell Taylor, who in my judgment and in the judgment of many others is one of the finest officers in the United States Army, has been placed in command there. His record at the Bulge and in Italy should be eloquent of our determination to maintain our position in Berlin. I expect to maintain a residence and offices in Berlin and to be there frequently.

The airlift has diminished due to the size of the stockpile of food and supplies we have built up in Berlin. All installations are maintained so that within a short time it could operate again should it ever be necessary to call it forth.

We hope to assist our sector in Berlin to attain greater economic activity. This is difficult to accomplish, but I hope before long we shall be able to announce some measure of ECA assistance which will tend to help the city attain greater business activity.

Question. Now that the transfer from Military Government to Commission rule is contemplated, will there be any lessening of the security measures now in force in Germany?

Answer. Of course the Army will be maintained in Germany even though the form of administration is changed from Military Govern ment to Commission rule. The armed forces ar distributed in Western Germany as they have bee heretofore, and they will be maintained at thei present high state of efficiency and alertness.

Question. What do you consider, Mr. McCloy to be the great problems that you are faced with i Germany?

Answer. There are a number. I have alread touched upon certain political and economic prob lems.

Another problem always before us is to remov the pall of fear of a new totalitarian dominatio of the country.

The distribution and assimilation of millions perhaps of as many as 8 to 10 millions, of peopl expelled from eastern areas which now have to b taken care of in the Western zone, is another prob lem which seems at the moment almost to b insoluble.

And above all—the ever-present problem of s conducting the occupation that this indubitabl great country composed of men and women o marked energy, intelligence, and culture can be part of and play a leading and peaceful role i the reconstitution of Europe.

We cannot impose anything truly foreign upo another people. But Germany has in the some what distant past maintained a liberal tradition It can do so again. What comes out of it may no be American, or English, or French—but there i enough sense of freedom and decency, I am sure in the German people on which, given time, ther can be built a healthy and peaceful state—a stat which can take its proper place among the com munity of European nations.

John J. McCloy To Consult With ECA

[*Released to the press August 2*]

John J. McCloy, present United States Mili tary Governor for Germany and United State High Commissioner, will return to Washingto August 3 for consultation with top officials of th Departments of State and Army and the Eco nomic Cooperation Administration to discuss cer tain phases of the transfer from military to civilia control of Germany. A mission of experts wh have been in Germany studying the transfer prob lems is expected to return to Washington abou the same time.

Mr. McCloy, who assumed his duties as Unite States Military Governor in Germany on July 2 spent the first 2 weeks of his new assignment on a extensive tour of the United States zone visitin installations and conferring with the chief occu pation officials.

Upon the formation of the West German Gov-
nment, control will revert from military to civil-
n administration with Mr. McCloy as United
ates High Commissioner.
Mr. McCloy plans to return to Germany before
ugust 15.

llied Kommandatura Restitution aw Announced

eleased to the press August 3]

A joint United States-United Kingdom-French
nouncement from Berlin states that the Allied
ommandatura of Berlin promulgated a new law
r restitution of identifiable property to victims
Nazi oppression. The text follows:

The Allied Kommandatura of Berlin on 26 July 1949
sued an order providing for restitution of identifiable
operty to victims of the Nazi regime who, by reason of
eir race, creed, nationality or political belief, were
ongfully deprived of property between 30th January
33 and 8th May 1945. The Kommandatura order,
K/O (49) 180, which has long been the subject of nego-
tions among the Western Occupying Powers in their
forts to secure restitution legislation in Berlin which
n be tripartitely administered, completes the legal ma-
inery necessary for restitution of property to Nazi
ctims in the areas of control of the Western Allies.
estitution laws promulgated by the respective military
vernments are already in effect in the three western
nes.

The order is applicable only to the three western
ctors of Berlin and affects only property which had a
tal value of 1,000 reichsmarks or more at the time it
as taken from its rightful owners. Petitions must be
livered to the filing office in Berlin, specified in the
der, by 30th June 1950.

Claims arising from war damages and injury of a
rsonal nature, and claims which are not connected with
e wrongful taking of identifiable property are not cov-
ed by the new legislation.

"The order imposes a duty upon persons in Germany
report to the Treuhaender der Amerikanischen, Brit-
chen und Franzoesischen Militaerregierungen Fuer
vangsuebertragene Vermoegen, at Nuernbergerstrasse
/55, Berlin W 30, any property or transfer of property
which they have knowledge, or any property which
ey may have had in their possession at any time since
th January 1933, which falls within the scope of the
der.

Copies of the order are being made available to the
vernments of all countries outside of Germany through
eir foreign offices. An earlier order of the Kommanda-tura, dated 16th February 1949, which provides rules for the filing of petitions now covered by the new restitution legislation, is likewise being made available to all countries. Nationals and residents of those countries are therefore urged to apply to their own governments for copies of these orders prior to submission of petitions to Berlin.

The newly announced order stipulates that all petitions for restitution in the western sectors should be filed, by the deadline of 30th June 1950, with a tripartitely administered agency serving the three sectors, and known as the Treuhaender der Amerikanischen, Britischen und Franzoesischen Militaerregierungen Fuer Zwangsuebertragene Vermoegen, at Nuernbergerstrasse 53/55, Berlin W 30.

More than 12,000 claims have already been received by that office from petitioners in all parts of the world. These have been placed on file, examined, and acknowledged to the petitioners. Many claims, sent by petitioners to the filing office of the respective occupying powers in the western zones have been forwarded to the Berlin Office. However, petitioners are advised not to rely upon earlier communications with the three military governments as effective filings under the newly announced order, unless their petitions have been submitted in conformity with the order (BK/O (49) 180) or unless they have been acknowledged as petitions by the respective military government or by the Treuhaender der Amerikanischen, Britischen und Franzoesischen Militaerregierungen Fuer Zwangsuebertragene Vermoegen in Berlin.

Persons who have submitted petitions with the Zentralamt Fuer Vermoegensverwaltung at Bad Nenndorf, in the British Zone of Germany, in conformity with British General Order number 10 are advised that these petitions will be regarded as having been filed pursuant to the Kommandatura order.

Non-residents of Germany are advised to nominate, when filing petitions, a person as agent within Germany, to receive service of all papers and notices which may be made pursuant to the order.

The restitution legislation will be administered by specially created restitution agencies and by courts of the city of Berlin. Provision is made for appeal from any decision of these bodies, direct to a board of review, which will be composed of members who are nationals of the three Allied Powers.

Property recovered under the restitution order will be subject to the same laws and regulations as other property of the same categories. For example, property owned by absentee owners will be subject to the same restrictions as other absentee-owned property, and may be removed from Germany only pursuant to the usual policies governing such matters.

Accounts due claimants will be paid in deutsche marks and no remittances of such funds outside Germany, or conversion into another currency will be possible until foreign exchange is generally available for such purposes.

Persons residing in the United States should direct their inquiries concerning this new legislation to the Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Relation of Private Investment to Point 4 Program

Statement by Under Secretary Webb[1]

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your Committee on behalf of the legislation designed to encourage the investment of American capital in those underdeveloped areas where this, together with a cooperative program of technical assistance, will result in improvement and growth. The bill before your Committee, S. 2157, authorizes an experimental program of governmental guarantees against those risks peculiar to foreign investment which under present circumstances retard capital investments in those areas where they are most needed. The President, in his inaugural address last January, outlined four courses of action which he believed the United States should emphasize in its international relations in the coming years. The first three points covered (1) continued support to the United Nations and related agencies, (2) the continuance of our program for world recovery, and (3) the strengthening of freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. Then the President added a fourth point, and I quote his words:

> . . . we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and our industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.
>
> . . . we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.
>
> Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

The purpose of the President's program is to assist underdeveloped countries to utilize more efficiently their human and material resources so that they may play a more effective role in an expanding world economy and so that they may provide more adequately for their peoples' needs. It is appropriate, therefore, that the legislatio before your Committee be considered as a pa of that larger program.

In large and important areas of the world poverty and the frustration of hopes for economi betterment are large contributors to instability, po litical tensions, and violence. Democracy an freedom as we know them cannot grow wher widespread disease, illiteracy, and unrest prevai If democracy is to be a vitalizing force, its ecc nomic basis must be secure. Nor can our hope for an expanding world economy be realized i two-thirds of the world's population are unabl to make adequate use of their resources for lac of knowledge and the means to develop ther efficiently.

If we can help to accelerate development in ur derdeveloped areas, political democracy will b strengthened by giving the peoples of those area hope in a better future; the United Nations and it specialized agencies will be strengthened by pa ticipation in continuing positive constructive ac tion for economic development; political tension can be relieved by demonstrating that developmen can take place peacefully and with increased pe sonal freedom as the energies of millions of peopl are devoted to greater production, greater ex change, and greater consumption; our own na tional security will be strengthened by associatin stronger nations with us in the cause of huma freedom; a better balance in the world econom can be achieved by expanding production and ex change in areas that have advanced too slowly o this front, not for lack of resources but for lack o skills in organizing and developing existing re sources; and expanding international trade an increasing markets will contribute to domesti economic stability. Without a positive and effec tive plan for accelerating the pace of economi development, large areas of the world that are al lied with us in the cause of human freedom ma be led by the pressures of poverty, social unres and hopelessness to give up the fight.

Economic development is a process of buildin

[1] Made before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on Aug. 9, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

capital resources and improving techniques of oduction; capital investment and technical as- tance are therefore quite properly the coordi- te instruments of the Point 4 program. The leg- ation before you is directed to that part of the ogram that is directly concerned with capital vestment. However, the technical cooperation ase of the program will itself serve to stimulate ivate investment abroad by creating a greater areness of investment opportunities, improving hniques of foreign government administration d fiscal management, increasing the interest of reign communities in private foreign investment, veloping local capital markets, and improving e health, education, and skills of the local popu- ion.

While the bulk of the effort, the planning, the ganizing, and the financing of economic devel- ment must come from the underdeveloped coun- es themselves, foreign capital is an essential ment. Underdeveloped countries can look to e International Bank and, in appropriate cases, the Export-Import Bank for loans to help ance basic development projects for which pri- te financing is not available. Both institutions e expected to continue and to expand their ac- ities in financing undertakings of this charac- . With assistance from these institutions, un- rdeveloped countries can expand basic facilities ch as power, transportation, and communica- ns and thereby open new areas to development private capital. It is also hoped that the Inter- tional Bank and the Export-Import Bank will d increasing opportunities to enter into partner- ip with private capital in financing projects ntributing to economic development abroad.

The Point 4 program puts particular emphasis on the flow of private investment because nited States private capital is potentially the ajor external source of investment capital for velopment abroad and because it can contribute t only funds but also the technical skills, mana- rial experience, and organizational talents that e essential to put capital to effective use. The eater part of our industrial technology has been veloped by private organizations. It can be put work in the development process only through ivate channels, especially in the form of direct vestment where the owner of the technology s the incentive, as well as the skill, to make timum use of it.

While the outflow of United States private cap- l has been substantial in the postwar years, it s been low in relation both to its potential vol- ne and to the need for development capital road. This is due in part to abnormal condi- ns. The most significant difficulties appear to unstable political conditions, balance-of-pay- ents problems leading to limitations on the abil- to transfer earnings and capital, and various governmental restrictions imposed on foreign enterprise.

The resumption of large-scale international investment requires a composite of measures to be undertaken cooperatively by capital-importing and capital-exporting countries to reduce present obstacles. The United States is exerting its full influence toward the establishment of more stabilized political conditions and more satisfactory economic relationships throughout the world through participation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, through the European Recovery Program, and through Reciprocal Trade Agreements and other cooperative measures with individual foreign countries. These efforts to create a sense of security, to secure an expanding and balanced pattern of world trade, and to alleviate economic dislocations arising from the war will, as they bear fruit, help reduce deterrents to the flow of investment capital.

The Department of State recognizes that in a program for the reduction of obstacles to investment abroad it is particularly important to make every effort to improve the climate for private foreign investment. We are constantly working on this problem, particularly through the negotiation of bilateral treaties with foreign governments.

These treaties are designed to assure the potential investor that his property will not be expropriated without prompt, adequate, and effective compensation, that he will be given reasonable opportunity to remit earnings and withdraw his captital, that he will have reasonable freedom to operate, manage, and control his enterprise, and that he will enjoy security in the protection of his person and his property and nondiscriminatory treatment in the conduct of his business affairs. At the same time, foreign countries are entitled to expect that private investments will make a genuine contribution to their national welfare. As stated by the President in his inaugural address—

> . . . Guaranties to the investor must be balanced by guaranties in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments.
>
> The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing.

The private investor has an obligation to give due regard to the welfare of the persons dependent upon his enterprise, to contribute his fair share of taxes to the local community, to conserve as well as develop local resources, to observe local laws and refrain from interference in the political life of the community, and so to conduct his enterprise that the local economy will derive benefit from his activity.

However, abnormal deterrents to private investment abroad cannot be removed by investment treaties alone. In the present and prospective world economic and political situation certain

risks peculiar to investment may for some time remain excessive from the point of view of United States investors. For example, although a treaty may assure no discrimination against United States investors seeking to remit profits, it cannot assure that sufficient dollars for that purpose will actually be available. Similarly, although there may be a completely faithful intention to refrain from expropriation, or in the event that expropriation becomes unavoidable in the public interest, to pay promptly for expropriated property, dollars, may, nevertheless, not be available to permit prompt and adequate payment. Nor can treaties provide assurances against the possibility of confiscation or destruction in the event of internal disturbance or war. Consequently, elimination, or at least a significant reduction of the burden of these risks upon prospective private investors should stimulate a substantial additional flow of private investment funds abroad. This is the purpose which would be served by the extension of guaranties by the United States Government against risks peculiar to investment in foreign countries.

It is important that we recognize clearly what the proposed legislation is intended to do and what it is not intended to do. The proposed legislation does not guarantee any investor a profit, or protect him against ordinary business risks to which investors everywhere are subject. Guaranties would be limited to risks peculiar to foreign investment, and the investor would have to assume the others. It is not the purpose of the proposed legislation simply to provide an outlet for surplus capital. It is intended to stimulate a flow of productive capital that contributes to economic development abroad. The legislation is specific on this point, and in the administration of the guaranty program, full consideration would be given to the contribution that the investment can be expected to make to economic development. The proposed legislation is not an effort to force particular private enterprises on reluctant countries. Guaranties would be issued only to investments which are acceptable to the government of the recipient country. The proposed legislation is not a program to achieve economic dominion over foreign countries. In accordance with the general spirit of the Point 4 program, it seeks to promote a marriage of economic enterprise with economic opportunities to the mutual advantage of the private investor and the country in which the investment is made.

I urge your Committee to approve the proposed legislation, for I believe it will contribute substantially to the effective handling of our foreign relations, will serve the national interest, and will bring real benefits to the peoples of underdeveloped areas.

Burmese Minister Visits U.S.

U. E. Maung, Foreign Minister of the Union of Burma, will arrive in Washington, August 13 for an official visit. The Minister, who holds combined portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Health will spend a week here conferring with American officials.

President Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines Visits U.S.

Welcoming Remarks by President Truman

[*Released to the press by the White House August 8*]

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to the United States as a guest of the people of this country. I recall that, as Vice President, you were our guest in May 1947 and that the late Manuel Roxas visited the United States as President-elect in May 1946. The present occasion is significant, for it is the first time a President of the Republic of the Philippines has visited the United States. For that reason, we wish to make our welcome doubly warm to the representative of our young sister nation.

There is, happily, a long history of friendship between the Philippines and the United States. In the past fifty years, our two peoples have together written a memorable chapter in world history. It is a record of peaceful pursuits of our own choosing, and of two world wars, not of our choosing, in which we fought side by side and shared defeats and victory.

In the words of the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt:

> The United States and the Philippines have learned the principles of honest cooperation, of mutual respect in peace and in war. For those principles we have fought—and by those principles we shall live.

In these recent troubled years, the people of the United States and of the Philippines have been steadfast in their adherence to the principles upon which their countries were founded and upon which world peace must be built. Both nations are dedicated to securing justice and liberty and to promoting the general welfare of their own citizens. As members of the United Nations, they are dedicated to securing the same blessings for all peoples everywhere.

There is a new struggle in the world today, a struggle of ideas, a struggle that ignores national boundaries and even national loyalties. Doubts are being cast upon the validity and sincerity of the beliefs by which we live. Again our two peoples will be found on the same side in the struggle, which they must accept as a challenge rather than a threat. With pride in our common traditions,

ength in our beliefs and faith in our future, we dicate ourselves anew to the cause of all free n.

I hope that you will enjoy your visit among us d that you will take back to the Filipino people warm regards of the people of the United ates.

atement on Joint Discussions Philippine Economy

eleased to the press by the White House August 11]

The President of the Republic of the Philip- nes and the President of the United States have t in Washington and have discussed at length oblems of common interest to the two nations. e spirit of these conversations has reflected the storic and unique relationship between the two ntries. As in the past it was the aim of the ited States that the Philippines should assume rightful position as a free and self-reliant mem- of the world community, so today the United ates looks forward to the preservation and engthening of the position the Philippine Re- blic has achieved in order that it may make its l contribution to that community.

It is recognized that the capacity of the Philip- e Republic to live up to the high hopes which nts of the past three years have kindled must pend in part upon its economic situation. The o Presidents have discussed measures for the nforcement and development of Philippine nomy in terms of the recommendations of the ort of the Joint Philippine-American Finance mmission issued in 1947, being convinced that economic progress of the Philippines will be t only in the immediate interests of the two ntries but will contribute vitally to the deter- nation of free peoples to resist those forces ich seek their enslavement so long as that men- shall threaten. The two Presidents are reed that this resistance will be most effective areas where the material well-being of the peo- allows a full appreciation of the meaning of edom, and that conversely it is among peoples o have abandoned hope of individual better- nt that the least resistance will be offered to se perverted forces which would destroy the als to which the two nations are dedicated.

The President of the Philippines has expressed determination of his country to pursue with or the courses of action which offer the greatest mise; the President of the United States has terated the desire and intention of the United ites to render all feasible assistance. The ited States will continue to watch sympathetically the efforts of the peoples of Asia to forge stronger ties of economic cooperation and collaboration, to hasten the progress of self-government, and to preserve their freedom.

Thailand Requests U.S. Mineral-Resources Survey

[*Released to the press August 9*]

The Department of State announced on August 9 that, in response to a request by the Government of Thailand, a mission composed of three American economic geologists will be recruited by the Department of the Interior to assist in a survey of Thailand's mineral resources. The assistance being extended to the Government of Thailand in this project further instances the desire of the United States Government to contribute to a solution of Thailand's problems of economic rehabilitation and development.

Since the end of the war in the Pacific, the trade relations between the United States and Thailand have been more extensive than at any time in the past. The United States has on various occasions lent technical assistance to Thailand for the common benefit of the two countries. For example, in 1947, 30 Thai engineers were given special training in the field of irrigation by the Bureau of Reclamation and Irrigation with a view to the expansion of Thailand's rice crop, which is important not only to the Thai economy but to the peoples of rice-deficit areas of the Far East who depend upon large exports of rice from Thailand.

The mission now being recruited is expected to arrive in Bangkok in September and to complete its task by next April. Working in conjunction with Thai geologists, the mission will survey the districts where the principal mineral deposits are located. Thailand's uncharted mineral resources are believed to be considerable, and it is expected that as a result of this survey Thailand will be able to expand the volume and variety of its mineral exports to the United States and other countries. With the proceeds of these exports, Thailand should also be able to enlarge its imports of capital and consumer goods required for the development of its economy, upon which a rise in the standard of living of the Thai people depends.

The dispatch of this mission is not a part of the contemplated Point 4 Program. It is being effected under authority of existing legislation and will be financed out of the Department of State's 1949–50 appropriation. Expenses of the mission in local currency will be borne by the Government of Thailand.

Letters of Credence

Paraguay

The recently appointed Ambassador of Paraguay, Señor Dr. Don Luis Oscar Boettner, presented his credentials to the President on August 5, 1949. For text of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 603 of August 5.

Earthquake Disaster in Ecuador

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 12*]

Our whole country has been shocked by the disaster which struck our sister Republic of Ecuador last Friday, August 5.

The American Red Cross and the appropriate agencies of this government took steps immediately to render assistance through the Ecuadoran Red Cross. United States Air Force planes from the Canal Zone arrived in Quito early Sunday morning [August 7] with the first medical supplies and emergency communications equipment, and with a disaster survey team composed of Army and United States Red Cross officials. Several other planes have since transported additional supplies and tents for temporary shelter of the victims.

As soon as possible after the receipt of the news of the disaster, a relief party left Quito for the affected area under the direction of the cooperative United States–Ecuadoran Health and Sanitation Mission. United States personnel of this mission are provided by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. President Galo Plaza, who personally conducted relief work in the half-destroyed city of Ambato, has charged the IIAA Health Mission with the supervision of all health and sanitation activities arising out of the disaster.

All requests from the Ecuadoran Government for relief supplies from the United States will continue to be referred to the Disaster Service of the American Red Cross. Maurice Reddy, Assistant Director of National Disaster Relief Service, and Edward Russel, Director of Operations at the Canal Zone, two of the most experienced disaster relief experts of the American Red Cross are now in Ecuador. To date the Red Cross has been able to meet all requests for emergency supplies.

Several of the other American Republics have generously rallied to the relief of Ecuador, sending in by plane medical supplies, doctors, and nurses.

We are pleased to learn of the spontaneous action of various groups of private citizens in all parts of this country who have interested themselves in sending aid to Ecuador. It is to be hoped that this generous impulse will result in an organized and productive effort for raising funds which can be applied in the most effective manner for the alleviation of suffering.

Joint U.S.–Uruguayan Statement on Economic and Political Relations

[*Released to the press August 3*]

Officials of the Government of the Republic of Uruguay and of the Government of the United States have been seriously concerned with respect to the situation that recently arose in connection with procurement negotiations of the United States Government in which Uruguayan products were offered for possible purchase. This concern was accentuated by the fact that the Ambassador of Uruguay, Dr. Alberto Domínguez Cámpora had been actively conducting important exchanges of ideas with the Department of State with a view to a greater development of the relations between Uruguay and the United States, in the economic field as well as in other aspects of their reciprocal relations.

Following out the close collaboration between the Embassy of Uruguay and the Department of State in all matters of mutual interest, officials of the two governments have completed a detailed examination of the circumstances from which the recent situation arose, and they have concluded that the differences originated from unfortunate circumstances which were completely inadvertent and in no respect due to any variation in the very cordial relations, economic and commercial as well as political and cultural, which have traditionally existed between Uruguay and the United States, disproving therefore any unfriendly motive whatever. In substantiation, these officials are determined to exert every effort to devise practical and positive measures for the intensification of their mutual relations, availing themselves of every possibility for close collaboration and cooperation.

Both governments are pleased to attest that the friendship between the two countries has been, is and unquestionably will be of such a nature that it has permitted the conversion of an unfortunate misunderstanding into an opportunity for mutual agreement toward the intensification of efforts for the benefit and prosperity of their two peoples.

Discussions With Cuba on Tax Treaty

[*Released to the press July 29*]

Discussions between American and Cuban technical experts looking to the conclusion of treaties for the avoidance of double taxation and for administrative cooperation in prevention of tax evasion with respect to income taxes and to taxes on estates of deceased persons are expected to be opened at an early date.

If the discussions are successful and a basis for agreement is found, they will result in the preparation of draft treaties which will be submitted by the negotiators to their respective governments for consideration with a view to signing.

In preparation for the discussion, the American delegation will welcome conferences with interested parties, or statements and suggestions from them, concerning problems in tax relations with Cuba. Communications in this connection should be addressed to Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington 25, D. C.

Air Transport Agreement With Dominican Republic

On August 9, 1949, the Department of State released the text of the air transport agreement with the Dominican Republic. For text of the agreement, consult Department of State press release 615 of August 9. For a brief description of the type of this agreement, see BULLETIN of August 1, 1949, p. 153.

Correction on Foreign Visitors in Germany

In the article entitled "Foreign Visitors in Germany to Use Deutsche Marks," printed in the BULLETIN of June 26, 1949, page 807, it was stated in the first paragraph that the three Western zones of Germany were opened to foreign businessmen, tourists, and other visitors on June 21. This information should be corrected since only the British and American zones were opened on that date; however on the seventh of July the French relaxed their regulations for entry into the French zone.

On page 808, the next to the last paragraph, line three should read "maximum of 60 days subject to extensions through."

Agreement With France on Military Obligations

The text of the agreement between the United States and France relating to the military obligations of certain persons having dual nationality, effected by an exchange of notes at Paris on December 22, 1948, is now available to the public in printed form as Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1876. Copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at the cost of 5 cents each.

Under the provisions of the agreement persons who possess the nationality of both the United States and France and who have fulfilled their military obligations during the wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945 to either of the two countries will, on certain conditions, be considered as having fulfilled the same obligations to the other country. Persons to whom the agreement is applicable are given a period of 2 years from the date of entry into force of the agreement (December 22, 1948) to clarify their status in this respect.

THE DEPARTMENT

Office of Special Assistant for Aid to Greece and Turkey Abolished

The Department of State has abolished the Office of Special Assistant for Aid to Greece and Turkey effective August 3, 1949. The functions performed by that office, together with personnel, funds, and records, are transferred to the Division of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

Consultants on Far Eastern Problems Named

The Secretary of State, announced on July 30 the appointment of Raymond Bland Fosdick, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Everett Case, president of Colgate University, to act as consultants to the Department of State. They will work with Ambassador at Large Philip C. Jessup, Walton W. Butterworth, and other officers of the Department in an objective appraisal of Far Eastern problems in general with a view to making recommendations to the Secretary of State for the formulation and implementation of policy concerning those areas.

Appointment of Officers

Paul H. Nitze as Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff in the Office of the Secretary, effective August 8, 1949.

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Harmony To Save Succeeding Generations From the Scourge of War

by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

In responding to the distinguished invitation to me of Dr. Koussevitsky to join others in brief addresses at this gala concert and manifestation, given for the benefit of the Berkshire Music Center, my desire has been fulfilled which has abided with me for 2 years—ever since I was obliged to regret an invitation from Dr. Koussevitsky to come here.

I am inspired by the realization that here is a truly international community speaking a universal language.

We are all working toward harmony.

Your pursuit of the science of structure, relation, and progression of chords of music and the purpose, ideals, and universal aim of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" are parallel. They depend upon the highest degree of cooperation. They call for firm adherence to principles. They require that accord supersede discord.

However slow the process of mastering the medium in which we work, we advance with faith and vision of the ultimate harmony.

Fifty-nine nations now adhere to the Charter of the United Nations. The first declaration of that Charter is "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

Thereafter, the great lights of morality, freedom, tolerance, human rights, self-determination of peoples, cultural and educational cooperation began to illuminate this voluntary association and revealed the way to removal of causes of war.

More than military strength, or economic power, these spiritual principles expressed in understanding, purposeful and resolute action—can lead us into the shadow of that great rock of collective security.

We have already agreed that our objective is to be sought through international organization. The form in which we have it now was the highest attainable at San Francisco. In the relatively brief 4 years of its life it has not attained its stride. Time does not permit me to review here the many phases of development which have occurred in these 4 years, and it is not my purpose to do so, because I speak of an idea that is supported by both those who understand that the progress of the United Nations has been substantial, and those who are skeptical and dissatisfied.

All of us agree on the goal, but we disagree on method and technique. Some people have organized themselves into civic groups which advocate turning the United Nations into a "world government."

In the brief time which your convenience permits, I wish to make but two points. They are cautions. One is the care which you must take in promoting world government; the other is the importance, indeed the necessity of preserving the United Nations, whether we strive for world government or for any other progress in international cooperation.

The decision that confronts us does not compel a choice, at this time, between government and voluntary association. We now have voluntary association, and we may continue to enjoy and develop that into what might be termed world government in the future.

Comprehending both the people who are dis-

[1] Address made at the Berkshire Musical Festival at Lenox, Mass., on Aug. 12, 1949, and released to the press by the United States Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

satisfied with the progress of the United Nations, and favor the prompt establishment of world government, and those people who are reasonably satisfied with the progress of the United Nations, yet consider government more ideal than association, the atmosphere of public opinion is favorable to general statements advocating world government. This is a cause for study of the subject with particular regard for our fundamental purpose.

Assuming that we do not disapprove the world government idea, the major objective of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war," nevertheless, demands our loyal support of the voluntary association which is now developing the necessary harmony. There can be no intermission in history while the statesmen of the world sit down to write a world constitution. No impartial referee is going to blow a whistle and give us time out and a fresh start in the second half. We must deal with the world we have and the tools we have.

Although some advocates of world government realize the dangers of demanding a review conference of the United Nations if it is not preceded by the most careful kind of prolonged negotiation, let us carefully examine the hazards of calling a world government conference now.

First, there might be involved a separation of the members of the United Nations into different federations or voluntary associations. I have been told by advocates of world government that I could not be certain that the United Nations would be divided by a conference carried to its logical conclusion at this time. My answer is that I am persuaded by experience that we cannot, at this time or within the predictable future, have agreement among the five great powers upon such amendments of the Charter as are indispensable for the transformation of the United Nations from a voluntary association into a government.

Pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly, the five great powers met and explored the questions involved in removing the special privilege of the veto in two groups of cases, whether by amendment of the Charter or by agreement, namely: In pacific settlement of disputes and in admission of new members. It was utterly impossible to arrive at voluntary agreement in these lesser problems. This was a much less difficult matter than amendment of the Charter. How, then, could agreement be arrived at in the greater problems—such as further limitation of the special privilege of the veto, the general principles governing reduction of armaments and armed forces, international ownership, control and effective safeguard of atomic energy from destructive use? The number, types, and strength of contingents of armed forces and contributions of armaments to be made by each member; or in the alternative, by what members? These greater problems are still troubling the diplomats and statesmen as well as the military establishments of the world. The proponents of government in place of voluntary association proposed to abandon all those who are unwilling to give up the veto privilege and to sacrifice sovereignty in other essential ways. They would form a government consisting of those countries who are willing. This, of course, means splitting the United Nations. This means the destruction of the principle of universality.

A federation having the power to enact laws and enforce them would not in these circumstances be world government or world federation. It would not be world-wide. A salient question is: Are we to abandon the principle of universality? This is a vital decision to make because peace is conceived to be a condition of agreement and harmony among all the nations of the world. Especially is this true with respect to the so-called five great powers.

Assuming that we have faith in the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to insure by the acceptance of these principles, and the institution of methods under them, that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, it is clear that we must not break the combination which we created to effectuate such principles. We would thereby render impossible the cooperation necessary for the foundation of abiding and prevailing peace. We would set up the opposite of it, and that is competing organizations—at least two of them—one led by the United States; the other led by the Soviet Union. The logical effect of such a situation would be a residual bloc or blocs, unable, for various reasons, to become a member of either the so-called world government, led, for the time being, by the United States, or the Soviet bloc led by the Soviet Union.

Are we not firmly convinced that the principle of universality should be protected and promoted? Is it not clear that the cause of peace would be better served with the Soviet group and all other member states remaining in the United Nations?

Now, let us consider a convention unanimously amending the Charter of the United Nations into a world government.

I am persuaded that some people have no conception, or only a vague conception, of what establishment of world government would involve. We should pause in contemplation of the risk of seeking to establish any world government now.

Assuming that the Charter could be amended by the elimination of the special privilege of veto in the voting of the Security Council, and the special privilege of the veto upon ratification by the several permanent member countries, how much of the sovereignty of each country must be vested in the world government? If its laws shall govern individuals as well as states, what will be the

dividing line between the jurisdictions and judicial powers of world government and the several states? Is it as simple a problem as that of the United States, which required a civil war, and repeated judicial decision, to determine?

We are not likely to launch upon a course of action in the high probability of war. Our purpose is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

Moreover, we are confronted by different conditions from those which prevailed in the United States, such as the lack of any experience in self-government of 80 percent of the people of the world, the great unbalance between states in technical facilities and production, the fear of the minority-advanced states of being controlled by the majority-retarded peoples, the danger of tyranny developing from the power to police the world.

There is scarcely a single feature of establishing a government for the whole world, which does not contain risks of the peace. This should give us pause. Beyond that, however, it is our duty to consider the risks that would follow the creation of such a supergovernment. Would it remain a democratic state? Is totalitarianism not a risk through the political changes characteristic of any government? Assuming that this federation or government commenced as a democratic one, with free institutions, and possessed military power predominant over the great powers, do we not face the risk of misuse by those great powers or some of them? Ought the United States to join the other members of the United Nations in submission to an armed force that is predominant in power? It certainly was not willing to do so at the time the United Nations Charter was adopted.

The peace forces of the Charter are not contemplated for such purpose. Indeed, the idea of unanimity among the great powers was essential to peace. A breach by one of the great powers was recognized as a threat to the United Nations leading to possible war. Peace forces we must have in order to perfect the organization and to exercise those functions which peace officers exercise in the domestic government. They are not created to make war, or to overwhelm the great powers, or any of them. Moreover, the Charter, in article 51, recognizes the principle of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

I consider it significant of the continuing conviction of certain members of the United Nations, that the Atlantic Treaty provides for self-help and mutual aid among 12 members thereof, in such an event.

We also recognize the Act of Chapultepec, the pact of Rio, and the Arab League, as consistent with this doctrine of the United Nations.

Frequent recurrence, and a firm adherence to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations is necessary to keep us steadfastly substituting for force, pacific settlement of disputes.

The cooperation which we seek in the United Nations is founded upon those great moral principles of the Charter.

I have finished all I wish to say at this time on the point that we must take great care in the promotion of world government, and envisage it only as a long-term objective.

Now, a brief statement about the other point: The necessity of preserving the United Nations. Above all other objectives at the present time, we the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. There is no organization other than the United Nations to perform this function. It has become a vast organization in its influence. It is made up of the most numerous group of states ever combined for this purpose. Its personnel comprises leading statesmen, technicians, jurists, educators, scientists, farmers, physicians, linguists, translators, and other specialists in many fields of activity.

It has established its headquarters in the United States of America. This decision was made in large part because of the confidence of peoples of the world in the leadership and great resources of the United States, moral and material. And yet this organization is so young that it was recently called "a baby."

Its achievements, in so short a life, command the encouragement and support of all peoples of democratic faith. The total strength of the American people should be summoned to the great struggle for peace which is going on in the United Nations.

On the side of collective security we observe that every international disturbance which threatened the peace of the world during the short life of the United Nations was brought to the United Nations. In no case has there been failure, and in no case did the United Nations have peace forces to employ. In every case pacific methods prevailed to prevent or confine the fighting and to lead toward settlement. I need only to mention Berlin, Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir, Greece, and Korea to remind you that, to some degree, the United Nations has succeeded in every case. The direction is the main point, but in fact, in some of these cases the United Nations has advanced a great distance toward the ultimate settlement.

In other words, there is the proof that the United Nations is serving the cause of peace, and there is ground for faith in future progress on the security front.

The United Nations does not guarantee peace. No structure yet devised, will guarantee peace un-

less it be the deadly peace imposed by the victorious aggressor. Such peace, of course, lasts only as long as the predominant power can remain in control. But the United Nations does intervene with pacific methods and causes peace by agreement. Peace thus established gives promise of enduring.

The United Nations is working toward the establishment of world law, toward the development of a world economy, toward the removal of such causes of war as poverty, ill health, economic hatreds, and toward the improvement and perfecting of its own machinery for the substitution of sanctions for peace other than force.

We regard this voluntary organization as one having the vital spark of life for growth. We are eagerly receptive to all thoughtful criticism, to all suggestions for the refining and strengthening of our international machinery. But the strength of the nation cannot be given to us without the expression of well-informed and interested public opinion.

It is difficult to convince the world of allegiance to the United Nations if such organizations concern themselves chiefly with attempting to amend the Charter in fundamental respects. Their publicity ought to demonstrate interest in the operation of the great moral and political principles of the United Nations.

It was suggested to me here in Lenox about a week ago that it might be well for the United States Mission to the United Nations to invite these organizations to send their leaders to visit the United Nations. They are now invited, and will be welcomed by the Mission. A word from any of them to me will bring a more formal bid. Those who are unaware of the work that is there being done are building their house, without foundation, upon sand. Those who build upon achievement by the United Nations are like the "wise man, which built his house upon a rock:

"And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock."

It is the intention of the United States Mission to the United Nations to make its facilities increasingly available and to promote greater access by the public, including these organizations, to the material of the United Nations itself.

I think it is not too much to suggest that these organizations could, in their publicity, give energy to the leadership of the United States within the United Nations. They could support specific policies and operations.

In any event, if their emphasis must be upon the far-distant objective of world government, still they ought to see that by helping to improve United Nations methods and structure, and to support its policies and fundamental principles, they are taking the most direct course toward their ultimate objective.

The United Nations as it now stands is not only our best hope for peace, it is our only hope for peace. It represents the highest degree of cooperation that is possible today in the family of nations. Every long-range plan for a better, a more universal, and more effective international organization ought to be examined in the light of these questions: What does it do for the United Nations? What does it do to the organization we now have?

It must be clear that, in the long run, any policy that is good for the United Nations will represent realistic progress toward world government, and that all intelligent work for world government ought to be work for the United Nations.

Resolutions on the Palestine Question

U.N. doc. S/1376
Adopted August 11, 1949

I

The Security Council,

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the report of the Acting United Nations Mediator on Palestine, submitted upon the completion of his responsibilities,

Desires to pay special tribute to the qualities of patience, perserverance and devotion to the ideal of international peace of the late Count Folke Bernadotte, who stabilized the situation in Palestine and who, together with ten members of his staff, gave his life in the service of the United Nations, and

Desires to express its deep appreciation of the qualities of tact, understanding, perseverance and devotion to duty of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Acting United Nations Mediator on Palestine, who has brought to a successful conclusion the negotiation of armistice agreements between Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria on the one hand, and Israel on the other, and

Desires also to associate in this expression of appreciation the members of the staff of the United Nations Mission in Palestine, including both the members of the United Nations Secretariat and the Belgian, French, Swedish and United States Officers who served on the staff and as military observers in Palestine.

II

The Security Council,

HAVING NOTED with satisfaction the several armistice agreements concluded by means of negotiations between the parties involved in the conflict in Palestine in pursuance of its resolution of 16 November 1948 (S/1080);

Expresses the hope that the Governments and authorities concerned, having undertaken by means of the negotiations now being conducted by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, to fulfill the request of the General Assembly

in its resolution of 11 December 1948 to extend the scope of the armistice negotiations and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, will at an early date achieve agreement on the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

Finds that the armistice agreements constitute an important step toward the establishment of permanent peace in Palestine and considers that these agreements supersede the truce provided for in the resolutions of the Security Council of 29 May and 15 July 1948;

Reaffirms, pending the final peace settlement, the order contained in its resolution of 15 July 1948 to the Governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to observe an unconditional cease-fire and, bearing in mind that the several armistice agreements include firm pledges against any further acts of hostility between the parties and also provide for their supervision by the parties themselves, relies upon the parties to ensure the continued application and observance of these agreements;

Decides that all functions assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine having been discharged, the Acting Mediator is relieved of any further responsibility under Security Council resolutions;

Notes that the armistice agreements provide that the execution of those agreements shall be supervised by mixed armistice commissions whose Chairman in each case shall be the United Nations Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization or a senior officer from the observer personnel of that organization designated by him following consultation with the parties to the agreements;

Requests the Secretary-General to arrange for the continued service of such of the personnel of the present Truce Supervision Organization as may be required in observing and maintaining the cease-fire, and as may be necessary in assisting the parties to the armistice agreements in the supervision of the application and observance of the terms of those agreements, with particular regard to the desires of the parties as expressed in the relevant articles of the agreements;

Requests the Chief of Staff mentioned above to report to the Security Council on the observance of the cease-fire in Palestine in accordance with the terms of this resolution; and to keep the Palestine Conciliation Commission informed of matters affecting the Commission's work under the General Assembly resolution of 11 December 1948.

Provisional Agenda of the Fourth Regular Session of the General Assembly

U. N. doc. A/932
Dated July 22, 1949

To convene at the General Assembly Hall, Flushing Meadow, New York on Tuesday, 20 September 1949 at 11.00 a. m.

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Australia.
2. Appointment of a Credentials Committee.
3. Election of the President.
4. Constitution of the Main Committees and election of officers.
5. Election of Vice-Presidents.
6. Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter.
7. Adoption of the agenda.
8. Opening of the general debate.
9. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.
10. Report of the Security Council.
11. Report of the Economic and Social Council.
12. Report of the Trusteeship Council.
13. Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council.
14. Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council.
15. Election of two members of the Trusteeship Council.
16. Installation of the Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Security Council Affairs.
17. Admission of new Members: reports of the Security Council.
18. Palestine:
    (a) Proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area: report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (Resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948).
    (b) Protection of the Holy Places: report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (Resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948).
    (c) Assistance to Palestine refugees: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 212 (III) of 19 November 1948).
19. Question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies (Resolution 287 (III) of 18 May 1949).

20. Question of Indonesia (Resolution 274 (III) of 11 May 1949).
21. Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece: report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (Resolution 193 (III) of 27 November 1948).
22. The problem of the independence of Korea: report of the United Nations Commission on Korea (Resolution 195 (III) of 12 December 1948).
23. International control of atomic energy: report of the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission (Resolution 191 (III) of 4 November 1948).
24. Prohibition of the atomic weapon and reduction by one-third of the armaments and armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council: report of the Security Council (Resolution 192 (III) of 19 November 1948).
25. Report of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly (Resolution 196 (III) of 3 December 1948).
    (a) Promotion of international co-operation in the political field.
    (b) Constitution, duration and terms of reference of the Interim Committee.
26. United Nations Field Service: report of the Special Committee (Resolution 270 (III) of 29 April 1949).
27. Observance in Bulgaria and Hungary of human rights and fundamental freedoms (Resolution 272 (III) of 30 April 1949).
28. Economic development of under-developed countries: report of the Economic and Social Council (Resolution 198 (III) of 4 December 1948).
29. Draft Convention on Freedom of Information (Resolution 277 (III) of 13 May 1949).
30. Discriminations practised by certain States against immigrating labour and, in particular, against labour recruited from the ranks of refugees (Resolution 282 (III) of 16 May 1949).
31. United Nations Appeal for Children: report of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (Resolution 215 (III) of 8 December 1948).
32. International Bill of Human Rights. Right of petition (Resolution 217 (III) B of 10 December 1948).
33. Action taken in pursuance of the agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies: report of the Economic and Social Council (Resolution 50 (I) of 14 December 1946).
34. Administrative unions affecting Trust Territories: report of the Trusteeship Council (Resolution 224 (III) of 18 November 1948).
35. Question of South West Africa: report of the Trusteeship Council (Resolution 227 (III) of 26 November 1948).
36. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:
    (a) Summary and analysis of information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 218 (III) of 3 November 1948).
    (b) Information transmitted under Article 73 of the Charter: report of the Special Committee (Resolution 219 (III) of 3 November 1948).
37. Headquarters of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 242 (III) of 18 November 1948).
38. Financial report and accounts of the United Nations for the financial year ended 31 December 1948, and report of the Board of Auditors.
39. Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1949; report of the Secretary-General.
40. Budget estimates for the financial year 1950.
    (a) Budget estimates prepared by the Secretary-General.
    (b) Reports of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.
41. Unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for 1949 and advances from the Working Capital Fund: report of the Secretary-General.
42. Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (Resolution 238 (III) of 18 November 1948).
43. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund: Financial report and accounts for the financial year ended 31 December 1948, and report of the Board of Auditors.
44. Organization of a United Nations postal administration: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 232 (III) of 8 October 1948).
45. Establishment of an Administrative Tribunal: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 13 (I) IV, paragraph 11, of 13 February 1946).
46. Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:
    (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.
    (b) Committee on Contributions.
    (c) Board of Auditors.
    (d) United Nations Staff Pension Committee.
    (e) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointment made by the Secretary-General.

47. United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund: annual report of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee.
48. Expenses of the Permanent Central Opium Board. Assessment of non-members of the United Nations, signatories of the Convention of 19 February 1925 relating to narcotic drugs: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
49. Methods and procedures of the General Assembly: report of the Special Committee (Resolution 271 (III) of 29 April 1949).
50. Report of the International Law Commission.
    (a) Part I: General (Resolutions 174 (II), 177 (II) of 21 November 1947 and 260 (III) B of 9 December 1948).
    (b) Part II: Draft Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States (Resolution 178 (II) of 21 November 1947).
51. Permanent Missions to the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 257 (III) of 3 December 1948).
52. Reparation for injuries incurred in the service of the United Nations: advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 258 (III) of 3 December 1948).
53. Draft rules for the calling of international conferences: report of the Economic and Social Council (Resolution 173 (II) of 17 November 1947).
54. Registration and publication of treaties and international agreements: report of the Secretary-General.
55. Privileges and immunities of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General.
56. Approval of a supplementary agreement with the Universal Postal Union concerning the use of the United Nations *laissez-passer:* report of the Secretary-General.
57. Designation of non-member States to which a certified copy of the revised General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes shall be communicated by the Secretary-General for the purpose of accession to this Act: report of the Secretary-General (Resolution 268 (III) A of 28 April 1949).
58. Invitations to be addressed to non-member States to become parties to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: report of the Secretary-General (Article XI of the Convention, Resolution 260 (III) of 9 December 1948).
59. Application of Liechtenstein to become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice: report of the Security Council.
60. Plan for the reform of the calendar: item proposed by Panama.

Two Committees Established by U.N.

On April 29, 1949, the following Committees were established: Special Committee on Methods and Procedures of the General Assembly, with Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay as members; and Special Committee on United Nations Guard with Australia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Haiti, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States as members. For previous bodies and posts established during the third session, Part I, see BULLETIN of January 16, 1949, page 72.

United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography[1]

Security Council

Report Dated 22 April 1949 from the United Nations Commission for Indonesia Concerning the Military Situation in Indonesia. S/1314, April 29, 1949. 6 pp. mimeo.

Letter Dated 6 May 1949 from the Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States to the President of the Security Council transmitting a Report of the Administration of the British/United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste, 1 January to 31 March 1949. S/1318, May 6, 1949. 68 pp. mimeo.

Report Dated 9 May 1949 from the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to the President of the Security Council Concerning Discussions Between the Parties Pursuant to the Council's Directive of 23 March 1949. S/1320, May 9, 1949. 3 pp. mimeo.

Letter dated 26 November 1948, from the Acting Mediator addressed to the Secretary-General transmitting copies of communications to the Provisional Government of Israel and to the Governments of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan and Yemen. S/1090, November 29, 1948. 6 pp. mimeo.

Economic and Social Council

Measures To Increase Availability of Food. Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in connexion with Council res. 183 VIII. E/1339, May 19, 1949. 5 pp. mimeo.

Fifth Report of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination to the Economic and Social Council. E/1340, May 25, 1949. 19 pp. mimeo.

United Nations Appeal for Children. Report of the Secretary-General. E/1346, May 23, 1949. 8 pp. mimeo.

Availability of DDT Insecticides for Combatting Malaria in Agricultural Areas. E/1353, May 24, 1949. 25 pp. mimeo.

[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

[August 20–26]

UNSCCUR

More than 500 scientists from 49 countries attending the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources, in its second week at Lake Success, divided into groups for exchange of technical papers on five classes of resources: water, land, forests, wildlife, and fuels and energy. Specialized panel discussions have concerned the need for soil surveys, methods of improving forests and proper management, and the future of mineral reserves.

The scientists heard A. L. Levorsen, a United States geology professor, state that although known oil reserves in all parts of the world were enough to last only 20 years, present estimates of the total undiscovered deposits of petroleum are approximately 500 times current annual consumption. Any failure to meet world demands for oil over the next hundred years, Professor Levorsen said, would certainly not be due to a lack of reserves or the failure of technology to locate them. Experience, he continued, suggests that failure to find oil is more often the result of the lack of a healthy political and economic climate. Professor Levorsen's optimistic estimate of oil reserves was criticized by two other United States mineral experts who considered his statement overoptimistic.

At a panel discussion on minerals, an expert from the United States Bureau of Mines said that while there is no impending shortage of vital minerals in the world, the outlook for improvement of known reserves is "not too favorable."

In a meeting devoted to forest resources, one specialist expressed concern that the world is turning its eyes to the enormous timber reserves in Latin America and stressed the need to avoid destroying these forests by overexploitation. A representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization told him that that organization is concerned over the problem and has it under study.

Hugh H. Bennett, Chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service, declared that because of lack of conservation there are left only about 4 billion acres of immediately arable land in the world. This is not nearly enough to produce food for a growing world population, he said, unless modern conservation methods are applied more widely.

Conference on Protection of Nature

More than 100 delegates from 18 countries and 6 international organizations are attending the first International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature, which opened at Lake Success on August 22. This conference, sponsored by the UNESCO in collaboration with the International Union for the Protection of Nature, will study problems mainly concerned with the effects of "planned enterprises" on the balance of nature and the possible consequences on nature's equilibrium of the generalized use of antiparasitic products, such as DDT.

Kashmir

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan called off the proposed joint meetings of representatives of India and Pakistan on the implementation of a truce agreement. After the joint meetings in Karachi between military representatives of India and Pakistan resulted in the establishment of a cease-fire line for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Commission had hoped that a joint meeting at the ministerial level for the implementation of a truce agreement might bring worthwhile results. However, replies from the governments to the invitation of the Commission indicated that conflicting views held by the two governments in the negotiations of the past few months remained unaltered, and agreement even on the agenda could not be reached. The Commission, as sponsor of the proposed conference, therefore, felt that it would not be propitious nor would it better the cause to convene the meetings under these circumstances.

AEC Resolution

U.N. doc. AEC/42
Adopted July 29, 1949

The Atomic Energy Commission

HAS CONSIDERED the proposal of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (AEC/37) that the Atomic Energy Commission begin immediately to prepare a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and a draft convention for the control of atomic energy pro

ceeding from the principle that both conventions must be concluded and put into effect simultaneously;

HAS NOTED the statement of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the forty-fifth meeting of the Working Committee on Wednesday, 1 June 1949, that the proposals submitted by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on atomic energy in June 1946 and June 1947 should be taken as a basis for the elaboration of these draft conventions;

RECALLS that these same proposals, particularly those of 11 June 1947, have already been analysed in detail and rejected in April 1948 on the grounds that "they ignore the existing technical knowledge of the problem of atomic energy control, do not provide an adequate basis for the effective international control of atomic energy and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and, therefore, do not conform to the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission";

Recalls that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposal for the preparation of a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and a draft convention for the control of atomic energy to be concluded and brought into effect simultaneously was rejected by the General Assembly at the 157th plenary meeting in its third session on 4 November 1948, by 40 votes to 6, with 5 abstentions.

And recalls also that at the same time the General Assembly approved the "General Findings" (Part II C) and "Recommendations" (Uart III) of the first report and the specific proposals of Part II of the second report of the Commission, as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons in accordance with the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission;

The Atomic Energy Commission observes that no material has been presented additional to that previously submitted to the General Assembly, the Commission or the Working Committee;

The Atomic Energy Commission therefore concludes that no useful purpose can be served by further discussions in the Atomic Energy Commission of those proposals which have already been considered and rejected by the appropriate organs of the United Nations. The Atomic Energy Commission reports to the Security Council and the General Assembly accordingly.

ESOSOC Resolution on ICEF

U.N. doc E/1468
Adopted July 28, 1949

The Economic and Social Council,

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund,[1]

Records its appreciation that thirty-two Governments have contributed to the Fund, many of them for a second and third time, and that, in addition, millions of individuals have contributed to the United Nations Appeal for Children in 1948 and are doing so again in 1949;

Notes the steps taken by the Fund with respect to the United Nations Appeal for Children pursuant to General Assembly resolution 215 (III);

Notes the arrangements between the Fund and the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization whereby the fund in its programme relies so far as possible on these agencies for technical assistance and advice;

Notes the decision of the Executive Board of the Fund to report to the tenth session of the Council on a study to be conducted in co-operation with the Secretary-General, the Social Commission and interested specialized agencies with a view to developing recommendations as to methods of organization and procedure within the United Nations and the specialized agencies required to ensure that the continuing needs of children may be identified and given due emphasis and attention;[2]

Notes the decision of the Executive Board of the Fund regarding the French Government's generous offer to establish a Children's Centre in Paris providing facilities for instruction, demonstrations and research of an international character, and expresses its gratification at the type of collaboration offered by the Executive Board of WHO for the purpose of establishing the Centre;

Recommends to the Executive Board of the Fund that it make, in the light of the action taken by the Executive Board of WHO,[3] the necessary adjustments in the arrangements for the establishment and the administration of the Children's Centre in Paris, and keep the Council informed of the progress made in implementation of this project; and

Transmits the report of the Fund and this resolution to the General Assembly, drawing particular attention to the fact that further contributions are necessary to enable the Fund to carry out the programme it envisages for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1950.

[1] See U.N. doc. E/1406.
[2] See U.N. doc. E/1406, annex V.
[3] See U.N. doc. E/1431.

International Conference on Science Abstracting

by Verner W. Clapp

The International Conference on Science Abstracting, which met at Paris under the auspices of UNESCO during the week of June 20–25, was the latest in a series of meetings since the War to plan action for assuring that the published results of scientific research be made generally accessible to all scientists through abstracting and indexing media, for the dual purpose of providing prompt and reliable information on current developments and of supplying background information, which must be reviewed before a new project can be undertaken. Accounts of a number of the earlier meetings have previously appeared in the scientific literature, and from the total discussions a comprehensible program is beginning to emerge.

When UNESCO's Preparatory Commission called upon representatives of various professional groups in the summer of 1946 for suggestions for its future program, a principal point of unanimity in the recommendations was that something be done to keep each group up to date by means of indexes, bibliographies, and abstracts in the progress of its particular discipline. This was a large order, but its unanimity made it impossible to disregard. UNESCO has, consequently, taken the matter seriously, but because no single international organization could alone undertake the vast task of keeping the learned world informed on the details of scholarly progress, UNESCO's approach to the problem has been a cautious one—an attempt to ascertain what an international organization might achieve in this field merely as a stimulator of international collaboration.

The essential problem involved, as it affects the pure and applied natural sciences, can be simply stated. There were, according to an estimate made more than 10 years ago, some 750 thousand original articles published in these sciences each year. So many gaps were left by the existing abstracting machinery, however, that only about a third of the total number of articles was covered by abstracting journals. At the same time the rate of duplication was so high that the abstracted articles were abstracted an average of three times each. The problem then is to secure continually better organized coverage of original scientific publication, possibly in part through the reduction of present unnecessary duplication.

The first task in its role of stimulator of international collaboration in this field came early to UNESCO. In December 1946, only a few months after its creation, UNESCO lent its auspices to a two-nation discussion of plans for medical and biological abstracting. This initial meeting led to the formation of an Interim Coordinating Committee for Medical and Biological Abstracting in which United States groups, such as the American Medical Association, Medical Library Association, and *Biological Abstracts* were represented, and which, in a meeting at Paris on June 1–4 of this year, dropped the word Interim from its name (*1*, *2*, *3*).[1]

The recent conference on science abstracting generalized on the pattern which had been developed for medicine and biology. Plans for this discussion have been under way since 1947 when the General Conference of UNESCO gave instructions for the calling of a meeting of experts as early as possible in the next year in order to make plans for an international conference (*4*). The experts' meeting took place in April 1948, under the chairmanship of Dr. Alexander King of the Office of the Lord President of the Council, London, with Mrs. Eileen R. Cunningham of the

[1] Italic numbers in parentheses refer to literature citations, *post*, p. 294.

Medical Library Association and Dr. Evan J. Crane of *Chemical Abstracts* attending from the United States. This group drew up an agenda for the international conference, which was again endorsed by the General Conference of UNESCO at Beirut in November–December 1948, in the following resolution:

> [The Director General (of UNESCO) is instructed]: To aid the development of the indexing, abstracting and reviewing of scientific literature by promoting international collaboration, coordination and organization in these fields, and to that end to convene an International Conference on Scientific Abstracting (*5*).

Invitations to the international conference were sent out early this year, going not only to governments but also to international scientific organizations, abstracting services, and other interested organizations. In preparation for the conference UNESCO circulated an excellent 92-page working paper, prepared by Dr. Thérèse Grivet, on the *Present State of Science Abstracting Services and Possible Improvements* (*6*), and contracted with the International Federation for Documentation (FID) of The Hague for the preparation of a listing of current abstracting and indexing services, and of a study of their principal features (*7, 8*).

Meanwhile, interest in this subject has been taking organized form elsewhere. Although the United States is at present apparently the greatest producer of indexes and abstracts (the FID study shows over 192 thousand abstracts and 270 thousand indexed titles published here annually in services of 4 thousand or more items alone), organized interest in the coordination and improvement of these media for the benefit of the ultimate consumer was left before the War almost entirely to the librarians. Even the Joint Committee on Abstracting and Indexing in the Major Fields of Research, which represented ten professional associations and which made useful studies and suggestions from 1937 to 1945, was unable to enlist the active support of the scientific groups or to improve the situation (*9*). After the War, however, a combination of circumstances has forced a much wider consideration of the problem of bibliographic control of the published research records: the vastly increased amount of research, and of reports of research as well as the necessity for catching up on the wartime backlog, increasing costs of publication, the cessation of many prewar abstracting journals, and especially the great increase in government-sponsored research accompanied by the emergence of the mimeographed report. Symptomatic of this consideration, for example, is the recent establishment, within the Research and Development Board of the National Military Establishment, of a Special Committee on Technical Information, of which Dr. Detlov W. Bronk is chairman, and which contains other civilian as well as military representation. This committee is instructed to interest itself in "methods for the effective reporting, recording, reproducing, organization and dissemination of information relating to research and development as it affects the National Military Establishment," but the Board has stated that "it is taking the lead in this matter simply to fill an existing gap in the research and development plan of the nation and . . . it has no intention of encroaching upon the prerogatives of the civilian interests in this field when an adequate organization can be found to sponsor this activity" (*10*).

In Great Britain interest in the matter has also crystallized since the War, producing an effective and representative working organization. The Royal Society, responding to recommendations of two previous congresses, called in June–July 1948 an Empire-wide Conference on Scientific Information in which observers from the United States were permitted to participate (*11, 12*). This Conference has given rise to a continuing body, the Royal Society's Information Services Committee (*13*) which has already made some headway in treatment of the problems: it has brought together the representatives of British abstracting services in a subcommittee and has issued a directory of such services; it has issued an instruction regarding the preparation of "synopses" (abstracts published simultaneously with articles, under the responsibility of journal editors); it has promulgated a declaration of fair dealing in regard to copying from scientific periodicals; and it is now working on standards for bibliographic citation.

The foregoing were among the principal preliminaries to the Paris conference. In addition, following the designation of the United States delegation,[2] a conference was called at the National Academy of Sciences on May 25, 1949, under the joint sponsorship of the National Research Council, the Research and Development Board, and the Department of State. In this Conference were represented a number of abstracting services, scientific journals, and users or representatives of the users of abstracts. This meeting reviewed the agenda for the Paris conference, disapproved the suggestion made in Dr. Grivet's working paper for a new international nongovernmental organization to coordinate science abstracting, and went on record as favoring more fully coordinated interest and effort within the United States in matters relating to the bibliography of science.

[2] The U.S. delegation consisted of Dr. E. J. Crane (*Chemical Abstracts*), Dr. J. Murray Luck (Annual Reviews, Inc.) and Verner W. Clapp (Library of Congress), chairman; with Mrs. Eileen R. Cunningham (Vanderbilt University), Dr. John E. Flynn (*Biological Abstracts*) and Dr. Eugene W. Scott (Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development) as advisers. Norman T. Ball (Research and Development Board), Lawrence Bucans, John E. Burchard (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Dr. Dwight E. Gray (American Institute of Physics), Dr. Sanford V. Larkey (Johns Hopkins University, but representing the Army Medical Library), and R. H. Phelps (Engineering Societies Library) served as consultants.

These views were to a considerable degree sustained at the Paris conference itself, at which were assembled official delegations from 26 governments, 6 United Nations organizations, 35 international scientific organizations, in addition to observers from approximately 40 other organizations. The Conference had before it in draft a number of recommendations stemming from the working paper, and its work consisted for the most part in finding a common meeting ground of international and interprofessional opinion with respect to these recommendations. Thus, though the Conference promulgated no new and startling truths, its findings, expressed in some 30 substantive recommendations, may be considered the high point of agreement to date upon the state of the problem and on next steps to be taken in such matters as cooperation among abstracting services, the preparation and use of "synopses", standardization of terminology and nomenclature, the issuance of listings of abstracting services, and of periodicals abstracted, and coordination at the international level with respect to abstracting in chemistry, physics, and agriculture (*14*).

More promising, perhaps, than the specific recommendations of the Conference is the fact that the importance and the problems of science abstracting are now felt by a much wider circle than previously, and that a form of organization has been devised to channel this interest and responsibility. The Conference rejected the proposal for a new international nongovernmental office to coordinate science abstracting, on the supposition that to establish such an office would be merely to dodge responsibility at the national level and unnecessarily to multiply international organizations. Instead, the Conference recommended that UNESCO stimulate the creation of national (or regional) committees on science abstracting whose purpose would be to assure that the scientific publications of their regions are adequately listed and abstracted, that their regions are adequately supplied with abstracts and that the recommendations of the Conference are considered and, if possible, implemented. Subject committees at an international level might also be set up in cooperation with the national or regional committees through the international scientific unions or other appropriate international bodies. Since all these committees would act directly within their spheres of responsibility, UNESCO's role would continue to be one merely of stimulation and facilitation or that of a "clearing house."

The United States may therefore expect an invitation from UNESCO in the near future to esablish such a national committee. Such an invitation would tie in closely with present plans of the National Research Council to develop interest not only in abstracting but also in the larger problem of scientific communication.

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U. S. Delegation International Meeting on Herring and Allied Species

The Department of State announced on August 16 the United States delegation to the International Meeting on Herring and Allied Species to be convened at The Hague August 29, 1949, by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The delegation is as follows:

Chairman

A. W. Anderson, Chief, Branch of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

Delegates

Maurice Wallar, Acting Chief, Dairy, Poultry, Fish, Livestock and Meat Section, Food Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce

Charles Carry, Director, Fishery Products Division, National Canners Association

Advisers

R. W. Tyson, Chief, Special Commodities Branch, Food and Agriculture Division, Economic Cooperation Administration

R. H. Fiedler, Fisheries Specialist, Food and Agriculture Division, Economic Cooperation Administration

Lloyd Steere, Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs American Embassy, The Hague

Francis Linville, Division of International Resources, Department of State

The agenda for the meeting will include such subjects as production, processing, marketing and distribution, and prices. The Herring Commodity Study compiled by the FAO will also be discussed.

(*Continued on page 315*)

Testimony Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Military Assistance

STATUS OF WESTERN UNION DEVELOPMENT[1]

The most significant, and the first legal move toward the European unity which so many have talked about for so long, came about a little over 1 year ago with the signing of the Brussels treaty. Under the treaty, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom have agreed to cooperate among themselves to strengthen their economic, social, and cultural ties.

Because of the uncertain political situation in Western Europe and the fact that the continuation of a free, independent Western Europe seemed in jeopardy, there were written into the treaty important measures for collective self-defense. It was considered essential to take steps toward guaranteeing military security. Remarkable progress toward this goal has been made in 1 year.

It was recognized first that the five powers individually would be totally unable to hold off an all-out act of aggression. The central concept has been therefore to construct a unified military instrument able to offer effective resistance to any such threat.

To develop the program, The Western Union Defense Committee was established. This consists of the five Ministers of Defense, and holds the over-all responsibility of preserving the territorial and military integrity of Western Europe. To carry out the decisions of the Defense Committee, two other groups were set up, The Western Union Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Western Union Military Supply Board.

The former includes the chiefs of staff of the land, sea, and air forces, although normally each country is represented by only one chief of staff. This group is responsible for advising on every aspect of Western European defense.

The Supply Board advises the Defense Committee on all questions relating to military supplies, and consists of high ranking members from each of the five powers.

In addition, a Finance and Economic Committee was established to deal with the financial problems of these two groups.

To study the technical and tactical questions of Western European defense, the Brussels treaty governments appointed a Commanders-in-Chief Committee in 1948. The members of this committee are:

Chairman—Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein

Commander-in-Chief—Land Forces, General D'Armes Jean de Lattre de Tassigny

Commander-in-Chief—Air Forces, Air Chief Marshal Sir James Robb

Flag Officer, Western Europe—Vice Admiral Robert Jaujard

This committee holds in its hands the responsibility for preparing the plans for Western European defense and is responsible to the Western Union Chiefs of Staff. If aggression should occur, the committee would assume command of such forces of the Western Union countries as would be put at its disposal.

In considering how Western Europe can best be defended, the primary emphasis has been on mutual aid. The five powers now have a common organization for the use of their military forces; they have made estimates as to what each member should contribute in case of war; they know approximately what equipment will be necessary, and they are using what equipment they presently have on a mutual basis. In addition, each of the Brussels treaty powers has compulsory military training to maintain adequate reserves.

[1] Statement read into the record on Aug. 2, 1949, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and released to the press on Aug. 17, 1949. This statement is based on reports from U.S. officials in Europe.

Great progress has already been made in many fields of defense planning. A complete program for such defense has been drawn up, including the use of land, naval, and air forces. Already communication systems are operating among the participating nations.

To coordinate their defense plans, warships have been loaned from one Western Union country to another; jet aircraft are being provided until production can be increased in the recipient nations, military equipment which is surplus in one country has been distributed to others needing it; progress has been made in standardizing military equipment by a system of licensing; and technical and scientific knowledge in the field of military production has been pooled.

This exchange has carried over from the field of supplies into the field of personnel. Officers and men are being increasingly exchanged to attend military courses, and common training is also under consideration.

In this connection, of particular interest have been the joint air defense exercises at the end of June carried on by the British RAF with active contributions by the air arms of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France; and the more recent naval maneuvers, which carried out large-scale combined exercises. During these maneuvers, the combined fleets, together with the air forces, gave special attention to cooperating in the fields of defense of convoys against submarines and air attack, and also to joint minesweeping.

It is clear that the Western Union countries realize that adequate land, sea, and air forces be maintained. Under article four of the Brussels treaty, they have agreed to give to any member which is attacked all military and other aid and assistance in their power. Under the Atlantic pact, they have given further emphasis to this responsibility by agreeing to "continuous and effective self-help" and to expand their "capacity to resist armed attack."

In all these joint operations and in planning for Western European defense the major handicap is lack of equipment. For instance, to allow for the necessary expansion of the military structure in case of war, it is necessary to equip not only the peacetime forces but also to build up an adequate reserve of military supplies in case of emergency. This has not been possible thus far.

They are tremendously hindered by the fact that they do not have adequate supplies or the capacity to produce such supplies. Occupation by the enemy and/or the effect of 5 years of war on the normal process of maintaining, expanding, and improving their capital equipment played havoc with production. Further, a thoroughly agreed-on principle in the field of the rearmament of Western Europe is that economic recovery takes precedence over military production.

They are therefore unable to restore their military production to the necessary level, although they now possess the framework of a military instrument able to absorb such production. They are, moreover, faced with the fact that the lack of capital equipment is hindering production increase, and the fact that their inadequate production is hindering the supply of capital equipment.

Much emphasis is being laid on the importance of standardizing arms and equipment to aid joint operations. Toward the end of the war many of the Western European nations were provided with American equipment with which they have made a start toward rebuilding their military forces. This in itself has meant a considerable standardization between the Western Union countries. With limited economic resources, however, replacement of existing equipment has been largely impossible by new production. Standardization therefore can only be thought of in long-range terms. Along these lines, much work has been done, and much progress been made in the fields of research and development.

Joint operations are being extended into every phase of military planning. The Western Union countries have agreed on common operational plans and codes in the field of tactics, including the common use of maps and charts; tactical and technical manuals are being exchanged on a mutual basis; and the mutual solving of operational problems has extended beyond into the field of logistics. These joint efforts extend to details such as providing and issuing trilingual glossaries and the translation of manuals into three languages.

It is now obvious that Western Union is no longer a mere plan on paper. It is grown into an operating unit, which has made real progress during its 1 year of existence. Its members have made and are making great sacrifices to a common cause. The mere fact of Western Union has had a great effect on the will of the peoples to resist aggression. Cooperation among the five powers is increasing steadily.

Despite tremendous strides made in the field of economic production, however, the chief problem remains that of supply. It seems impossible that this problem can be solved without United States military assistance.

AID TO ITALY, FRANCE, AND NORWAY

Statement by James Clement Dunn, American Ambassador to Italy [1]

At the close of the war Italy was in dire economic and political distress. There was not enough bread to feed Italy's 46 million people. Chaos and disorganization were rampant. The

[1] Made on Aug. 5, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

orces working for Communism counted on hunger nd unemployment to secure for them a mandate rom the people. They participated in Italy's overnment and confidently expected to take over fter the departure of the Allied troops. Many bservers fully believed that Italy might just as ell be written off as a certain prey for the forces f aggressive totalitarianism and that the Italian eople's new-won democratic freedom was to be of hort duration.

You all know today how much in a few years his grave situation has changed for the better. Many of you personally have seen and praised the ccessful efforts of the hard-working Italian eople to rehabilitate their country. You all now that only with their courageous efforts and e help which has been provided to Italy by the nited States, first in the form of relief and rehalitation and subsequently under the European ecovery Program, could this tremendous change ave been possible. The point I should like parcularly to put before you now is that the task is ot yet finished in Italy. The culmination of our olicy for a democratic, free, and independent aly, freely associated with the other democracies the preservation of their liberty, is the assistce we can give her to maintain her security.

In their postwar development the Italian people ave been steadily confronted with two fears of a ndamental character. If Italy is to survive as democracy, those two fears must be conquered. he first was a sense of insecurity based upon the thless character and aggressive tactics of totalirian elements within Italy itself who have idely proclaimed their willingness to turn to rce if their aims could not be achieved by demoatic process. This fear has now to a great exnt been lessened: first, by the impact of United ates aid on the Italian economy; second, by the ections in April of last year of a strongly promocratic government; and, third, by the governent's ability to maintain public order in Italy spite the threats of violence and efforts of innidation on the part of totalitarians. I can fely say to you that with a stable government hich is afforded the means to protect the freedom democracy in Italy, this first fear will be permantly licked.

The second fundamental fear which has plagued e Italian people has been their insecurity arisg from Italy's vulnerable and exposed internaonal position. She is strategically important cause her geographic position in the Mediternean makes her a land bridge to North Africa d, with Sicily, a gate to the central Mediternean. She has a valuable and vulnerable rthern industrial area and great reserves of illed technical labor. The strategic conseences to the United States, which would result om an occupation of the Italian peninsula by an aggressor are unquestionably of importance, as is the desirability of supporting the will of the Italians to defend their country and their democracy in cooperation with the other democratic nations of Europe.

This sense of international insecurity has been heightened by the vision of aggressive policy in the east with its consequences for the satellite nations, and also by the provisions of the Italian peace treaty which have placed Italy's frontier on terrain not easily defensible, have forbidden fortification of a defense zone behind this weakened frontier and have drastically reduced her armed forces.

The totalitarian elements in Italy had hoped that the Italian people, overcome by fear, would supinely bow to the aggressive menace of the east. The North Atlantic pact has delivered a most telling blow against this fear and against those who have argued that Italy should not risk association with the other democracies in protecting themselves against aggression. The fact of Italy's being in the Atlantic pact and that Italy will give and receive mutual assistance with other associated nations for the strengthening of her defenses will result in dissipation of this second fear. It has and will continue to strengthen the forces of Italy working for democracy.

In mentioning mutual assistance among the signatory nations of the Atlantic pact, I should like to stress the economic and social situation peculiar to Italy among the Atlantic Pact signatories. Italy has a working population beyond the ability of present Italian industry and agriculture to absorb. This population with its will to work can profitably help the other members of the pact. In addition to this there is, in certain fields, an industrial capacity in Italy in excess of present requirements. In a relatively short time it should be possible, with a reasonable amount of outside aid, to develop a program of manufacture and export of subsidiary equipment permitted by the peace treaty.

The Military Assistance Program now before you for consideration is of crucial importance insofar as Italy is concerned. The Italian people are willing and eager to shoulder their proper responsibilities and risks in defense of democratic civilization, and they are determined to preserve their independence and individual liberty. This frame of mind has been made possible, to a great extent, by the policy of the United States in making every effort to assist Italy in overcoming those forces which have sought to bring disintegration and totalitarianism to the Italian people. That policy has borne fruition in Italy's decision to enter the North Atlantic pact in spite of the risks involved. It must be kept in mind that the peace treaty limits the military forces which Italy is permitted to acquire for her security, but even those minimum forces are at present considerably below strength in quality and quantity of certain critical items of equipment. Many of these items

can only be supplied with dollar assistance from this country. If Italy is assisted in bringing her forces up to treaty strength, her valuable industrial resources and geographical location will no longer be so vulnerable to easy aggression. With renewed confidence in her future as a part of the democratic world, the magnificent energies of her people can make a valuable contribution to the freedom, security, and prosperity of the United States and the Western European community.

Statement by James Bruce, American Ambassador to France[2]

In contemplating the advisability of extending American military assistance to France, I should suppose that the members of Congress would be primarily interested in two considerations: one, is such aid necessary; and, second, if granted, is it likely to be effectively used?

Necessity for Aid

I shall not attempt, in this presentation, to deal with some of the broader aspects of the European security problem, which will be covered in detail by other testimony. I would, however, like to point out that the measure of cooperation in political, economic, and defense matters which has been achieved by the free nations of Europe in the last 12 months is little short of startling. Considering the traditional established separatist tendencies of these partners, it is not inaccurate to say that more progress toward a unification of Western Europe has taken place in the past year than had been dreamed of in preceding centuries.

The initial drive imparted by the Marshall Plan has spread in several directions, so that today we witness the operations of the Brussels treaty, linking five powers together, with its defense committee evolving plans for concerted action as well as the proceedings of a Council of Europe which through a consultative assembly will provide the first European forum for discussion of matters of joint concern.

In turning our attention to the necessity of military aid to France, we must frankly appraise the present effectiveness of the French defense establishment. It will be freely admitted by impartial observers, including realistic patriots in France, that this establishment is not now capable of even a delaying action of consequence against a well-equipped and aggressive enemy intent on conquest. In spite of the expenditure by the French Government of more than 30 percent of the ordinary budgetary revenues on the maintenance of army, navy, and air forces, what was once deemed the finest army in Europe is no longer in any condition to counter the determined onslaught of a large and thoroughly modernized hostile force.

The naval and air elements have always in France been subordinate in importance to the ground forces, and their capabilities today are not such as to justify optimistic hopes.

The truth is that in order to be a potent military factor in the event of the outbreak of war directed against Western Europe within the next few years, France must have modern military equipment.

This can only happen if assistance is provided by the United States. Short of such assistance, the resources of France are inadequate both in quantity and quality for her to play an effective military role.

In addition to the material shortcomings of the French defense system, a grave and important psychological consideration is involved. The convalescence of this country has been greatly hampered and retarded by the paralyzing fear of another war, and of the immediate consequence to be expected in the event of such a conflict.

The French people cannot forget that they live only a few hundred miles from the poised armies of a nation whose government has openly proclaimed its intention of world dominion and which disposes of one of the most powerful armies of modern times. They cannot forget that the outbreak of every recent continental war has resulted rapidly in the invasion of France. They know that the enemy occupation of 1940–44 was more complete and more ruthless than that of 1914–18; they expect that another invasion and occupation would be even more ruthless, and that the attendant destruction would probably spell the end of the French nation and of the French people. They also realize that their present armed forces could not defend France against an external attack, and that invasion in the existing circumstances would be almost certain of success.

Liberation in due course might indeed come, but as one of their leading statesmen lately remarked it might well prove to be the liberation of a corpse.

Why, it may be asked, do not the assurances implicit in the Atlantic pact suffice to allay French fears? The French are apprehensive that any aid so forthcoming might prove to be too little and too late.

They will only gain a sense of security if, in addition to the assurances contained in the Atlantic pact, France disposes of a military establishment sufficiently strong to discourage aggression, and to withstand an initial assault should it come. Rightly or wrongly they estimate that only the strength which the Military Assistance Program can provide can guarantee that the pact, if article 5 had to be implemented, could be implemented in time to save France from being overrun.

A corollary question is more delicate, more complicated, but perhaps not difficult to answer. Why should the French doubt American inten-

[2] Made on Aug. 5, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

tions to come immediately to their rescue, if the Atlantic pact were ratified even though the Military Assistance Program failed of passage? The answer is that the record of history in the last 30 years, as seen through French eyes, shows that assurances and intentions have not been sufficient to prevent the successful invasion and destruction of France.

Aid given by this program to France would be the most convincing form of reassurance of our determination to defend the civilization of the west. It would show, also, that we have confidence in our allies, that we are ready, even before the pact can be implemented, to provide them with weapons and equipment which we might have kept for ourselves, and that practical measures for the defense of French soil from the beginning of hostilities are an essential part of our military plans. The French are not satisfied by the idea of a stand in the Pyrenees after their country has been devastated. They are not satisfied by the idea that enemy cities will be obliterated by atomic bombs or that their own cities will be liberated after they have been reduced to piles of ruins. French confidence in the future depends on a reasonable expectation of national security.

Confidence in the future will mean that the French Government and people will cooperate more effectively and industriously in the rebuilding of the national economy. A sense of insecurity discourages investment, encourages the flight of capital, and turns men's minds away from the great tasks of international cooperation which lie before us all. Conversely, a sense of confidence favors the achievement of reconstruction and of the creation of wealth and commerce of a national and international plane, which it is one of the objectives of our foreign policy to promote.

Effective Use of Proposed Aid

If granted, is this aid likely to be effectively used? Obviously, only a prophet can answer this correctly. In attempting to do so we must again face facts frankly. There has been much talk about how the French did not fight ardently in the last war, and will never fight again. Those who indulge in such talk speak largely from prejudice or from ignorance.

Over a period of several hundred years the French have always valiantly defended their soil. True, they were overrun in World War II by the fierce onslaught of the German armies, but it should be remembered that reckoned in the most conservative terms the losses of France in the war were 154 thousand men killed in combat; over 1 million were isolated as prisoners of war and 800 thousand were deported to Germany, of whom 225 thousand were killed or died there. 30 thousand men and women were killed or tortured to death for patriotic resistance, and 65 thousand civilians died in air raids or in combat.

As you know the United States provided considerable quantities of United States equipment to those French forces which were organized after the fall of France. These units contributed immeasurably to the Allied victory. Their performance in Italy was outstanding and they played an important role in the invasion of Southern France, the advance across the Rhine and the march into Germany.

This is not a negligible outpouring of blood judged by any standard, and for sheer loss of life these figures more than bear comparison with our own losses in the last war in proportion to population.

As to whether the French will ever fight again, one can only judge the future by the past. They are as a people vibrant with love of country. They are industrious, courageous, tenacious. That they would again fight effectively if not well armed and if the outlook seemed hopeless is perhaps too much to expect but I believe it unquestionable that if properly armed, and with full assurance of our immediate retaliation and backing against any attacker, they will fight as they always have in their history with the enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice that inspire those who defend their freedoms.

They need comparatively little to enable them, together with the full use of their own resources, to begin building up once more armed forces that would serve as a bulwark against invasion. Our experience in two wars of entering upon the scene of conflict after the invader has consolidated his position is one that has proved highly costly to us in lives and treasure. The method envisaged by the Military Assistance Program of aiding our friends at the earliest possible time to defend themselves in order that we should thereby defend ourselves too seems as financially expedient as it is strategically wise.

Statement by Charles Ulrich Bay, American Ambassador to Norway[3]

I shall endeavor to point out the importance of this program to Norway, a small but courageous nation, which has determined to stand with the Western Democracies in a common front against potential aggression.

First, I should like to give the Committee an outline of the record of Norway's own preparation to resist aggression and, against this background, to outline both the need for assistance and the consequences of failure to receive it. I want to tell the Committee of the brave and conscientious efforts of this small nation to defend its territorial

[3] Made on Aug. 5, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

and political integrity, a nation which is willing, and in my opinion will, contribute directly to the security of the United States.

Section 1. Norway's Postwar Preparations to Resist Aggression

When the Norwegian Government in exile returned to a prostrate Norway in 1945, the economic problems of reconstruction were tremendous. The Norwegian Government and people welcomed Secretary Marshall's speech of June 1947 and have given the ERP their wholehearted support. They regard the program as the most practical step in the rehabilitation of the European economy. I know of no country that has responded more readily nor more fully in cooperating with the United States and its European neighbors in sincere efforts to assure the success of the program. Norway understands the significance of the joint efforts to restore European economy through the revival of all national economies. The Norwegians agree with the American view that full employment and maximum production tend to eliminate one of the major sources of Communist agitation.

As a principal plank in the program to establish a healthy domestic economy, the Norwegian Government, soon after liberation, embarked on long-range plans for rebuilding the nation's Merchant Marine. This effort resulted in a most austere life for the average citizen. Despite hardships with which the people have had to contend in scarcities of food, clothing and housing, the public has scarcely grumbled.

ECA funds cannot, of course, be diverted to military equipment nor to assist Norway directly in building up her defenses. Such funds are earmarked specifically for economic recovery, and their use for any other purposes would not only be contrary to the best interests of Norway but would be subject to adverse propaganda if so utilized. The Norwegians realize that economic recovery must come first. Economically, however, the failure to provide military assistance would have widespread effects since Norway would then need to seek from its own meager economic and industrial resources, to reconstruct its armed forces. An intolerable burden would be placed on people who already are among the most heavily taxed of all democracies. If adequate defenses were to be built out of its own resources alone, Norwegian economic recovery would be jeopardized, and the beneficial aspects of Marshall Plan aid would largely be limited. Its economic reconstruction would suffer, and the over-all result would be that instead of having a viable economy, Norway would fall back into the hopeless period immediately following the war.

The sudden evolution of Norway from a neutral power in the opening months of World War II into an active combatant with a government in exile, transformed a nation with a long tradition of isolation and neutrality into a militant advocate of cooperation, both political and military. From April 9, 1940, to the present, Norway never failed to give evidence of determination to play a most active part in cooperating with the freedom-loving democracies in resisting aggression.

Immediately following the liberation of Norway, the government embarked on a vigorous campaign to punish war criminals, quislings, and collaborators. In liquidating the residue of Fascism, Norway took its first step in eliminating the threat of revival of a totalitarian minority organization.

Sixteen months ago the labor government of Norway urged trade unions to vote Communists out of executive boards of the several unions. There was a sustained campaign to that end throughout 1948 in all parts of the country. Today there is scarcely any union of consequence in which the Communists exercise control.

In February 1948, Norway was shaken by events in Czechoslovakia and by the Soviet offer of a mutual-assistance pact to Finland. The government immediately went on record in expressing its intention to reject any similar offer of a mutual defense pact which might in the future be tendered to Norway by the U.S.S.R.

Shortly thereafter the Norwegian Parliament took the unprecedented step of eliminating the influence of Communist members of the Foreign Relations Committee. A new committee was established from which Communists were excluded and to which all matters relating to foreign affairs as they may affect the security of Norway were to be referred.

Later Norway met with Governments of Sweden and Denmark in an effort to explore the possibilities of establishing a Scandinavian mutual-defense pact which the Norwegians insisted must be framed to permit association with the Western powers. As you all know, Sweden insisted that members of any such pact should refrain from association with any other powers. On this division of opinion, efforts to reach agreement foundered.

From that moment Norway felt free to seek membership in the Atlantic pact. Its courage as a contiguous neighbor of U.S.S.R. in seeking adherence to the association of Atlantic democracies to resist aggression was applauded by all peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain.

Its adherence to the Atlantic pact was the greatest single step in Norway's history of resistance to aggression. Despite fears of retaliatory measures by the U.S.S.R., despite opposition by a Communist minority and left wing sympathizers in Parliament and warnings of advocates of the "Scandinavian bloc", Norwegians approved the association with the Atlantic pact by an overwhelming vote both in the Labor Party Congress

and in the Storting. Not only did the pact find approval with Norwegians from the south and west, but representatives from Finnmark, the province next to Soviet territory, voted unanimously to adhere to the pact. Throughout discussion of the pact, the Norwegians indicated their confidence in the ability and willingness of the United States and the United Kingdom to supply arms so sorely needed to make the Norwegian military a potent instrument of defense.

The fact that the Norwegians came into the pact, provides conclusive evidence to me that they will defend their territory against any aggression from within or without that might threaten their freedom. Failure to give them means now to make such defense effective could be most serious for the Norwegian's Government and economy. There is no lethargy in Norway's will to put itself in the best possible position to defend its independence. We may rest assured that Norway will more than pull its own weight as a member of the Atlantic pact.

With domestic, political, and economic affairs in good order and with justified pride in their postwar record of cooperation, the Norwegians look upon the Military Assistance Program as a step urgently required now to assist them in their own efforts to build up satisfactory defense forces. In Norway there is no hesitancy to recognize the need to build up Norwegian military potential through Norwegian self-help. Despite all Communist efforts to slash the defense budget both for regular forces and the home guard, labor members of Parliament supported by all so-called Bourgeois Party members have refused to permit any paring of what they consider the largest appropriations Norway can afford. The government, Parliament, and the press have maintained an active interest in all measures designed to prepare Norway to resist aggression from within or without.

Section 2. The State of Military Preparedness in Norway

The general deficiencies confronting the Norwegian military establishment are those which can only be expected of a small nation facing the necessity of building up her armed forces from scratch in a very brief time. Remember at the end of a 5-year ruthless enemy occupation, Norway had no army, no air force, and but a minuscule navy. After the occupation of Norway, a strong renaissance of nationalism was evidenced throughout the entire population. Never again should Norway be entirely defenseless and an easy prey to an aggressor. In the future, an aggressor should and would be met with determined resistance to the extreme limits of Norway's economic and human resources.

To that end Norway set about determinedly rebuilding its defense forces. This was doubly difficult in view of the need to repair the ravages of occupation. Considering the fact that Norway is in but its third year of reconstruction, it is only natural that great deficiencies in its armed forces should still exist and will continue to exist for years to come unless alleviated from outside sources. Norway, by her own efforts, is unable to correct these deficiencies.

There exists in Norway a heterogeneous mass of obsolete, obsolescent, as well as current material, left over from the occupation and purchased after the war's end. Weapons, on hand, can and will furnish the bulk of arms and equipment for the armed forces but to that must be added a considerable quantity of material which only the United States can furnish if Norway is to be able to use its trained manpower potential efficiently and with telling effect in a common cause. By supplying certain specialized and badly needed equipment to bring the Norwegian forces up to an acceptable modern standard, Norway can and will be a definite military asset to the United States in time of war, and her strength will serve to deter aggression in time of peace.

The need for furnishing direct dollar assistance to Norway for the purpose of building up her national military establishment is probably not very great since the Norwegian armament industry is negligible, quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Norway has however the raw materials for ferroalloys, electric steels, and nitrate explosives which could be exchanged for finished military products from other Western European countries.

Norway has submitted a minimum list of military requirements necessary to build its national military establishment into a well-rounded, effective force within the trained manpower capabilities of the country. The list has been carefully screened by the United States and is a basically sound estimate of the bona fide needs of the Norwegian forces. This material will enable them to take to the field and render an excellent account in combat and constitute a valuable part of the Atlantic defense mechanism.

Section 3. Effect of Norway's Weakness on U.S. Security

One must not lose sight of the part Norway plays in the U.N. A charter member of the U.N., Norway was recently elected to the Security Council and is an active participant in several organs of the U.N. Needless to say, a strong self-confident and independent Norway can be regarded as a useful constructive U.N. member.

A well armed Norway will be an incalculable asset to the purposes of the Atlantic Pact. Although Norway's contributions to the Atlantic Pact may be small in terms of men and equipment, we need only to recall the threat provided in the last war to the Atlantic area by German forces in Norway to realize the value of its natural facilities. Nor must we forget the magnificent

merchant fleet Norway can place at the disposal of its colleagues. If Norway can remain strong and free and can, in the event of hostilities, assist in providing facilities for operations against the aggressor, that contribution toward mutual aid will more than offset any sacrifice required from the United States.

Norway's fighting forces are capable, with our assistance, of filling their domestic and international responsibilities. Failure to provide material aid would mean a Norway that might be incapable of (1) preserving domestic tranquillity, (2) maintaining public confidence, and (3) defending Norway against aggression. In preserving domestic tranquillity Norwegian forces must be of sufficient strength and have sufficient prestige to discourage any attempts of subversive elements to obtain control of the government through the use of force. Equipment, training, and morale must be such as to inspire public confidence in Norway's ability to give a good account of itself if put to the test. Armed forces of this small but strategically placed nation must be adequate to assure a reasonable defense against all but an overwhelming act of aggression.

In conclusion, I should like again to recall the respect and admiration with which the free world greeted the decision of Norway to participate in the Atlantic pact despite clear indications of Soviet displeasure. This brave, rugged, and determined country, whose strategic importance in the defense of Western Europe was so dramatically demonstrated in the last war, has made unmistakably clear her resolve to make the necessary sacrifices for the freedom and dignity of her citizens. She has done this despite the exhaustion following 5 years of severe enemy occupation, despite her exposed geographical position, and despite her having exacted as great sacrifices from her people in the interest of recovery as any country in Europe. She has done this in the hope and faith that the United States will aid her in the defense problems which she is unable fully to meet with her own slender resources.

Germany's Role in World Markets

Following are adapted excerpts of an address by Mr. N. H. Collisson, ECA Deputy Special Representative for Western Germany, at the opening of the ERP Export Show in Munich July 7[1]

The ERP export show in Munich where more than 100 Bavarian firms are represented, is an outstanding display of the type of export goods which roll from multifarious production lines. German goods are in demand throughout Europe and in other sections of the commercial world. But this fact should not lull one into believing that you have but to produce and the seller will appear automatically at your doorstep. The harsh economic facts of this highly competitive world would soon disillusion him who stands and waits. The world will not beat a path to the German door. Quite to the contrary. The German must get out and sell his goods in just the same manner as do the British, the French and the others who are seeking to increase their export trade.

One of the greater tasks facing German exporters and manufacturers is to bring their prices into line. It is easy to point out the problem. It is not easy to offer a solution. There are many here in Germany who blame their troubles upon the currency conversion rate of the D-Mark. But no amount of currency adjustment can overcome some of the more fundamental economic facts which cause high prices. Production costs must be tailored to a reasonable selling price rather than the selling price adjusted to production costs. New methods of production must be studied by the German manufacturer. Experts should go to other European lands and to America to study the newest, most up-to-date production methods. Conversely, European experts and American engineers should come to Germany to help. In this exchange of technical knowledge the Marshall Plan is ready to help under its technical assistance program, which envisions the exchange of industrial knowledge among the participating countries.

Closely allied to the problem of making goods at a price for which they can be sold is the problem of diversifying trade among the nations of the world. A ready flow of goods, not merely between two nations but among all countries must be achieved if the goals of the Marshall Plan are to be reached. Inherent in this multilateralization of commerce are the unencumbered exchange of currencies, the removal of customs barriers and traffic, elimination of disparities between domestic and export prices, and a termination of monopolistic practices, whether by nations or individuals.

None of these objectives can be attained by other than a common approach to these continental ob

[1] Reprinted from *Information Bulletin*, U.S. Military Government in Germany, July 26, 1949.

stacles by the entire community of Marshall Plan nations. Narrow, selfish, nationalistic thinking cannot meet the problem of European recovery. There must be a wholehearted common cooperative effort by all the European nations to meet their mutual problems. In that cooperative approach German representatives will be asked to represent Germany in international councils, not merely as Germans but as Europeans. Just as the German people are assuming the responsibilities of governing themselves, so must they also face the responsibility of participating in an international and European movement.

It has been claimed, and no doubt with most justice, that it is much easier for the American to think in European terms than it is for the European. But the Munich export show gives ample indication that German tradesmen and manufacturers have in the past and still do think in European terms. Many of these goods will find their way to France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and the other countries whose common effort contributes to the European Recovery Program. It is time now for not only businessmen, but for German leaders, politicians and the people themselves to think as Europeans. If this is done, and if the people of the Marshall Plan countries continue to work and to plan on a common community basis, the vision which was George C. Marshall's will have been brilliantly fulfilled.

The German Elections

A VICTORY FOR MODERATION AND COMMON SENSE

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 17*]

The outcome of the West German elections is viewed by this government as a victory for moderation and common sense. Some of the nationalistic and critical utterances of the candidates during the campaign can be viewed as normal manifestations of the democratic process and a release of long pent-up emotions after 16 years of dictatorship and military rule. Freedom to indulge in constructive criticism of the occupying powers, as part and parcel of the democratic process, and the Germans cannot be denied this privilege if they are to establish a truly democratic system. The Germans may well be reminded, however, that they are exercising these freedoms only because they are privileged to live under the jurisdiction of freedom-loving nations, and that abuse of such freedoms may alienate Western sympathies while failing to serve the best interests of the German people.

The results of the balloting, however, represent a triumph for the moderate parties which are fully committed to a democratic political system. The extremist parties of the right and left together polled less than 15 percent of the total vote and will control less than 10 percent of the seats in the new assembly. The unexpectedly large participation of nearly 80 percent of the eligible voters is gratifying evidence that the Germans have taken seriously their new civic responsibilities.

This government is committed to the policy, which I believe is the only sound and democratic one, of permitting the Germans to work out their own internal problems with a minimum of outside interference. The United States has consistently refrained from intervention in German decisions concerning domestic institutions and policies except to the extent necessitated by our international commitments. We naturally welcome the results of this election insofar as they indicate a decision by the Germans to seek a solution of their economic difficulties through a system of free enterprise. But I wish to make it clear that the Germans remain entirely free, so far as we are concerned, to deal with this matter in their own fashion, providing always there is no contravention of democratic principles or of international obligations.

It is now expected that the newly elected assembly (Bundestag) will meet on September 7, and that a President of the Republic will be elected shortly thereafter. This will be followed by the appointment of a Chancellor (corresponding to Prime Minister). We anticipate that by the middle or latter part of September, the new German Government will be established, and that the High Commission for Germany will replace the existing military government organization. The Occupation Statute, as agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers on April 8, will then become operative, on a definite date yet to be established. The Federal Republic of Germany will then be free to exercise the usual prerogatives of an established government, subject only to the limited controls which are specified in the Occupation Statute and to such additional restraints as may be imposed in the general interest by such bodies as the International Authority for the Ruhr.

ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTIONS

The Department of State issued the following statement on August 15 on the analysis of the German elections of August 14:

The outcome of Sunday's election for the first Parliament of the German Federal Republic is viewed with gratification as demonstrating the

restoration of normal democratic processes in the greater part of Germany after an interruption of 16 years.

Participation in the election was higher than anticipated, amounting to 78.5 percent of all eligible voters.[1] This indicates that efforts of extremist groups to boycott the election failed. The balloting was quiet and without incident.

In spite of the strong nationalistic appeals of the campaign, the results represent on the whole a victory for the moderate groups. The Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union were, as expected, fairly evenly matched in the voting, with the latter winning a slight plurality of seats in the Bundestag.

Both major parties held their normal strength well in spite of attacks from extremist factions of right and left. Inasmuch as no party has gained a majority, the resulting government will necessarily represent a coalition of two or more groups.

One striking feature of the election was the failure of the Communist Party even to hold the small strength it had shown in former state elections. Its voting strength, which never exceeded 10 percent in any district, declined from 30 to 50 percent in various areas and amounts to less than 6 percent of the total votes cast. It will now rank only sixth in the number of seats and will be little more than a "splinter party" in the new assembly.

The "National Front" appeal of the Communists apparently made little impression upon the voters. We are pleased to note that the Berlin City Council apparently selected its eight observer-delegates to the new Parliament.

Technical Projects for Bizone of Germany

[*Released to the press by ECA on August 16*]

Approval of two technical assistance projects designed to aid in the recovery efforts of the Bizone of Germany were announced on August 16 by the Economic Cooperation Administration in Washington and Frankfort.

Under the two projects, five thermal engineers and four gas-production experts will come to the United States for a month's study of American methods in these fields. The arrival dates for the German specialists will be announced later.

The projects are the first to be requested under ECA's technical assistance program by the Government of Western Germany.

In connection with the study by the thermal engineers, ECA's special mission to the Bizone pointed out that the development of efficient thermal power stations is an essential part of the Bizone's over-all electric program. The program, as submitted to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), provides for the installation of 3 million KWH's additional capacity by 1952–53.

The mission, in recommending approval of the study by the gas-production experts, reported that the gas shortage in Western Germany was hampering the reactivation of industries and said the studies would be helpful in the reconstruction of the German gas industry.

The specialists will be selected by the Bizonal technical assistance projects screening committee.

The thermal engineers are interested in learning of American experience gained in the last 15 years, including information concerning (1) general design of steam-power stations, (2) application of material for boilers of high pressure and temperature, (3) operation of cyclone burners using unpulverized small coal, (4) use of superheaters, (5) cleaning of flue gas and utilization of ashes, (6) district heating-power stations, and (7) standardization of equipment.

The gas-production experts will seek information concerning (1) organization in the operation of gas works, (2) latest gas production methods, (3) operation of coal crushing and mixing plants, (4) piping network, (5) transmission over long distances and control of dust accumulations in the pipe line, (6) measuring methods, (7) uses of gas, and (8) perfecting of domestic gas appliances.

ECA expenditures for the two projects, estimated at $2,800 for the thermal engineers and $2,240 for the gas-production experts, will include travel and subsistence costs for the visitors while in the United States.

ECA Promotes Off-Season Travel to Europe

[*Released to the press by ECA on August 10*]

Plans are being made for the promotion of fall and winter travel to Europe by Americans, the Economic Cooperation Administration announced on August 10 in emphasizing that tourists' dollars play an important role in economic recovery of Western European countries.

The European Travel Commission, recognized by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation as its official advisory body on travel,

[1] Twenty-five million West German voters of the 31,000,000 eligible cast ballots giving the Christian Democrats 7,357,579 votes or 139 seats in the lower house, Social Democrats 6,932,272 votes or 131 seats, Free Democrats 2,788,653 votes or 52 seats, and Communists 1,360,443 votes or 15 seats. Not one Communist delegate was elected, and the party was forced to reply on a partial proportional representation system to salvage 15 seats in the 402-member Parliament.

elieves the development of so-called off-season ravel now is its No. 1 job because existing trans-ort facilities are taxed to capacity during the ummer.

The Commission's plans include:

(1) Creation of a series of special events, such s fairs, exhibitions, conventions, conferences, and eminars to attract specialized groups of Ameri-ans to Europe.

(2) Popularizing Europe as a winter-sports ecca.

(3) Expansion of student, teacher, and youth-ostel travel.

(4) Encouragement of travel on the part of oreign-born United States citizens and Americans f foreign extraction.

(5) Lowering of transportation and hotel costs.

In the latter connection, trans-Atlantic airlines ave agreed to a 30-percent off-season reduction or round trips completed within 60 days, to be ffective October 1. They also have asked their espective governments to approve a 35-percent reduction for students crossing the Atlantic and a 50-percent reduction for students flying within Europe. Lower railway fares in connection with off-season travel are being considered by the Inland Transport Committee of OEEC, and the Maritime Transport Committee of OEEC is studying possible reductions in rates during the fall and winter.

A continuing study of the American market for travel to Europe, undertaken by the travel branch of the United States Department of Commerce, which handles the travel stimulation program for ECA, reflects the need for lower prices for trans-Atlantic accommodations during the off-season.

It is indicated that many American farmer groups will visit Europe during the coming winter. A Midwest travel agent arranged a tour last winter for 30 farmers, who flew both ways, taking advantage of last winter's excursion air rates. They visited England, France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Denmark. This was followed by a party of 32 midwestern housewives. A number of similar groups are planning tours this coming winter, ECA says.

Travel by Americans is an important dollar earner for Europe, ECA points out, and it supplements the over-all recovery program.

nvestment of American Private Capital Abroad

Statement by Under Secretary Webb [1]

I am glad to have this opportunity to testify be-ore your Committee on behalf of proposed legisla-ion to stimulate the investment of American pri-ate capital in underdeveloped areas of the world.

Private American investors constitute the larg-st potential source of investment capital in the orld. If this program succeeds in stimulating he flow of investments abroad up to the levels at-ained during the 1920's relative to our national ncome, we will be making net annual private in-estments abroad of at least 2.5 billion dollars. These investments will be of mutual advantage to nvestors as well as to the people of the countries n which the investments are made, and ultimately o the United States. All of this will be without urden to the American taxpayer.

The bill which is before you is intended to stim-late this flow and constitutes an important ele-nent in a comprehensive program to aid the people of underdeveloped areas in their efforts to utilize more effectively their human and natural resources. This general program was proposed by the President in his inaugural address last January as the fourth major course of action which he believed we should take in our international relations. The other three points were (1) continued support to the United Nations and its related agencies, (2) continuance of our programs for world recovery, and (3) the strengthening of freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. In proposing the fourth point the President made the following comments:

> . . . we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.
>
> . . . we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.
>
> Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens.

[1] Made before the House Banking and Currency Commit-ee on Aug. 19, 1945, and released to the press on the same ate.

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You will note that the program proposed has two broad aspects both leading toward the goal of economic development. One aspect involves the interchange among nations of technical knowledge and skill. A bill designed to authorize an expanded program for such exchanges is now pending before the Foreign Affairs Committee. The other aspect of the program involves the fostering of capital investment.

The Point 4 Program is designed to benefit both the peoples of the underdeveloped areas and the rest of the world, including ourselves, as well. The political instability and tensions, which exist in many areas of the world, grow out of extreme poverty and frustration of hopes for economic betterment. The secure growth of democracy in these areas is dependent upon a realization by their people that they can better their economic conditions and still maintain their democratic institutions and their freedom and dignity as individuals.

In the last year, we have seen the march of Soviet Communism halted in Europe. In the last year, however, we also have seen the greater part of China fall under a Communism which appears to be in large measure Soviet inspired and directed.

We know that Communism and other antidemocratic ideologies make little or no appeal to peoples which are prosperous and which have a high degree of modern material civilization. We know that they appeal with peculiar force in those regions where ignorance, poverty, and hunger prevail, and where most of the things that we regard as necessities are either unknown or are luxuries beyond the reach of all but a favored few. Those regions, however, comprise a large part of the surface of the world.

Our desires for an expanding world economy are also to a considerable extent dependent upon the success of efforts to increase the means of production in these areas. Their development will result in an increase and a better balance in world trade, which will have particular significance for the recovery of Europe and for our own economy. At the same time by assisting in this effort we can increase our security by associating stronger nations with us in the cause of human freedom and by the strengthening of the United Nations which will occur through its participation in constructive action for economic development.

We recognize that the principal effort for economic development must come from the underdeveloped countries themselves. We cannot and should not assume this responsibility ourselves. We can, however, assist in various ways. Although the bulk of the financing of development projects must come from local sources, foreign capital is an essential element. The International Bank, and in appropriate cases, the Export-Import Bank can be expected to continue their activities in loaning funds for certain types of development projects for which private financing is not available. These loans will assist the underdeveloped countries to expand such basic facilities as transportation, communications, and power which in many cases are needed before private enterprises can be established.

Particular emphasis on the Point 4 Program is placed upon the need for increasing the flow of private investment. Private capital in this country is potentially the greatest external source of investment funds for development abroad. Furthermore a private investment carries with it the technical skills, managerial experience, organizational talents, and incentive which are essential to put capital to effective use. Our industrial technology is largely in the hands of private organizations and can best be put to work through private channels.

There are a number of obstacles which have prevented an outflow of United States private capital in recent years, in as great a volume as might have been anticipated. In large part these obstacles are the result of abnormal conditions following the war. The most significant obstacles appear to be unstable political conditions in many parts of the world, balance-of-payments problems leading to limitations on the ability to transfer earnings and capital, and various types of governmental restrictions imposed on foreign investments. If these obstacles are to be removed, a cooperative action on the part of capital-importing and capital-exporting countries is necessary. We are trying in a number of ways to exert our influence to alleviate the conditions which are deterring the flow of capital. We are exerting our influence toward more stabilized political conditions and more satisfactory economic relationships through our participation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, through the European Recovery Program, through reciprocal trade agreements, and through other cooperative efforts with individual foreign countries.

We feel it is particularly important to secure a basic understanding with countries needing foreign investment as to the treatment which will be accorded to foreign capital by those countries. To this end we are actively engaged in the negotiation of bilateral treaties with foreign governments. These treaties provide that the property of investors will not be expropriated without prompt, adequate, and effective compensation, that investors will be given reasonable opportunity to remit their earnings and withdraw their capital, that they will have reasonable freedom to manage, operate, and control their enterprises, that they will enjoy security in the protection of their persons and property and nondiscriminatory treatment in the conduct of their business affairs.

I want to point out that we do not consider this program to be a one-sided arrangement. Although we fully recognize the need for giving an investor assurances as to the protection of his property w

(*Continued on page 316*)

ıpanese Participation in ıternational Relations Encouraged

On August 18, the Department of State issued ɜ following statement:

A basic objective of the occupation in Japan is foster among the Japanese Government and peo- ɜ a respect for the rights of other nations and vernments. It is clear to the United States Gov- ınment that by facilitating the progressive re- ınption by Japan of international relationships ıtually beneficial to other peoples as well as to ɜ Japanese people, this objective can be materi- y furthered.

Such international relationships require good ll on both sides. Relations between nations are a o-way street. Because Japan is a defeated untry under military occupation and because the ır Eastern Commission is the international body ıich formulates the policies, principles, and ındards in conformity with which the fulfillment Japan of its obligations under the terms of sur- nder may be accomplished, expression of general llingness to enter into even limited relationships th Japan tends to await the leadership of that dy.

It was against this background that the United ates proposed to the Far Eastern Commission at it take positive action recognizing that SCAP bject to his discretion and continued control has e authority to permit Japan to participate in in- rnational relationships such as conventions, eetings, consular arrangements, or other bilateral cords as Japan may be invited to participate in ıd as SCAP considers to be in the interest of the cupation.

From an examination of the record, it is clear at the Far Eastern Commission has not taken ıy action denying SCAP the authority to ap- ove Japanese intercourse with the outside world. ı fact, under the broad policies of the Far Eastern ɔmmission SCAP is correctly allowing Japanese ternational relationships of a limited character. ot only will the Japanese through such participa- ɔn acquire direct experience and knowledge of mocratic practices, but also the vestiges of hatred ıd suspicion of the Japanese left over from the ar will tend to be dissipated.

It is not the legal authority of the Far Eastern ɔmmission which is important but rather the as- ımption of enlightened leadership by the Far astern Commission member governments. No atter what position the Far Eastern Commission kes, any government may still refuse to enter into lationships with Japan or deny Japanese access its territory.

Likewise, the determination of whether or not Japan should be invited to participate in international organizations or conferences lies with the member governments concerned.

Almost 4 years after the war it is obvious that increased participation by Japan in international relationships under the control of SCAP will be a measurable step toward achievement of the Allied objective to foster the growth of a democratic and peaceful Japan.

U.S.–U.K.–Canadian Economic Discussions To Be Resumed

[*Released to the press jointly with the Treasury Department August 19*]

The State and Treasury Departments in a joint statement announced on August 19 that at the request of President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, the chairman of the National Advisory Council, will preside as host chairman at meetings beginning September 6, which will carry forward the discussions which Secretary Snyder held in London in July with Sir Stafford Cripps, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Douglas Abbott, Canadian Minister of Finance.

The British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, and the Canadian Minister of External Affairs, Lester Pearson, will be in Washington throughout the talks and, together with Secretary Acheson, will take part in them.

Technical and fact-finding discussions among representatives of the three governments are scheduled to begin August 27. Under Secretary of State James E. Webb will head the United States delegation. The purpose of the meeting, as previously stated in the London communiqué,[1] is to discuss the balance-of-payments difficulties between the dollar and sterling areas and measures which could be taken to right the existing disequilibrium between the two areas, both in the long and the short term.

A steering committee consisting of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Martin, Assistant Secretary of State Thorp, Assistant Administrator of ECA Bissell, and representatives of the Department of Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, and the Federal Reserve Board have been working for the past several weeks to coordinate the factual material required for the meetings.

The National Advisory Council and other interested Department heads will advise with the United States participants during the course of the talks.

It is hoped to conclude before the beginning of the International Bank and Monetary Fund meetings, September 13.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 197.

Restoration and Protection of Allied-Owned Trade-Marks in Japan

[*Released to the press by the FEC August 16*]

The Far Eastern Commission at its 162d meeting on July 28, 1949, approved a decision setting forth a policy that will provide for the restoration of Allied-owned trade-mark rights which were lost as a result of the war, and for the protection of Allied trade-mark rights in Japan and elsewhere against infringement by the Japanese.[1]

This policy decision, the 61st approved by the Far Eastern Commission in its 3 years of continuous session in Washington, falls into two parts: (1) provisions for the restoration to Allied owners of trade-mark rights that were lost during the war (paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the policy decision); (2) provisions to insure against Japanese piracy of Allied trade-mark rights and mismarking of goods (paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the policy decision).

Restoration of Allied Trade-Marks

At the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the Allied countries, all trade-mark rights in Japan belonging to Allied nationals were seized under Japanese wartime laws applying to all Allied property rights. The new policy provides for the restoration of such rights, without payment of fees, upon request made by the owners to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The registrations are to be extended from the date of restoration for a period equivalent to the unexpired period at the time they were lost. For example, an American trade-mark which had been registered in Japan for a 20-year period on December 7, 1931, still had 10 years to run on December 7, 1941, when it ceased to be effective because of the war. If, after the owner made request to the Supreme Commander and complied with procedure established by him under the terms of the policy, it were restored on November 15, 1949, it would remain in effect for 10 years from that date and expire on November 14, 1959. The date of loss is considered in the policy to be the date of outbreak of hostilities between Japan and t country of the owner, or where applicable, t date after which the trade-mark right could longer be exercised because of conditions arisi out of World War II. An example of the latt case would be a Dutch trade-mark registrati which terminated between September 1939 a December 1941, and could not be renewed becau of the breakdown of communications resulti from the German occupation of the Netherlan

Applications for trade-marks which had be filed by Allied nationals and were pending at t outbreak of hostilities will automatically be rei stated as pending applications without fee.

An Allied national who had filed the first app cation for a trade-mark in any country withir months previous to the date on which he could longer file an application in Japan, may have year from the effective date of this policy in whi to file an application in Japan with a right priority based on his first filing.

Prevention of Infringement by the Japanese

Before the war there was a serious problem connection with Japanese copying of foreign signs and mismarking of goods. This includ infringement of trade-mark rights of foreigners Japan and in areas in which Japanese goods co peted. There were various methods of misleadi buyers into purchasing Japanese articles. T appearance of original models would be rep duced in minute detail. Goods would be s under labels which were confusing facsimiles outright counterfeits of well-known trade-mar Factories sometimes adopted the name of a f eign country and marked their goods according "Made in Sweden," etc. (Full advantage w taken of the fact that "USA" is the name of both city and a county in Japan.) To attract Japane consumers, established foreign trade names we sometimes used by Japanese companies on the own labels, as if they were names of types or ma rials.

During the occupation, the Japanese Gover ment has on several occasions been directed by

[1] For policy toward patents, utility models, and designs in Japan, see *Documents and State Papers* of May 1949, p. 749.

ation authorities to halt infringement of Allied de-marks by Japanese manufacturers in specific es.

The new policy requires the Japanese Govern-nt to prevent future registration of marks ich are confusingly similar to well-known for-n marks, and permits United Nations nationals apply for cancellation of any such marks eady registered. Application for cancellation infringing marks will be made to the Japanese reau of Patents, which must deal expeditiously h them and, if the facts submitted are correct, cel the contested registration.

The policy further provides that steps should taken to assure that goods manufactured in pan are not marked in a way that suggests that y are made in other countries, and that export ods are not marked so as to misrepresent their antity, quality, or content. (Under present upation regulations, all export goods are rked "Made in Occupied Japan".)

The policy concludes with a general provision uiring the protection of all existing or restored de-mark rights in Japan which do not conflict th policies established by the FEC, and a pro-ion making the policy applicable not only to ual trade-marks, but to "trade names and to nmercial or corporate names or marks" as well.

xt of Policy Decision

. Trade-mark rights in Japan which, at the date of outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the coun-of the national concerned, belonged to nationals of ntries at war with Japan should be restored upon uest made within such reasonable period and in such nner as may be provided by the Supreme Commander. storation should be made without payment of any fees l should give the owners protection from the date of toration for a period equivalent to the period of protec-n to which they were still entitled at the date of the break of hostilities. When, as a result of conditions wing out of World War II, trade-mark rights of the tional of a country at war with Japan could not be ercised before the date of outbreak of hostilities between pan and the country of the national concerned, such hts shall be restored in accordance with the principles this paragraph for a period equivalet to the period of otection to which those nationals were still entitled at e date when their rights could not be exercised.

2. Applications for trade-marks which were filed in Japan by nationals of countries at war with Japan prior to the date of the outbreak of hostilities, but final action on which had not been completed at the time of the outbreak of hostilities, should, on request of such nationals, be reinstated as pending applications under the original filing date. No fees should be required for reinstatement.

3. A national of a country at war with Japan who had duly filed in any country the first application for a trade-mark not earlier than six months before the effective date of loss of the right to file trade-mark applications in Japan, or the effective date of loss of opportunity to exercise that right as the result of conditions growing out of World War II, should be entitled, within twelve months after the date as determined by the Supreme Commander, on which such nationals are again permitted to apply for trade-marks in Japan and to obtain legal services necessary for this purpose, to apply for corresponding rights in Japan with a right of priority based upon the previous first filing of the application.

4. The Japanese Government should adopt and enforce appropriate regulations to prevent registration in the future of marks which are confusingly similar to marks or names of foreign nationals which are used by such foreign nationals anywhere and are well-known in Japan.

5. Nationals of countries members of the United Nations should be permitted, within a reasonable period to be established by SCAP, to apply to the Japanese Bureau of Patents for the cancellation of the registration of any trade-mark registered in Japan which so resembles a trade-mark or trade name previously used by the applicant and which is well-known in Japan as to be likely to cause confusion or mistake or to deceive purchasers. The Japanese Bureau of Patents should deal expeditiously with these applications and, if the facts presented by the applicant are found to be correct, cancel registration of such trade-marks.

6. Steps should be taken to assure that merchandise manufactured in Japan should not be marked or advertised so as to suggest that it is made elsewhere than in Japan.

7. Steps should also be taken to assure that goods exported from Japan are not so marked or otherwise described as to convey a false impression of their quantity, quality or content.

8. Trade-mark rights in Japan which now exist, or which are restored, or which are newly acquired during the period of occupation should be protected, except where the continued protection of such rights is in conflict with policies established in accordance with the Terms of Reference of the Far Eastern Commission.

9. The foregoing provisions should apply, wherever applicable, to trade names and to commercial or corporate names or marks.

Soviet Reaction Shows Value of Voice of America

by George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs [1]

Radio broadcasting inside the United States is a private industry. I hope it always will be. I hope the Government never begins to encroach on this field of private enterprise, for freedom of information is the most precious possession we have.

This is my answer to the frequent query on why the Voice of America programs, part of my responsibility in the State Department's program of International Information, are not beamed so they can be conveniently heard in the United States. Scripts of all of our programs, in English translation, are available on request, and we have a good many requests for them.

Reds Try To Choke It

As to the companion inquiry of how effective this activity is behind the so-called iron curtain, my best answer at the moment is that the Soviet Government is now devoting approximately four times the capital equipment in transmitters, monitoring stations and so forth, and 10 times the manpower to jam our programs in their effort to block them off from reception in the critical areas. They would hardly go to this trouble if the programs were not effective.

The Voice of America, quite understandably, seems to have captured the greatest American interest among the many activities of our international information and educational program.

A newspaper reporter from my home State of North Carolina said to me the other day, "I've heard a lot about the Voice of America, but I've never really understood it. Please explain who or what is the Voice? Do you do the broadcasting yourself? If so, the Voice of America sure has a good North Carolina accent."

Some time ago, I made a speech in Detroit on the subject of the Voice of America, and at the end the chairman of the meeting said: "You've told us why the Voice, but you haven't yet told us what it is."

It might be worthwhile, therefore, for me to tak advantage of this guest column to try to explai as clearly as I can just what the Voice of Amer ica is.

The Voice of America is the title given to eac of the 35 or more radio programs sent out eac day, in 20 languages, to various parts of the worl by short-wave transmitters.

In 1942, shortly after Pearl Harbor, the seve corporations and private individuals who owne short-wave broadcasting transmitters in th United States sent representatives to Washingto to place their facilities at the disposal of the Gov ernment for the war effort.

In 20 Languages

They owned 13 short-wave transmitters, the onl ones capable of broadcasting programs from th United States which could be heard overseas, bu equally important, each of these transmitters ha an established and internationally recognize wave length in the restricted short-wave spectrum These valuable wave lengths were also offere freely to the Government.

After a good deal of discussion among variou officials in Washington, the President finally de cided to establish two wartime agencies, the Offic of War Information, under Elmer Davis, and th Office of Inter-American Affairs, under Nelso Rockefeller, to take charge of all of the America Government's efforts to win support among for eign peoples for the United States and our wa effort.

Mr. Rockefeller's office was responsible for thi work in Latin America and Mr. Davis' office every where else.

Wartime Activity

The two offices took over the short-wave facili ties, and, in addition, constructed 20 powerfu Government-owned transmitters. But the radi operation, while perhaps the most widely know

[1] Reprinted from The Washington *Sunday Star* of Aug. 7, 1949.

ıs by no means a major part of the total opera-
ɔns of these two offices. They established some
or 80 offices overseas, including posts in each
the neutral and friendly capitals of the world.
l the principal means of mass communication
ɔress, radio, and motion pictures) were used in
effort to tell foreigners about the United States
d explain to them our war effort. Libraries and
ading rooms were set up in the key cities abroad.
addition an educational exchange program was
tablished, under which we encouraged and, to a
nited extent, gave financial assistance to enable
reign students, journalists, technicians and other
y persons to visit the United States. A number
American professors, lecturers and technicians
ɔre sent abroad to tell foreigners about the
nited States and to assist certain foreign coun-
ies with our technical know-how in the fields of
riculture, health, education, metallurgy and
her subjects of direct importance to the war
ort. An added purpose was to build good will
d harmony among the Allies.

The only regular means by which our informa-
ɔn could reach the enemy peoples of Germany,
aly and Japan was through short-wave broad-
sts. In the theaters of military operations, such
North Africa, Italy and France, the radio broad-
sts, from temporary or mobile transmitters, were
rected not only toward enemy countries, but
so toward the local populations in areas where
merican troops were stationed. In these theaters
e OWI activity was placed under direct control
the military commanders and became an im-
ɔrtant arm of military operations.

ınctions Transferred

A large majority of these broadcasts were in
ɔreign languages. As a means of clear identifi-
tion, in an atmosphere filled with broadcasts, the
ɔeakers began and ended each program with the
nouncement, "This is the Voice of America."
do not know who thought up the name, but it
as a natural, and it has stuck.

When the war was over, the functions of both
WI and OIAA were transferred to the State
epartment, and Secretary Byrnes was given the
b of deciding what to continue and what to liqui-
ate. William Benton, appointed Assistant Sec-
tary of State, found himself serving as executor
ıd executioner. In 2 years he reduced the num-
ɔr of employees from 13,000 to 2,000. At one
oint Congress suddenly cut off all further ap-
ropriations, with hundreds of employees still
verseas.

While the Voice of America never actually went
ff the air, it was taken for granted by most Ameri-
ıns that once the war had been won, all of our
artime information activities overseas could
radually be terminated. The Allies had coop-
erated harmoniously enough to win the victory, and it was hoped they would continue to do so during the peace.

It soon became evident, however, that this hope would not materialize. Relations between the countries of Eastern Europe and the West became more and more frigid, until a cold war was upon us in full blast.

Some Americans felt that the programs should be continued anyway, as a worthwhile adjunct to the conduct of our foreign relations in peacetime, but a majority of Congress was not convinced until it was clear that there was a great deal of misunderstanding of American motives overseas, not only in Eastern Europe, but elsewhere as well. Early in 1948, Congress passed the Smith-Mundt Act, providing a legal and continuing basis for the overseas information and educational exchange programs. The State Department was told to carry on the work with renewed emphasis.

Today, two separate but closely related activities are carried on under the Smith-Mundt Act by the State Department. In the overseas information program we not only continue the Voice of America radio broadcasts but we also use, wherever possible, documentary motion picture films, posters, pamphlets, photographs, and various other means to give foreigners correct information about the United States. In addition, we continue our important educational exchange activities. We encourage the increased exchange of students, technicians, and other persons between the United States and foreign countries, we give a small but significant support to American schools in Latin America, and we maintain most of the American libraries established abroad during the war.

All of this activity adds up to our program of International Information and Educational Exchange. The Voice of America is merely the radio broadcasts, which is about one-fourth of the total program in terms of money.

The State Department asked Congress a few months ago, for $36,000,000 for the entire Information and Educational Exchange program for the fiscal year which began on July 1, 1949. Congress voted $34,000,000 for this purpose. Practically every newspaper article written on the subject at the time carried a headline: "Voice Receives $2,000,000 Cut." Actually, the whole program was cut by this amount, and the Voice, i. e., the radio broadcasts, merely took its proportionate share along with the other activities.

I am often asked, "Why can't we in the United States hear the Voice of America broadcasts?" There are two principal reasons. First, the broadcasts are beamed on short-wave directional antennae toward particular areas overseas from transmitters near New York, Boston, Cleveland, and San Francisco. While it is difficult, it is not impossible to pick up the program on a short-wave receiver in the United States. However, 85 per-

cent of our programs are in foreign languages, by announcers speaking Polish, Russian, Czech, Chinese, Persian, etc., so if you happen to get the program, the chances are that you would not recognize it. The Department is glad to furnish full schedules and wave lengths on request.

As noted above, scripts of all our programs, in English translation, are publicly available.

I may add that if private industry again decides to reenter the short-wave field, I hope it will be given every encouragement. At present the field is not financially profitable, and only one such broadcaster, in Boston, remains on the air. The State Department continues to lease all the other private-owned short-wave transmitters for the time being.

Another frequent inquiry is: "Do you think you will succeed?" For those who ask the question in the sense of, "Will you solve the world crisis?" or even, "Can the Voice alone bring about a lasting peace?" the answer is, "Very probably not." The Voice and our other overseas information and educational activities are merely a part, and by no means the major part, of the total effort of the United States to achieve a stable and lasting world order. But they are an important part of this effort, and they may be a decisive one.

Additional Appropriations for Improving VOA Facilities Recommended

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 17*]

The Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives in its report issued August 16 on the Fourth Deficiency Appropriation Bill has recommended an additional appropriation of $11,320,000 for the construction and improvement of "Voice of America" facilities for international broadcasting.

The Department of State requested additional funds for this purpose in view of the fact that since April 25 the U.S.S.R. has been carrying on an all-out effort to jam Voice of America broadcasts—particularly, but not exclusively, those in the Russian language directed to the Soviet people.[1] More than 250 different jamming transmitters have been identified in the U.S.S.R., and many others not yet identified are believed to be in operation. It is now obvious that setting up this complex, costly jamming operation took many months of careful planning and that it must be looked upon as a long-range plan of th U.S.S.R. for isolating the Russian people eve more completely from access to truth and fac about the outside world.

This jamming network can be used agains Voice of America broadcasts to other parts of th world as well as the U.S.S.R. The Departmen has therefore had to take all phases of its respon sibilities into account in the face of this unex pectedly great Soviet potential for jamming.

If the Congress approves the appropriatio recommended by the House Committee, the ne facilities and the improvement of existing facili ties provided for will go a long way toward com batting and overcoming the current jamming.

This jamming is a direct violation of interna tional telecommunications conventions to whic the U.S.S.R. is a party, including the so-calle Madrid and Cairo conventions.

[1] BULLETIN of May 15, 1949, p. 638 and of July 11, 1949, p. 32.

U.S. Sends Representative to Ecuador on Earthquake Situation

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 17*]

Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary fo American Republic Affairs, will go to Ecuado next week to express personally the sympathy o this government, to survey the situation brough about by the recent earthquake disaster[1] and t consult with President Galo Plaza.

The Board of Directors of the Export-Impo Bank has expressed its willingness to consider ex tending credits to cover a part of the dollar co of materials and equipment to be acquired in th United States for the needs of Ecuador in th reconstruction of essential facilities damaged b the disaster. The exact extent and character o the reconstruction requirements will need furthe investigation. Representatives of the Expor Import Bank shortly will proceed to Ecuador t study this problem on the spot.

Reports are beginning to be received regardin the magnitude of the calamity. In a statemen before the Ecuadoran Congress, President Gal Plaza reported that of 228,000 people in the a fected area, 100,000 are homeless and 6,000 a dead. He placed the total damage at some $55 000,000 and estimated that the reconstruction o the city of Ambato alone will cost about $7,000 000. The President of Ecuador has appointe commissions to appraise the damage and recom mend reconstruction plans. In addition to the d struction of edifices, the extensive system of irr gation ditches of the region has been about 7

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 22, p. 278.

cent destroyed which will affect corn, barley, l wheat cultivation. In Ambato the largest tile mill was about 60 percent destroyed while maller mill escaped serious damage. A large portion of other industries in this city were troyed or seriously damaged, while the same is orted to be true of important small handicraft ustries in three smaller cities.

Through the Caribbean command of the United tes Army, the American Red Cross has sent Ecuador ample medical supplies, emergency itation equipment, and tentage for 3,000 neless. United States Army medical personnel l American Red Cross disaster experts have n in the area since August 7. American pernel with the Institute of Inter-American Afrs Health and Sanitation Mission in Ecuador ve actively participated in emergency relief ivities.

The Department continues to receive reports of interest of individual American citizens and ups in assisting Ecuador by voluntary contriions. I understand that a group of publicrited citizens in Washington is appealing for netary contributions to be sent to the Ecuador lief Fund, care of the Pan American Union. is hoped that similar efforts in other parts of country will be coordinated with those of the ador Relief Fund.

However, Ecuador's needs include not only diser relief attended to by these efforts, but also rehabilitation and reconstruction of roads, lways, factories, and irrigation systems which ve been so seriously damaged. Imported ipment and materials will be required to reip and rebuild these facilities.

A Displays Information European Recovery Program

leased to the press by ECA on August 10]

Persons interested in the progress of countries ticipating in the European Recovery Program y obtain up-to-date information in a chart room ned recently at headquarters of the Economic operation Administration.

The chart display, located in Room 408, 800 Conticut Ave., NW., gives latest figures on Euron industrial production and other important nomic data. Much of the material available in chart room is similar to information dissemied by ECA through regular publications.

The chart room will be open to the public every kday from 9 a. m. to 5:30 p. m.

Burmese Foreign Minister Visits U.S.

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 17*]

His Excellency the Foreign Minister of the Union of Burma, U. E. Maung, accompanied by the Burmese Ambassador at Washington, called on me Monday morning. I was greatly pleased to have had this opportunity to meet the Foreign Minister, who has been in Washington since last Saturday on a brief official visit.[1] During his visit the Foreign Minister has been engaged in a full and frank exchange of views with officers of our government on matters which are of mutual interest and concern to our two countries.

I am confident that the Foreign Minister's visit to this country will serve to strengthen the bonds of friendship and the cordial relations which exist between the Union of Burma and the United States.

U.S. and Mexico Sign Agricultural Workers Agreement

[*Released to the press August 1*]

An agreement was signed on August 1 by Leslie A. Wheeler, American Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico City, and Manuel Tello, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, setting forth the conditions under which Mexican agricultural workers may be employed by American growers for temporary periods when the United States Employment Service, in connection with its over-all responsibilities for farm labor placement in this country, determines that there is an inadequate supply of domestic agricultural workers. Negotiations were conducted in Mexico City by representatives of the American Embassy, the Department of State, the United States Employment Service, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The agreement specifically provides that Mexican nationals shall not be employed to displace domestic agricultural workers nor to depress prevailing wage scales.

The new agreement will replace that of February 21, 1948,[2] which became inoperative after abrogation in October 1948, and differs from previous agricultural workers' agreements between the United States and Mexico in several important details. It provides for contracting, for limited periods of time, certain Mexican agricultural workers who are already in the United States.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 22, 1949, p. 276.

[2] BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1948, p. 317. For an article by Daniel Goott discussing the employment of foreign workers in the U.S., see BULLETIN of July 18, 1949, p. 43.

Their immigration status will be regularized for the duration of their contracts only. They will be covered by the protective clauses established in the agreement, including the payment of prevailing wages, and at the end of the period of their employment will be returned to specified points in Mexico. Both governments consider that the agreement represents the most practicable solution of the problem of illegal entry into the United States of Mexican workers, as well as establishing a mutually satisfactory basis for their legal employment here.

If the need for agricultural workers, as determined by the United States Employment Service, is not filled by domestic workers first, and secondly by persons contracted in accordance with the procedure outlined above, workers may be contracted in Mexico and brought to the United States for temporary periods, at the end of which time they will be returned to the point of contracting in Mexico. The cities of Monterrey, Chihuahua, and Hermosillo have been designated as contracting centers in Mexico. Previous agricultural workers' agreements with Mexico did not specify points of contracting, but permitted Mexico to determine those points freely. This was often a source of friction and delay.

Under the new agreement, Mexican workers may be contracted for agricultural work in any state of the United States where the supply of domestic workers is determined to be inadequate. The agreement also provides a joint conciliation procedure for investigating cases of alleged noncompliance with the terms of individual work contracts, either on the part of workers or employers.

The agreement will be administered in the United States by the United States Employment Service of the Federal Security Agency and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice.

Ireland Lifts Passport and Visa Restrictions

[*Released to the press by ECA on August 3*]

Further increase in travel by American businessmen, tourists, and others to Europe was predicted on August 3 by the Economic Cooperation Administration, following announcement that Ireland has lifted passport visa restrictions.

Ireland is the eleventh Marshall Plan country to facilitate international travel in this manner. The others are France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy.

While the passport is still necessary, the visas—signatures of inspectors—are no longer require for American visitors in those countries, elim nating much delay and inconvenience.

American tourist travel supplements the Eur pean Recovery Program by helping ERP countri in their efforts to earn dollars and balance the trade accounts, ECA pointed out. The Foreig Assistance Act specifies that the ECA Admini trator, in cooperation with the Secretary of Con merce, shall encourage the development of trav by United States citizens to and within the pa ticipating countries. The Travel Branch, Offi of International Trade, Department of Commerc is directing the travel stimulation progra for ECA.

Control of Persons Entering or Leaving the United States

A PROCLAMATION[1]

WHEREAS Proclamation No. 2523 of Novemb 14, 1941, issued under and by virtue of the autho ity vested in the President by the act of May 2 1918, 40 Stat. 559, as amended by the act of Ju 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 252, prescribes regulations whi impose certain restrictions and prohibitions, in a dition to those otherwise provided by law, upon t departure of persons from and their entry into t United States; and

WHEREAS I find that the interests of the Unit States, within the meaning of the said act of Ju 21, 1941, and by reason of the continued existen of the conditions set forth in section 1 thereof, quire that the said proclamation be amended hereinafter set forth:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Harry S. Truman, Pre ident of the United States of America, acti under and by virtue of the authority vested in t President by the act of Congress above mentione do proclaim as follows:

1. The said Proclamation No. 2523 is here amended so that paragraph numbered (3) there together with the succeeding unnumbered par graph, shall read as follows:

"(3) (a) After the effective date of the rules a regulations hereinafter authorized, no alien sh enter or attempt to enter the United States unle he is in possession of a valid unexpired permit enter issued by the Secretary of State, or by appropriate officer designated by the Secretary State, or is exempted from obtaining a permit enter, in accordance with rules and regulatio which the Secretary of State, with the concurren of the Attorney General, is hereby authorized prescribe.

"(b) No permit to enter shall be issued to

[1] Amendment of Proc. 2523, 14 *Fed. Reg.* 5173.

n if it appears to the satisfaction of the issuing er, or the Secretary of State, that the alien's y would be prejudicial to the interests of United States within the meaning of the rules regulations hereinbefore authorized to be prebed by the Secretary of State with the concurce of the Attorney General.

(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of the going paragraphs (a) and (b), no alien applyfor admission, even with a valid permit to enshall enter or be permitted to enter the United es if it appears to the satisfaction of the Attor- General that such entry would be prejudicial e interests of the United States."

All existing regulations promulgated under ursuant to the said Proclamation No. 2523 are by ratified and confirmed and shall be coned to have the same effect as if included in such clamation: *Provided, however*, that nothing ained herein shall be deemed to limit lawful ority to amend or modify such regulations.

N WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my d and caused the Seal of the United States of erica to be affixed.

ONE at the City of Washington this 17th day of gust in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the hundred and seventy-fourth.

[SEAL]

HARRY S. TRUMAN

the President:
EAN ACHESON,
Secretary of State.

migration Quotas

A PROCLAMATION[1]

HEREAS the Secretary of State, the Secretary Commerce, and the Attorney General have reted to the President that pursuant to the duty osed and the authority conferred upon them sections 11 and 12 of the Immigration Act of 4, approved May 26, 1924 (43 Stat. 159–161), Reorganization Plan No. V (54 Stat. 1238), y jointly have made the revision provided for section 12 of the said act and have fixed, in ordance therewith, immigration quotas as herefter set forth:

OW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, Presit of the United States of America, acting un- and by virtue of the authority vested in me the aforesaid act of Congress, do hereby prom and make known that the annual quotas of nationalities indicated for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, and for each fiscal year thereafter have been determined in accordance with the law to be, and shall be, as follows:

Country	*Quota*
Greece	310
Italy	5799
Rumania	291
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2798
Israel	100
Jordan (formerly Transjordan)	100
Syria	100
Lebanon	100

The combined immigration quota of 123 established for Syria and the Lebanon by Proclamation No. 2283 of April 28, 1938, is hereby abolished.

The immigration quotas proclaimed above are designed solely for the purpose of compliance with the pertinent provisions of the said Immigration Act of 1924 and are not to be regarded as having any significance extraneous to such purpose.

Proclamation No. 2283 of April 28, 1938, is amended accordingly.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 27th day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-fourth.

[SEAL]

HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the President:
DEAN ACHESON,
Secretary of State.

[1] Proc. 2846, 14 *Fed. Reg.* 4707.

U.S. Delegation to Meeting on Herring—*Continued from page 294*

Herring fisheries are as old as the settlements of northwestern Europe and have played an important role in its history. In the period between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, wool and herring were the key industries in this area. The economic history of England was considerably influenced by the herring industry, and Holland's first merchant marine and navy was composed of ships from the fleets that were in the habit of sailing the North Sea in search of herring. For many years herring fisheries were essential in the economy of all Scandinavian countries.

During the late 1930's, Japan, the United States, and Canada together accounted for more than 50 percent of the world's total landings of herring and allied species, despite the traditional importance of European fisheries. With the termination of Japan's activity in the herring industry as a result of World War II, the United States has become the largest producer of herring and herring-like fishes in the world and has a substantial interest, therefore, in keeping abreast of all developments affecting production and marketing.

Investment of Capital Abroad—*Continued from page 306*

also believe that the underdeveloped areas are entitled on their part to expect that private investments will make a genuine contribution to their national welfare. This is not a program of exploitation for foreign profit. It is a program for mutual benefits. We consider that the private investor has an obligation to give due regard to the welfare of the persons dependent upon his enterprises, to contribute his fair share of taxes to the local community, to conserve as well as to develop local resources, to observe local laws, and so to conduct his enterprise that the local economy will derive full benefit from the enterprise.

Treaties alone, however, cannot give an investor the assurances which he may legitimately require in order to risk his capital abroad. With the best faith in the world a foreign government cannot guarantee that it will have sufficient dollars actually available to permit investors to remit their profits. It cannot guarantee that dollars will be available to pay promptly for property should it become necessary in the public interest for it to be expropriated. It cannot guarantee against the possibility of confiscation or destruction in the event of internal disturbance or war. We believe, therefore, that guaranties by the United States Government against certain risks peculiar to investment in foreign countries will have an important effect on the decisions of potential investors to send their money abroad. The bill which you are now considering authorizes the Export-Import Bank to make such guaranties. It is important to keep in mind that the legislation does not permit guaranties covering ordinary business risks. It does not assure anyone of a profit, it does not insure anyone against loss. It is also important to keep in mind that the purpose of the legislation is not simply to provide an outlet for surplus capital, but it is intended to stimulate investment which will be productive and will contribute to economic development abroad. In issuing guaranties the Bank will give full consideration to the contribution that the investment can be expected to make to economic development. Furthermore, we do not intend to impose our own plans of economic development on foreign countries, and we would not, therefore, guarantee investments if those countries themselves did not consider that the investment would make a contribution to their economic development.

This legislation is a part of a program which involves cooperative action on our part and on the part of other countries for our mutual advantage. I urge you to give it your approval.

President Withdraws Obsolete Treati
From the Senate

To the Senate of the United States:

A number of the treaties now pending in t Senate have become obsolete because of the sign ture of new treaties revising those instruments because of other changed conditions affecting the provisions since they were submitted to the Sena One of the older pending instruments, a conve tion concerning seafarers' pensions, I transmitt to the Senate with a statement that I did not quest at that time advice and consent to ratific tion. No basis has since been found for reco mending its approval.

With a view to placing the Calendar of Treati on a current basis, I, therefore, desire to withdr from the Senate the following treaties:

Notes exchanged at Washington May 3, 194 between the Governments of the United States America and Canada, amending in its applicati article V of the treaty signed on January 11, 19 between the United States of America and H Britannic Majesty, to permit an additional dive sion of the waters of the Niagara River above t Falls (Executive E, 78th Congress, 2d Session

Protocol signed in Ottawa on October 3, 194 to be annexed to, and to form a part of, the extr dition treaty between the United States of Am ica and Canada, signed in Washington on Ap 29, 1942 (Executive I, 79th Congress, 1st Sessio

Convention (no. 71) concerning seafarers' p sions, adopted by the International Labor Conf ence at its twenty-eighth session, held at Seatt June 6–29, 1946 (Executive W, 80th Congress, Session).

Convention (no. 72) concerning vacation ho days with pay for seafarers, adopted by the Int national Labor Conference at its twenty-eigh session, held at Seattle, June 6–29, 1946 (Exec tive X, 80th Congress, 1st Session).

Convention (no. 75) concerning crew accomm dation on board ship, adopted by the Inter tional Labor Conference at its twenty-eighth s sion, held at Seattle, June 6–29, 1946 (Executi BB, 80th Congress, 1st Session).

Convention (no. 76) concerning wages, hours work on board ship and manning, adopted by t International Labor Conference at its twen eighth session, held at Seattle, June 6–29, 19 (Executive DD, 80th Congress, 1st Session).

International wheat agreement, which was op for signature in Washington from March 6 un April 1, 1948 (Executive F, 80th Congress, Session).

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 10, 1949.

change of Visitors
ith Latin America

lean Seismology Professor

Iernán Bertling Hederra, Civil Engineer, and ofessor of Applied Seismology at the Univer- of Chile, has arrived in Washington to begin -month visit in the United States for the pur- e of conferring with officials of the Bureau Standards and with specialists in his field in ious cities concerning modern methods in use this country in seismology engineering. His it was facilitated by a grant-in-aid awarded by Department of State in cooperation with the reau of Standards.

uvian Agricultural Engineer

Carlos A. Barreda y Ramos, Agricultural En- eer, and Chairman of the National Committee the Protection of Wildlife in Peru, has arrived Washington for a 3-month stay in this country der the travel-grant program of the Depart- nt of State. He is interested in familiarizing nself with various phases of the work of the partment of Agriculture and with such agencies the Fish and Wildlife, the Soil Conservation, d the Forest Conservation Services, the Audu- n Society, and other similar institutions in this ntry. He plans to attend the United Nations ientific Conference on the Conservation and ilization of Natural Resources at Lake Success m August 17 to September 6, where he is to d a paper on the natural resources of Peru.

uadoran Pediatrician

Dr. Julio Enrique Toral Vega, Professor of diatrics and Child Care at the School of Medi- e, University of Cuenca, Ecuador, has arrived Washington to begin a series of visits to chil- en's hospitals and schools of pediatrics in this ntry. As director of the Anti-tuberculosis ague of Cuenca, he is also interested in observ- the functioning of tuberculosis sanitariums re. His visit was facilitated by a grant-in-aid m the Department of State.

ofessor of English Visits Brazil

The Reverend Harold F. Ryan, S. J., Associate ofessor of English at Loyola University, Los geles, has been awarded a grant by the Depart- ent of State to enable him to serve as visiting ofessor in American literature at the Catholic niversity of Rio de Janeiro, for a period of 3 onths beginning in August.

Electrical Engineer Visits Mexico

Commodore Penn Leary Carroll, USN Ret., has been awarded a grant by the Department of State to enable him to accept an invitation to serve as visiting professor of electrical engineering for the coming year at the Technological Institute of Monterrey, Mexico. Commodore Carroll, who was formerly with the Naval War College, has left Washington for Monterrey, where he will assume his duties at the Institute early in September.

Graduate Students To Visit Other Americas

Twenty-six American graduate students have received United States Government scholarships for study in 10 of the other American Republics for the coming academic year. These awards are made by the Department of State under authority of The International Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Act for Cooperation with the other American Republics, and the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations.

Those receiving awards are:

Harry Lee King, Jr., Virginia, to study literature in Argentina
Mary Lucy Mendenhall, Washington, D.C., to study political science in Argentina
Morris Bornstein, Michigan, to study economics in Brazil
Edward Irving Coher, Massachusetts, to study entomology in Brazil
Charles Ekker, Jr., Louisiana, to study sociology in Brazil
Herman B. Slutzkin, New York, to study literature in Brazil
Marie Pope Wallis, New Mexico, to study literature in Brazil
Jordan Marten Young, New York, to study political science in Brazil
Thomas W. Palmer, Jr., New York, to study political science in Brazil
Albert J. Brouse, North Carolina, to study literature in Brazil
Emily Frances Brady, New York, to study literature in Chile
Mary J. Cannizzo, New York, to study political science in Chile
Thomas Frank Carrol, New York, to study agriculture in Chile
John Parker Harrison, Jr., California, to study industry in Colombia
Frank Bruce Lamb, Colorado, to study agricultural economics in Costa Rica
Pedro Nicholas Trakas, North Carolina, to study literature in Cuba
Don G. Groves, New York, to study agricultural economy in the Dominican Republic
Lucy Axelbank, Washington, D.C., to study political science in Mexico
Daniel N. Cardena, New York, to study philology in Mexico
James T. Halpin, Jr., New York, to study agriculture in Mexico
Lyle Nelson McAlister, California, to study political science in Mexico
Eldred Joseph Renk, Idaho, to study literature in Mexico
Betty Warren Starr, North Carolina, to study anthropology in Mexico
James Larkin Wyatt, Texas, to study literature in Mexico
Thomas R. Ford, Louisiana, to study sociology in Peru
Philip Bates Taylor, Jr., California, to study political science in Uruguay.

Statements and Addresses of the Month

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman---	On the subject of the Military Assistance Program. Not printed. Text issued as press release 591 of August 2.	Address made before the House Foreig Affairs Committee of the House Representatives on August 2.
Ambassador W. Averell Harriman---	On the subject of the Military Assistance Program. Not printed. Text issued as press release 619 of August 11.	Address made before Foreign Relatio and Armed Services Committees the Senate on August 11.
Francis H. Russell, Director, Office of Public Affairs.	On the subject of United States policy toward China. Not printed. Text issued as press release 626 of August 12.	Address made before the Institute International Affairs, University Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo., on Augu 12.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

Conduct of Ilse Koch War Crimes Trial. Hearings before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, United States Senate, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, pursuant to S. Res. 189, a resolution authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to carry out certain duties. Part 5. September 28; December 8 and 9, 1948. iv, 281 pp.

Extension of European Recovery Program. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H. R. 2362 and H. R. 3748, a bill to amend the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. Part 2. February 21, 22, 23, 24, March 11 and 14, 1949. ii, 400 pp.

Amending the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Hearings before Subcommittee No. 1 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H. R. 1344, a bill to amend the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. March 2, 4, and 9, 1949. Serial No. 5. v, 239 pp.

Extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Hearings before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H. R. 1211, an act to extend the authority of the President under Section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and for other purposes. Part 2. February 24, 25, 26, 28, and March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8, 1949. vii, 615 pp.

The North Atlantic Treaty. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a copy of the North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949. S. Exec. L, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 13 pp.

Requesting Information from the Secretary of State Regarding Denial of Visas. H. Rept. 504, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

Richard R. Brown as Executive Director of Econom Affairs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Ec nomic Affairs, effective July 28, 1949.

Harry H. Schwartz as Executive Secretary to the Polic Planning Staff in the Office of the Secretary, effectiv August 8, 1949.

Walter S. Surrey as Deputy Coordinator for Foreig Military Assistance Programs in the office of the Secretar effective April 1, 1949.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Embassy at Canton Evacuates Staff to Hong Kong[1]

In view of the present Communist threat to thi region, the American Embassy is evacuating it staff to Hong Kong. Officers of the Embassy

[1] Printed from telegraphic text.

wever, will commute daily to Canton to carry t their normal duties so long as the situation rmits.

The American Consulate General, in accordance th instructions from the Department of State, ll close on August 19 and begin evacuation of its nerican staff. Consular officers, however, will available to assist American citizens to evacuate d to perform for them essential consular services long as possible. Thereafter the American Conlate General at Hong Kong will assume the funcns of this Consulate General.

nfirmations

)n July 29, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination Paul A. Porter to be representative of the United ites on the Conciliation Commission for Palestine ich was established by resolution of the General Asnbly of the United Nations December 11, 1948.

signation of Herman B. Baruch Ambassador to the Netherlands

The President accepted the resignation of Herman B. ruch as United States Ambassador to the Netherlands. the texts of the President's and Mr. Baruch's letters White House press release of August 19, 1949.

nsular Offices

The office at Vitória, Brazil, was raised to the rank of nsulate, effective June 20, 1949.

The American Consulate at Meshed, Iran, was opened to public on July 1, 1949.

PUBLICATIONS

cent Releases

r sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government inting Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests ect to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the e of free publications, which may be obtained from the partment of State.

endship, Commerce, and Navigation. Treaty and ier International Acts Series 1871. Pub. 3425. 107 pp. .

Treaty and Protocol between the United States and China—Signed at Nanking November 4, 1946; entered into force November 30, 1948; And Exchange of Notes—Signed at Nanking November 29, 1948.

Mexican Agricultural Workers: Legal Employment of Certain Workers Who Entered the United States Illegally. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1857. Pub. 3432. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Mexico Replacing Agreements of June 2, 1944, and Jan. 9, 1945—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City March 10, 1947; entered into force March 10, 1947.

Agricultural Experiment Station in Ecuador. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1875. Pub. 3434. 18 pp. 20¢.

Agreement between the United States and Ecuador Superseding Memorandum of Understanding of August 12, 1942—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Quito January 26 and April 16, 1948; entered into force April 16, 1948.

Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences, July 1, 1947–June 30, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series 1, 7. Pub. 3443. 375 pp. 65¢.

Contains brief accounts of international conferences and meetings in which the United States Government participated officially during the period July 1, 1947–June 30, 1948, including the composition of the United States delegations.

Selected Publications and Materials Relating to American Foreign Policy. April 1949. Pub. 3495. 22 pp. Free.

Cumulative list of the Department of State publications that cover United States participation in the United Nations and document such significant policies as those concerned with the maintenance of peace, the occupation of Germany and Japan, and economic reconstruction.

Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. International Organization and Conference Series III, 31. Pub. 3540. 21 pp. 15¢.

Reprint from *Documents and State Papers*, June 1948 with revisions June 1949.

U.S. National UNESCO News, July 1949. Pub. 3554. 12 pp. 10¢ a copy; $1 a year domestic, $1.35 foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

The Military Assistance Program. General Foreign Policy Series 13. Pub. 3563. 41 pp. 15¢.

Contains explanation of proposed program; United States policy objectives; cost, impact, administration, and duration of the program.

Protection of Foreign Interests in the United States, July 1, 1949. General Foreign Policy Series 14. Pub. 3571. 14 pp. Free.

Lists countries whose interests are protected by the United States and the diplomatic or consular establishment of United States charged with protection of foreign interests.

Diplomatic List, July 1949. Pub. 3572. 159 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

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Contributors

Verner W. Clapp, author of the article on science abstracting, is Chief Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress. Mr. Clapp served as chairman of the United States delegation to the UNESCO international conference on science abstracting.

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The Department of State bulletin

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September 5, 1949

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The Department of State bulletin

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September 5, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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HE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

George F. Kennan, Counselor[1]

The international situation at the present time primarily one of transition. It is a transition m the immediate posthostilities era, with its rt-term problems and demands, to a new state affairs which may endure for a long time and ny aspects of which we may have to learn to ard as normal. Nations and peoples have be- to shake down in the postwar international text, and the long-term problems and chal- ges of a new period are beginning now to come the surface.

Let us look first at Europe. For the past 4 rs, life in Europe has been overshadowed by aftereffects of the war, the second great war t has swept that continent during the present tury. Secretary Johnson has described to you condition in which that war left our friends Europe. We have been trying, in that part of rope where we could make our influence felt, help people to repair the tremendous damages that war, to help them to recover their peace of d, their clarity of outlook, and their confi- ce in themselves and their future. Others e tried to do something quite different. They e tried to delay economic recovery. They have d to prevent the restoration of normal condi- s generally. They have tried to prolong suf- ing and bewilderment and unrest and insecurity to exploit these conditions in order to fasten reign, totalitarian political system on the peo- s of Western Europe.

n this first battle, the forces of order and re- ery have thus far succeeded; the others have ed. The natural courage and common sense he peoples of Western Europe, backed by our , have prevailed. The physical effects of war- e destruction are being rapidly overcome. ere have recently been important gains in pro- tion and internal financial stability. Com- nist parties have generally lost strength. And beyond the high-water mark of the Russian military advance in the recent war no European country has "gone communist."

These are important successes. They ought to give us courage and confidence to carry on with the work we have started. But the framework in which we must act is rapidly widening. As people successfully solve the immediate problems arising out of the recent war, other problems are coming to the surface which are just as dangerous and just as important to us. These are the long-term problems of economic adjustment in the Western European countries. They were already recognized as problems long before the war. They were largely obscured from view during the war period, and people tended to forget about them. But they are now coming out in the wash, and they are more acute than ever before.

What are these problems? Basically, they boil down to the question of how Great Britain and the crowded, industrialized countries of Western Europe are going to earn the money, even with their restored production, to buy the food and raw materials which they require from overseas areas, and particularly from North America. For it is one thing to produce; it is another thing to sell. And so far it has not proved possible for them, particularly Britain, to sell enough to the dollar area to pay for their requirements from that area. Although the Marshall Plan has done much to strengthen the economies of the European countries and to increase their productive capacity, they have not yet been able to gain the new markets which they require. Without these markets they cannot secure the wherewithal for all of their essential imports. Several factors have recently combined to make this problem one of real urgency, and the coming discussions here in Washington will be devoted to the exploration of possible solutions.

Turning from Europe to the Middle East, we see that the present time also marks a turning point. Why? Because there has recently emerged in that area a new, vigorous state—the State of

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[1] Address made over the Columbia Broadcasting System Aug. 22, 1949, and released to the press by the Depart- t of Defense on the same date.

Israel. This innovation cannot fail to affect profoundly the life of that entire area. It has solved some problems, but it has created others. It is too early to tell what the final effect will be. Much will depend upon the moderation and good will with which the peoples of that area, both Arabs and Israelis, succeed in adjusting themselves to the new situation and upon the firmness and understanding which we Americans exercise in attempting to narrow the area of difference between Israel and the Arab States.

The friendship and collaboration of the other American Republics is a constant source of satisfaction and encouragement to us. The Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, which is now in effect, has been approved by nearly all of them. This defensive regional agreement, in conformity with the United Nations Charter, is a strong bulwark in the nation's defense.

In the Far East, again, the year 1949 is marking the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. In China, the authority of the legitimate government has continued to disintegrate. In its place, we have a chaotic situation in which the most powerful and important role in large areas of China is now being played by the Chinese Communists. This is a catastrophe not only for the people of China but also for the prospects for stability and peace throughout the Far East. These Chinese Communists, whether sincere or not sincere, are deeply committed to certain false and unrealistic doctrines which have nothing whatsoever to do with the interests of the Chinese people. These doctrines are now being utilized as a means of deceiving the Chinese people and of inducing them to accept a disguised form of foreign rule.

We do not underestimate the seriousness of this situation. It calls for the hardest work and thought, and possibly new approaches and techniques, on our part. But people should be careful not to misinterpret its significance. Despite all these changes, the United States remains the greatest commercial and military power in the Pacific area. The real elements of our strength in that part of the world have not been invalidated by what has occurred in the past year or two in China. People may mislead themselves or their followers for a certain length of time about this. But sooner or later, the cold realities are bound to make themselves felt. The final results of this Communist experiment in China will not be known until the Communist leaders have been forced to face the practical problems of everyday responsibility over a considerable length of time. It remains to be seen whether they can then reconcile a solution of China's problems with the maintenance of an attitude of offense and defiance toward the nation which is the traditional friend of China and which has brought more in the way of help to the Chinese people than all the rest of the world put together.

These events in China have helped to make improbable for a long time to come the achievement of political and economic stability in that country. Years will now probably have to pass before we can hope to see restored to China settled and peaceful conditions, in which people could proceed without fear or hindrance to the normal forms of international interchange and collaboration. Meanwhile, in China and throughout the Far East we will have to guard our own proper interests and the interests of international peace, as best we can, facing frankly the fact that there are forces at large which are dangerously antagonistic to both.

It is clear that in this coming phase of international life there can be no relaxation of the vigilance and energy with which the foreign affairs of this government must be conducted.

A political attack of unprecedented cynicism and intensity is today being directed against this country and against the free world generally. Strangely enough, it is not because we are marked out as the first victims that the edge of this attack is turned against us. There are others who are actually more immediately and directly threatened than we are. This edge is being turned against us because the attackers know that our strength, moral and material, is the heart of the strength of the free world, and that our own self-confidence and the confidence of others in us, must be broken before it will be safe to attack the free world anywhere.

So long as things remain this way, there can be no normal peace, and world stability will have to continue to rest on a number of factors which would otherwise not have to bear so large a part of this burden. Prominent among these factors is the maintenance by this country of a powerful and impressive armed forces establishment, commensurate with the great responsibilities we are being forced to assume in the life of the world community.

xpanded Program of Technical Assistance r Economic Development

. doc. E/1546, [222(IX)]
pted Aug. 14 and 15, 1949

Resolution of 15 August 1949

he Economic and Social Council

IAVING CONSIDERED the report prepared by the Secretary-neral, in consultation with the specialized agencies, on expanded programme of technical assistance for eco-nic development, pursuant to resolution 180 (VIII),[1]

EING IMPRESSED with the significant contribution to nomic development that can be made by an expansion the international interchange of technical knowledge ough international co-operation among countries,

ELIEVING that a sound international programme of this racter must combine and make use of the experience many nations, with different social patterns and cul-al traditions and at different stages of development, so to facilitate progress in the less advanced countries to help solve their technical and economic problems.

Transmits to the General Assembly the above-men-ed report together with the observations and guiding iciples set out in Annex I of this resolution;

Recommends that the General Assembly approve the ft resolution in Annex II, which provides for an ex-ded programme of technical assistance for economic elopment of under-developed countries;

Requests the Secretary-General, subject to such deci-as may be taken by the General Assembly on the draft lution in Annex II, to invite the Administrative Com-tee on Co-ordination to set up a Technical Assistance rd (TAB) which shall consist of the executive heads, heir representatives, of the United Nations and of the ialized agencies which participate in accordance with paragraph in the expanded programme of technical stance. The Secretary-General, or his representative, l be Chairman of the Board. Within the TAB:

a) Each participating organization shall inform the r organizations of requests to it for technical assistance economic development;

See U.N. doc. E/1327/Add. 1 [*Technical Assistance for nomic Development*, viii, 328 pp., for sale by the Inter-onal Documents Service, Columbia University Press, Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. for $2.50.]

(*b*) Important requests for such assistance shall be promptly discussed;

(*c*) The participating organizations shall discuss their co-ordination efforts under this programme, shall consult before comprehensive missions and programmes of assistance involving several organizations are arranged, and each shall be prepared to co-operate fully with the others in activities involving their common interests;

(*d*) The participating organizations shall exchange information which becomes available to them on current developments in the field of technical assistance, including the progress of technical assistance rendered or projected by them, by Governments and by private organizations;

(*e*) The TAB shall inform the Technical Assistance Committee of the Council (TAC) mentioned below of any requests for technical assistance for economic development as soon as they have reached the TAB, so that the TAC shall always be in possession of a list of projects being discussed or reviewed by the TAB or participating organizations;

(*f*) Periodic reports shall be made by the TAB to the TAC; these reports shall include an examination of activities undertaken and results achieved, and a statement on funds received and committed under this expanded programme;

(*g*) Each participating organization shall present annually to the TAB its proposed programme for the next fiscal year in the light of its experience with the expanded programme. The programmes of the several participating organizations shall be examined in relation to each other, and the TAB shall make recommendations concerning them and the total programme to the Council through the TAC;

(*h*) All decisions other than on procedural matters shall be taken by general agreement and, when agreement cannot be reached, the issue in dispute shall be referred for decision to the TAC;

4. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, after consultation with the other participating organizations, to designate the Executive Secretary of the TAB who shall:

(*a*) Convene and service the TAB and prepare the needed documents;

(*b*) Collect and circulate to members of the TAB:

(*i*) Information regarding enquiries for technical assistance received by the participating organizations;

(*ii*) Programmes of the participating organizations for technical assistance in the fields for which they are responsible;

(*iii*) Information on technical assistance rendered and projected by the participating organizations and any other information which becomes available to them concerning such assistance rendered by Governments or by other public or private bodies;

(*c*) Prepare or arrange for such studies in regard to requests and plans for technical assistance as may be needed by the TAB, and furnish, when required by the TAB, information and analyses relating to the needs and conditions of the various countries requesting assistance;

(*d*) Prepare for the TAB, with the assistance of the organizations concerned and on the basis of information supplied by the Governments concerned, such reports on the operations carried out under the expanded co-operative programme of technical assistance as may be necessary;

(*e*) Perform such other functions as the efficient operation of the TAB may require;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to make appropriate arrangements whereby the executive heads of the participating organizations may assign members of their staff to the staff of the TAB as necessary;

6. *Decides* to establish, subject to such decisions as may be taken by the General Assembly on the draft resolution in Annex II and after the conclusion of the Technical Assistance Conference proposed in paragraph 12, a standing Technical Assistance Committee of the Council (TAC), consisting of the members of the Council, which is authorized to sit while the Council is not in session and which shall have the following terms of reference:

(*a*) To make for the Council critical examinations of activities undertaken and results achieved under the expanded programme of technical assistance;

(*b*) To examine each year's programme presented to it by the TAB and report to the Council concerning it, making such recommendations as it may deem necessary;

(*c*) To interpret this resolution in cases of conflicts or questions submitted to it by the TAB, through its chairman, and decide any such conflicts or questions;

(*d*) To receive reports from the TAB on progress and implementation of, and disbursements of funds under the expanded programme;

(*e*) To review the working relationships between the participating organizations and the effectiveness of the methods of co-ordination in connection with their technical assistance programmes, making recommendations when appropriate;

(*f*) To perform such other relevant functions as the Council may assign to it from time to time;

7. *Requests* that the TAB and the TAC, in carrying out their terms of reference, be guided by the "Observations on and Guiding Principles of an Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development" (Annex I) and take into account the records of the debate on the expanded programme which occurred during the ninth session of the Council;[2]

8. *Recommends* to the General Assembly that it authorize the Secretary-General to set up a special account for technical assistance for economic development to which contributions of countries shall be credited and from which transfers shall be made to the participating organizations exclusively for the expanded technical assistance programme to be carried out in the light of the observations and guiding principles contained in Annex I and for administrative expenses connected therewith. The special account may include an evaluation of services or materials on the basis of credits in domestic currencies which Governments are prepared to make available;

9. *Recommends* to the Governments attending the Technical Assistance Conference, provided for in paragraph below, that they approve the following financial arrangements:

(*a*) Contributions shall be made by Governments such forms and subject to such conditions as may agreed between the Secretary-General, after consultati with the TAB, and the contributing Governments, pr vided that contributions shall be made without limitati as to use by a specific agency or in a specific country or f a specific project;

(*b*) The Secretary-General shall allot contributio received during the first fiscal year as follows:

(*i*) The first $10,000,000 in contributions shall automatically available for distribution to the parti pating organizations for the expanded technical assistan programme;

(*ii*) Of the second $10,000,000 of contributions ceived, 70 per cent shall be automatically available distribution to the participating organizations and 30 cent shall be retained for subsequent allocations, bear in mind the desirability of retaining an appropri proportion of convertible currencies;

(*iii*) All contributions above $20,000,000 shall be si larly retained;

(*c*) Contributions automatically available for dis bution to the participating organizations, in accorda with paragraph b (*i*) and (*ii*) above, shall be transfer by the Secretary-General to the organizations in acco ance with the following percentages:

	Per
United Nations	
International Labour Organisation	
Food and Agriculture Organization	
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization	
International Civil Aviation Organization	
World Health Organization	
TOTAL	

[2] See U.N. docs. E/SR.303 and 307–312, E/AC.6/SR 80 and E/SR.340–343.

(*d*) Contributions retained under paragraph b (*ii*) and ii) above shall be allotted by the TAB in such a manner it may decide and at such time as it may decide, taking to consideration all relevant factors, in particular the ounts and kinds of resources on hand and receivable, the hnical assistance requests received which fall within e field of the several participating organizations, the committed balances held by them, and the need for the ention of any reserves to meet unforeseen requests m Governments;

(*e*) The TAB shall determine the manner in which dif- ent currencies and services or materials can be most ectively utilized;

(*f*) The amounts received by the participating organiza- ns shall be available to them for the purpose of assum- obligations or commitments during the fiscal year in ich these amounts are received, but actual expenditures ll be allowed to extend over a period of not more than two ensuing fiscal years;

g) The Secretary-General and the executive heads the other participating organizations shall, after con- tation, make appropriate arrangements for the audit contributions and expenditures under this programme;

0. *Recommends* that the specialized agencies concerned e such steps as may be necessary to enable them

a) To participate fully under this programme, to ad- e to the principles set out in Annex A and to receive nies and other resources from the special account ablished by paragraph 8;

b) To use these monies and resources for the purposes out in paragraph 8, to exercise the required controls r the technical assistance activities and the monies l resources received, and to account for their expendi- e; and

c) To report to the TAC through the TAB on their tech- al assistance activities, including those financed from special account;

1. *Decides* that the financial and allocation arrange- nts shall be reviewed by the Council not later than twelfth session in the light of experience during the t year, taking into account the recommendations of TAB to the TAC;

2. *Decides*, subject to such decision as may be taken by General Assembly on the draft resolution in Annex II, call, in accordance with the supplementary rule of cedure of the General Assembly on the calling of inter- ional conferences by the Economic and Social Council echnical Assistance Conference for the purpose of

a) Ascertaining the total amount of contributions ilable from participating Governments for the execu- of the Technical assistance programme of the United ions and the specialized agencies during the first year ts operation, and

b) Giving final consent to the proportionate shares he total amount of contributions to be allotted to the ious participating organizations and to the other finan- arrangements as set out in paragraph 9;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General:

(*a*) To convene the Technical Assistance Conference at the headquarters of the United Nations at such time as the Secretary-General finds appropriate but, if possible, during or immediately following the fourth session of the General Assembly;

(*b*) To invite the said conference, with the right to vote, all Members of the United Nations and all other Governments members of any specialized agency participating in the programme; and

(*c*) Likewise to invite, without the right to vote, representatives of the specialized agencies.

ANNEX I

Observations on and Guiding Principles of an Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development

The Council recommends the following principles to serve as guides to the United Nations and specialized agencies participating in the expanded programme[3] of technical assistance, hereinafter called the "participating organizations":

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The participating organizations should, in extending technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries:

1. Regard it as a primary objective to help those countries to strengthen their national economies through the development of their industries and agriculture with a view to promoting their economic and political independence in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and to ensure the attainment of higher levels of economic and social welfare for their entire populations;

2. Observe the following general principles laid down in General Assembly Resolution 200 (III):[4]

(*a*) Technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries shall be rendered by the participating organizations only in agreement with the Governments concerned and on the basis of requests received from them;

(*b*) The kinds of services to be rendered to each country shall be decided by the Government concerned;

(*c*) The countries desiring assistance should perform, in advance, as much of the work as possible in order to define the nature and scope of the problem involved;

[3] Although the word "programme" is employed in this connexion, it is not contemplated that all projects described in the "programme" would or should be executed; rather what is contemplated is that the United Nations and the specialized agencies should hold themselves ready to render to the under-developed countries, at their request, the types of technical services which are described in the "programme" and which are designed to assist them in their economic development.

[4] [Printed in *Official Records of the Third Session of the General Assembly, Part* I, 21 September–12 December 1948, Resolutions, p. 38.]

(*d*) The technical assistance furnished shall:

(*i*) not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and not be accompanied by any considerations of a political nature;

(*ii*) be given only to or through Governments;

(*iii*) be designed to meet the needs of the country concerned; and

(*iv*) be provided as far as possible in the form which that country desires;

3. Avoid distinctions arising from the political structure of the country requesting assistance, or from the race or religion of its population.

STANDARDS OF WORK AND PERSONNEL

1. Highest professional competence should be maintained in all services undertaken by the participating organizations in rendering technical assistance to requesting countries;

2. Experts should be chosen not only for their technical competence but also for their sympathetic understanding of the cultural backgrounds and specific needs of the countries to be assisted and for their capacity to adapt methods of work to local conditions, social and material;

3. Adequate preparation of experts should be provided before assignments are undertaken; such preparation should be designed to give understanding of the broad objectives of the common effort and to encourage open-mindedness and adaptability;

4. Experts and groups of experts visiting a country should not engage in political, commercial, or any activities other than those for which they are sent. The scope of their duties should be strictly defined in each case by agreement between the country requesting assistance and the organizations providing assistance.

5. Even when allocations are committed, projects should not be commenced unless properly qualified experts and assistants are secured and trained;

6. All Governments should be invited to co-operate in the securing and selecting of qualified staff and to facilitate, when necessary, arrangements for their temporary release and for their continued employment on return;

7. Universities, technical schools, foundations, research institutions and other non-governmental sources from which experts may be drawn should be encouraged to release experts for field assignments under the programme, to arrange for their continued employment on return and to undertake special research projects on problems related to economic development.

PARTICIPATION OF REQUESTING GOVERNMENTS

The requesting Governments should be expected to agree:

1. To facilitate the activities requested from the participating organizations by assisting them to obtain th necessary information about the problems on which the have been asked to help, such information to be limite strictly to questions directly related to the concrete r quests for technical assistance; and, whenever appr priate, facilitate their contacts with individuals an groups, in addition to Government agencies, concerne with the same or related problems;

2. To give full and prompt consideration to the tec nical advice they receive as a result of their co-operatio with the participating organizations in response to th requests they have initiated;

3. To undertake to maintain or set up as soon as pra ticable such governmental co-ordination machinery as ma be needed to ensure that their own technical, natural an financial resources are mobilized, canalized and utilize in the interest of economic development designed to in prove the standard of living of their peoples and throug which the effective use of any major international tec nical assistance resources could be assured;

4. Normally to assume responsibility for a substanti part of the costs of technical services with which the are provided, at least that part which can be paid in the own currencies;

5. To undertake the sustained efforts required for ec nomic development, including continuing support a progressive assumption of financial responsibility for t administration of projects initiated at their request und international auspices;

6. To publish information or provide for study a analysis material suitable for publication regarding t results of the technical assistance rendered and the e perience derived therefrom, so that it may be of val to other countries and to the international organizatio rendering technical assistance;

7. To inform the participating organizations, whenev technical assistance is requested, of all assistance whi they are already receiving or requesting from other sourc in the same field of development;

8. To give publicity to the programme within the countries.

CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORT

1. The projects falling within the competence of pa ticipating organizations should be carried out by the and the co-ordination of their work should be effect with due regard to their constitutions and the relatio established between them;

2. The work undertaken by the participating organiz tions under the expanded technical assistance program should be such as to be suitable for integration with th normal work;

3. Arrangements should be made for requests for sistance within the sphere of two or more organizatio to be handled jointly by the organizations concerned; a there should be co-ordination among the participating ganizations at the planning level before commitments them are entered into with Governments;

4. Technical assistance activities which are not the present time the special responsibility of any s cialized agency, such as certain aspects of industrial

pment, manufacturing, mining, power and land and er transport, should be undertaken by the Secretary-eral of the United Nations.

All requests for technical assistance which involve prehensive or regional development projects falling hin the purview of more than one organization should be submitted to joint examination by the organiza-s concerned; such requests should be directed to the etary-General of the United Nations;

Programmes of training should be the subject of perative action among participating organizations.

CENTRATION AND ECONOMY

Vithin the wide range of activities envisaged, the par-pating organizations should practise, especially at the ial stages of their programmes, concentration of effort economy. The participating organizations should ensure the fullest use of any existing facilities.

ECTION OF PROJECTS

The participating organizations, in deciding on a re-t for assistance, should be guided solely by the Charter he United Nations, by the principles of the United ions' programme for technical assistance and by appro-te resolutions of the General Assembly and of the nomic and Social Council. The services envisaged ld aim at increased productivity of material and an resources and a wide and equitable distribution he benefits of such increased productivity, so as to ribute to the realization of higher standards of living the entire populations. Due attention and respect ld be paid to the national sovereignty and national lation of the under-developed countries and to the al conditions which directly affect their economic elopment. Requests for technical assistance may there-be approved which will help Governments to take unt of the probable consequences of proposed projects economic development in terms of the welfare of the lation as a whole, including the promotion of full loyment, and also to take account of those social condi-s, customs and values in a given area which would ctly influence the kinds of economic development that be feasible and desirable. Similarly requests may be approved for technical assistance to Governments ring to undertake the specific social improvements are necessary to permit effective economic develop-t and to mitigate the social problems, particularly lems of dislocation of family and community life, that arise as a concomitant of economic change. As in any onal programme for economic development any in-sed services undertaken by the Government can be ntained, in the long run, only out of national produc-, special attention should be given in timing and hasis to activities tending to bring an early increase ational productivity of material and human resources;

The participating organizations, when reviewing and ing in order of priority the requests which they re-e, should so far as possible ensure that due regard is paid to the urgency of the needs of the various applicants and their geographical distribution;

3. In response to requests from Governments, especially in connexion with plans for economic development, special consideration should be given to resources and methods of financing the development. It is recommended therefore that participating organizations, before undertaking work of an extensive character involving substantial cost, should assure themselves that Governments requesting such assistance are given full consideration to major capital investment or large continued governmental expenditure which may be needed as a result of this technical assistance. Governments may also require advice concerning conditions and methods of financing appropriate to such projects. Close co-operation among the participating organizations in responding to requests for technical assistance can facilitate the attainment of this objective;

4. Requests for the furnishing of equipment and supplies may be considered insofar as they form an integral part of a project of technical assistance.

ANNEX II

Resolution Recommended for Adoption by the General Assembly

EXPANDED PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The General Assembly,

HAVING CONSIDERED the Economic and Social Council's resolution No. 222 (IX) A of 15 August 1949 on an expanded programme of technical assistance for economic development;

Approves the observations and guiding principles set out in Annex I of that resolution and the arrangements made by the Council for the administration of this programme;

Notes the decision of the Council to call a Technical Assistance Conference for the purpose of negotiating contributions to this programme;

Authorizes the Secretary-General to set up a special account for technical assistance for economic development, and approves the recommendations of the Council to Governments participating in the Technical Assistance Conference regarding financial arrangements for administering contributions and authorizes the Secretary-General to fulfil the responsibilities assigned to him in this connexion;

Invites all Governments to make as large voluntary contributions as possible to the special account for technical assistance.

Resolutions of 14 August 1949

B. Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development of Under-developed Areas

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Economic and Social Council,

CONSIDERING that, in addition to the expanded programme of technical assistance to be rendered by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, facilities for

similar services are being expanded by regional organizations,

CONSIDERING the valuable contribution that these organizations can make to the successful implementation of the general programme of technical assistance of the United Nations,

RECOGNIZING the necessity of avoiding duplication of efforts and the advantages that the organizations concerned may derive from the interchange of information and of experience, but

RECOGNIZING further that until programmes have reached a more concrete form any efforts to arrive at specific forms of co-ordination would be premature,

Authorizes the Secretary-General, in consultation with the specialized agencies concerned, to enter into negotiations with the appropriate officers of inter-governmental regional organizations engaged in the development of technical assistance programmes with a view to ensuring the desirable co-ordination for the carrying out of the technical assistance activities of the organizations concerned; and

Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the results achieved so as to enable it, when more experience is available, to examine the advisability of establishing other forms of relationship between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies on the one hand, and the regional organizations, on the other.

C. Technical Assistance For Economic Development Under General Assembly Resolution 200 (III)

The Economic and Social Council,

HAVING REVIEWED the Secretary-General's second report on the measures which he has taken in compliance with the terms of the General Assembly's resolution 200 (III) on technical assistance for economic development,[5]

Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with Member States, to draw up and keep up to date information regarding the availability of experts in various fields, and to place this information at the disposal of Governments making application for technical assistance;

Requests the Secretary-General to enlist the co-operation of as many countries as possible to serve as host countries for fellows and scholars;

Recommends for the General Assembly's approval the programme proposed in the above-mentioned report by the Secretary-General for the continuation of these operations and his suggestions for an increased appropriation in 1950 to cover the activities authorized by resolution 200 (III); and

Recognizing the need for placing such activities on a continuing basis by making annual provision for them within the regular budget of the United Nations,

Recommends that the General Assembly take the necessary actions to ensure that the regular budget of the United Nations shall continue to provide the funds necessary to carry on technical assistance for the economic development of under-developed countries authorized b resolution 200 (III), and

Recommends that the General Assembly adopt the fo lowing resolution:

"The General Assembly

HAVING CONSIDERED the Economic and Social Council recommendation, in accordance with Paragraph 6 of Ge eral Assembly resolution 200 (III), including its recor mendations concerning 'budgetary action required by t General Assembly to carry on the functions institute by resolution 200 (III), and

HAVING DECIDED in resolution 200 (III) 'to appropria the funds necessary to enable the Secretary-General perform' certain functions set out in that resolution,

Agrees with the recommendations of the Economic a Social Council that the activities under resolution 2 (III) should be expanded in 1950 in accordance wi the Secretary-General's proposals, that increased appr priations should be provided therefor and that the regul budget of the United Nations should continue to provi for the activities authorized by that resolution; and

Notes with approval that the Secretary-General has cluded an amount for these services in the budget of t United Nations for the year 1950."

D. Methods of Financing Economic Development Under-developed Areas

The Economic and Social Council,

NOTING the section of the report of the fourth sess of the Economic and Employment Commission deal with the problem of economic development,[6] and the port of the Secretary-General on methods of financing economic development of under-developed countries,[7]

RECOGNIZING that the economic development of und developed areas requires not only expanded efforts technical assistance but also assurances of an expan rate of international capital flow for the purpose financing economic development,

BELIEVING that consideration of measures to exped such an expanded flow requires careful study and cussion by the Council of many problems such as effective mobilization of national savings, the creation a favourable investment climate, the fuller utilization existing sources of international funds measures to av extreme fluctuations in earnings of foreign exchange, others,

NOTING that, at the present session, important prog has been made towards economic development through formulation of a procedure for an international admi tration of an expanded technical assistance program and

NOTING that, as a result of these steps taken by Council, there may be a significant development over period ahead in the quantity and nature of project plications submitted for international financing, and a result of steps initiated by individual Governme further knowledge and experience may become avail concerning the effectiveness in stimulating internati

[5] See U.N. doc. E/1335.

[6] See U.N. doc. E/1356.

[7] See U.N. doc. E/1333.

tal flow of such measures as guarantees and tax ralization provisions,

ecides that a comprehensive discussion of actions nec- ry to stimulate capital investments, whether financed n domestic or foreign sources, be held if possible at next session of the Council; and

equests the Secretary-General to prepare, in co-opera- with the specialized agencies concerned, the follow- studies, and to complete as many as is found possible nticipation of the discussion at the next session of the ncil:

) Survey of private foreign investments in selected ntries, the factors accounting for these investments, the existing conditions governing foreign investments.

survey of the more important types of laws, regula- s and economic policies affecting the operations of for- private capital which are most prevalent in capital rting countries, on one side, and in less-developed ntries, on the other, with a view to evaluating the nt to which such laws, regulations and policies affect international flow of private capital;

(*b*) *Methods of increasing domestic savings and of ensuring their most advantageous use for the purpose of economic development.*

A study to include an examination of the various types of financial institutions already existing in the less-developed countries and those which could be most effective in promoting economic development, and of the fiscal and other means whereby Governments can effect the volume and use of domestic savings;

(*c*) *Effect of economic development on volume of savings.*

An examination of the direct effects of various types of economic development projects, (e. g., heavy industry as compared with agriculture) on the volume and rate of savings, as illustrated by the experience of selected under-developed countries;

(*d*) *International clearing house of information on investment.*

A study of the possibilities of establishing an international clearing house of information by which potential investing entities or private investors can be brought together with entities or private persons requiring funds in under-developed countries.

solutions on Reports of the Council Committee Non-Governmental Organizations

doc. E/1452
ted July 18 and 22, 1949

olutions of 18 July 1949

A

e Economic and Social Council

kes note of the report of its Committee on Non-Govern- tal Organizations[1] and decides that the following nizations be placed in the category referred to in graph 1 (*b*) of Part IV of Council resolution 2/3 of une 1946;

ternational Committee of Scientific Management,
ternational Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services,
ternational Society of Criminology,
ternational Temperance Union,
orld Engineering Conference,
orld Union for Progressive Judaism.

B

e Economic and Social Council,

CONSIDERING that the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations feels unable to make recommendations concerning the following organizations at the present time, either because they have been recently organized or because further information is desired,

Decides that the applications of the following organizations will be reconsidered at a later date:

International Conference on Large Electric Systems (postponed pending further information)
International Union of Socialist Youth (postponed until the tenth session of the Council)
Orient Press International Federation (postponed until the tenth session of the Council)
Society of Comparative Legislation (postponed until the tenth session of the Council)
World Alliance for International Friendship through Religion (postponed until the eleventh session of the Council)

C

The Economic and Social Council

Decides to request the Transport and Communications Commission to advise the Council on the applications of the following organizations:

[1] See U.N. doc. E/1390. [For a compilation relating to subject see BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 739.]

Inter-American Federation of Automobile Clubs
International Road Federation
Permanent International Bureau of Motor Manufacturers, and,

Requests the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations to consider the report of the Transport and Communications Commission and forward its recommendations to the Council:

D

The Economic and Social Council
Takes note of the recommendation of the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations not to grant consultative status to certain organizations;[2] and,
Decides not to grant consultative status to those organizations.

E

The Economic and Social Council,
in the light of paragraph 8 of Part I of Council resolution 2/3 of 21 June 1946 which reads as follows:

"National organizations should normally present their views through their respective Governments or through international non-governmental organizations to which they belong. It would not, save in exceptional cases, be appropriate to include national organizations which are affiliated to an international non-governmental organization covering the same subjects on an international basis. National organizations, however, may be included in the list after consultation with the Member State concerned if they cover a field which is not covered by any international organization or have special experience upon which the Council wishes to draw",

and upon the recommendation of the national Government concerned,
Decides that the following national organization be placed in the category referred to in paragraph 1 (*b*) of Part IV of Council resolution 2/3 of 21 June 1946:

Indian Council of World Affairs (India).

Resolution of 22 July 1949

F

HANDBOOK ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

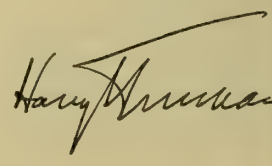
The Economic and Social Council,
TAKING NOTE of the intention of the Secretary-General to publish a handbook on non-governmental organizations and of the preparatory work already undertaken,
Requests the Secretary-General to postpone publication of the handbook and to submit to the next session of the Council detailed plans regarding the possible scope and content of such a handbook, together with a statement of the financial implications of the project.

[2] These organizations are listed in the annex and in the last paragraph of part II of the report of the Committee (E/1390).

United Nations Day, 1949

A PROCLAMATION[1]

WHEREAS throughout the march of civilizatio mankind has yearned for security, justice, an lasting peace; and
WHEREAS the Charter of the United Nations which embodies these aspirations, has instilled i the peoples of the world a renewed faith that b cooperative international effort and perseveranc they may succeed in effectuating these ideal among men; and
WHEREAS October 24, 1949, marks the comple tion of the fourth year in which the United Na tions has been a living force for solving the majo problems involved in transforming a shattere world into a better habitation for the human race and
WHEREAS the General Assembly of the Unite Nations, by its unanimous resolution of Octobe 31, 1947, established October 24, the anniversar of the coming into force of the Charter of th United Nations, as "United Nations Day", to b devoted each year to acquainting all peoples wit the aims and achievements of the United Natio and to gaining their support for the work of th organization:
NOW, THEREFORE, I, Harry S. Truman, Presider of the United States of America, do hereby urg the people of the United States to observe Octob 24, 1949, as United Nations Day with ceremoni designed to affirm our faith in the objectives the United Nations, our appreciation of its accon plishments, and our resolve to give active suppo to its principles.
I also call upon the officials of the Federal Go ernment, the Governors of States, the mayors cities, and other public officials, as well as civi educational, and religious organizations; upon t agencies of the press, radio, and other media information; and upon individual citizens to c operate fully in public programs dedicated strengthening our participation in the work of t United Nations.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set m hand and caused the Seal of the United States America to be affixed.
DONE at the City of Washington this twent fifth day of August in the year of our Lord nin teen hundred and forty-nine, and of t [SEAL] Independence of the United States America the one hundred and sevent fourth.



By the President:
DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State.

[1] Proc. 2853, 14 *Fed. Reg.* 5363.

ordon R. Clapp Named Chairman N. Economic Survey Mission Near East

tement by the President

leased to the press by the White House August 26]

The Secretary-General of the United Nations today announced the appointment of a disguished American, Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley thority, as chairman of an economic survey mis- n which is being created on recommendation of Palestine Conciliation Commission.

Mr. Clapp will head a mission composed of ex- ts, recruited on an international basis, which l examine the economic situation arising from recent hostilities in the Near East and will rec- mend to the Conciliation Commission means of rcoming resultant economic dislocations, of re- egrating the refugees into the economic life the area, and of creating economic conditions ich will be conducive to the establishment of manent peace. In view of the urgency of the blem, it is expected that the survey mission will nplete its work in a comparatively short time, l Mr. Clapp will then resume his duties with the nnessee Valley Authority.

The United States Government has attached the atest significance to the work of the Conciliaa Commission in facilitating settlement of is- s outstanding between Israel and the Arab tes. This government now pledges full sup- t to the newly created economic misison and nds ready to give careful consideration to such istance as we might appropriately render, under auspices of the United Nations, in carrying out recommendations of the mission. I am con- ent that the United Nations and its member tes which are in a position to render assistance l do likewise.

Traditional American cultural interests in the ar East have in recent years been reinforced expanding economic and commercial ties and recognition of the important role of that his- ical cross roads between three continents in the intenance of peace and security of the world today. This steady expansion of our relations h the Near East has given rise to a natural erest on the part of this government in the wel- e of the governments and peoples of that area. so saying, however, I wish to emphasize that as in the past we have no ax of special privilege grind. We do, however, have an obvious community of interest with the countries of the Near East, and it is proper that we should give that relationship the careful and understanding consideration which it merits.

It is only since the First World War that most of the states in the Near East began their march toward self-government and independence. These states have now become their own masters. There is no doubt that the long struggles for independence, as well as the recent hostilities, have made it difficult for the peoples of the area to achieve progressive development in their economic and social institutions. The United States is deeply conscious of these needs and of the relationship between their satisfactory solution and healthy progress in the political field.

With the termination of the recent Arab-Israeli hostilities, the governments and the peoples of the Near East should now be in a position to devote the full measure of their abilities and resources to their economic and social betterment. In my inaugural address of January 20, 1949, I expressed the desire of this government to extend technical assistance to underdeveloped areas under the so-called Point 4 Program. The application of this program to the Near East would be of material assistance in reinforcing any program which might be formulated on the basis of the recommendations of the economic survey mission.

It would be oversimplifying the problem, however, to imply that solution of the economic problems of the Near East depends wholly upon outside assistance. It is only through the initiative and cooperation of the states of the Near East that progress can be made toward the solution of their own grave problems. Progress can be made only if the states of the Near East collaborate along harmonious and constructive lines, seeking no advantage one over the other, but seeking, through expansion of trade and the exchange of skills and capital, the development of their resources for their common benefit. Progress can be made only when basic security is assured through removal of threats of aggression and full reliance is placed on peaceful negotiation and on the United Nations for settlement of disputes. Progress can be made only if underlying conditions are modified to permit the people of the Near East to share, in proportion to their effort, the products of the soil and factories. All solutions can be reached in time through democratic and peaceful processes.

I am convinced that, if the Near Eastern nations affected by the recent hostilities will put aside their differences and bend their energies to constructive cooperation, they can find a basis on which to build permanent peace and stability. The United States stands ready to lend a firm and helping hand in such an endeavor.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

[August 27–September 2]

Supplementary Agenda Items

U.N. doc. A/964
Dated August 26, 1946

1. Problem of the proliferation and overlapping of the programmes of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies: item proposed by Brazil.
2. Tribute to the memory of Thomas Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt: item proposed by Nicaragua.
3. The observance of fundamental freedoms and human rights in Roumania, including the question of religious and civil liberty (in conjunction with the analogous question raised by Australia in connexion with Bulgaria and Hungary): item proposed by Australia.
4. The observance and implementation of Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, and in particular of 55*a* providing for the achievement of full employment and higher standards of living: item proposed by Australia.
5. Action to achieve or maintain full employment and economic stability: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
6. Economic development of under-developed countries:*

(*a*) Technical assistance for economic development: report of the Economic and Social Council (Resolution 200 (III) of 4 December 1948).

(*b*) Expanded co-operative programme of technical assistance for economic development through the United Nations and the specialized agencies: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.

7. Draft Convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
8. Refugees and stateless persons: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
9. Freedom of Information. Access for news personnel to meetings of the United Nations and the specialized agencies: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
10. Advisory social welfare services: item proposed by the Economic and Social Council.
11. Report of the International Children Emergency Fund: item proposed by the Econom and Social Council.
12. Draft Convention on the death of missin persons: item proposed by the Economic an Social Council.

*See also item 28 of the provisional agenda for the fourth regular session (A/932). Printed in BULLETIN of Aug. 29, 1949, p. 287.

Notes

Representatives of the six permanent membe of the Atomic Energy Commission are continuin their closed consultations to determine wheth there exists "a basis for agreement" on atom energy control . . . In cooperation with loc health authorities, a campaign to combat the inc dence of rickets among German children will l launched this month by the U.N. Internation Children's Emergency Fund, with the expectatic that more than one million children will be a sisted during the campaign . . . The Intern tional Bank for Reconstruction and Developme granted a loan of 34 million dollars to India f reconstruction and development of the Stat owned and operated railways . . . The Rour Table Conference which began in The Hague c August 23 with representatives of the Netherland the Republic of Indonesia, and the Indonesia Federalists participating, is continuing its discu sions leading to the formulation of plans for t transfer of sovereignty to a United States Indonesia . . .

Iceland was the fourth country to ratify t Genocide Convention, which will come into for upon ratification by 20 states . . . The Food a Agriculture Organization has sent two staff sp cialists to Ecuador to assist that country in reco ering from the heavy damage done to its agricu ture by the recent disastrous earthquake . . . T Security Council's Committee on the Admission New Members voted on August 23 to recomme the admission of Nepal to membership in t United Nations . . . The U.N. Palestine Concili tion Commission decided on August 24 to nomina a United Nations representative for Jerusalem, " cooperate with the local authorities with respe to the interim administration of the Jerusale area." . . . The World Health Organization h flown 16 iron lungs to India in response to a appeal because of the outbreak of polio . . . T Road Conference meeting in Geneva is continuin

drafting of a world-wide Convention on Road l Motor Transport. . . .

-Self-Governing Territories

'he Special Committee of the General Assembly Information Transmitted under Article 73 (e) he United Nations Charter on August 25 began mination of the summaries and analyses pre- ed by the Secretary-General on information ısmitted by 8 administering governments dur- 1949 on the economic, social and educational ditions in 64 non-self-governing territories. ıjamin Gerig of the United States was elected irman.

'he question of precisely what territories con- uted non-self-governing territories on which ɔrmation should be transmitted under Article (e) of the Charter came up in connection with ussion of cessation of transmission of infor- ion on certain territories which the admin- ring powers considered were no longer con- ered non-self-governing terirtories within the ning of Article 73 (e). In response to an ck on the United Kingdom and France by the on of Soviet Socialist Republics representative failure to submit information on certain terri- es, the United Kingdom representative stated in signing the Charter the administering ntries accepted only the limited obligation to ısmit certain technical information and were otherwise accountable to either the special com- tee or the General Assembly. He supported view of the French delegation that the right to ermine on what territories information should ransmitted rested exclusively with the admin- ring power.

U.S.S.R. proposal asking that the Committee hdraw from discussion the information trans- ted by the Netherlands Government relating he Republic of Indonesia, on the ground that Indonesian Republic had become an independ- state, was rejected by the Special Committee question not within its terms of reference.

n Committee examination of the summaries and lyses in relation to selected social welfare prob- s in the non-self-governing territories, Mr. ig commended the progress made in the de- ɔpment of social-welfare services. He pointed that one basic need in this field was funds to and existing programs to accelerate their elopment.

'he Special Committee decided to ask the Gen- Assembly to invite administering members to e necessary steps to establish equal treatment ducation between inhabitants of the territories ther they be indigenous or not. UNESCO will sked to study the question of to what extent the ive languages in the territories can be used as ehicle of instruction in the schools.

Commission for India and Pakistan

Because efforts made since January 1, 1949, by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, of which the United States is a member, to negotiate a truce agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan have not been successful, the Commission has submitted a new proposal to both governments for the settlement of the truce in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Secretary Acheson in a statement to the press said that in view of the great interest of the United States in the peace and stability of the subcontinent, the President has addressed a message to Prime Minister Nehru of India and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan urging that they accept the Commission's recent proposal for settlement of the truce issue.

UNSCCUR

Scientists and engineers from 49 countries during the second week of the United Nations Scientific Conference for the Conservation and Utilization of Resources discussed estimates of undiscovered oil and gas reserves; conservation and use of minerals and metals; possibilities in developing new resources by applied technology; methods for appraising resources; utilization of resources to aid underdeveloped countries; and conservation of resources to keep the peace.

Warning against overindustrialization, John Abbink, speaking as a private citizen, told the conference of the apparent misconception as to the nature of the problem of economic development throughout the world in that some people apparently believe that the United States has reached such a high point of economic development that it could dispense with further material improvements at home in its efforts to assist other countries. The people of the United States, he continued, have come to the conviction that "the most difficult single problem which faces leaders in underdeveloped countries is that of convincing their peoples that economic progress comes from within; that it cannot be imposed from without, or even greatly advanced unless there exists a widespread desire for national improvement so strong that the necessary temporary sacrifices will seem worthwhile to all who will be affected."

Few countries, Mr. Abbink said, are ready for the degree of industrialization "to which they seem to aspire." Industrialization could create more problems than it solves. "To undertake industrialization at the risk of hungry stomachs, or in the face of rising imports of food staples readily produced locally would be uneconomic development."

Though President Truman's Point Four has been hailed the world over because of its reference to financing, actually, Mr. Abbink said, this Point Four stressed the need for planning in many fields, including transportation, markets for products, and a national fiscal policy.

Calendar of Meetings [1]

Adjourned during August		**1949**
Diplomatic Conference for the Drawing up of a New Convention Intended to Protect War Victims.	Geneva	Apr. 21–Aug. 12
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Ninth Session	Geneva	July 5–Aug. 9
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Meeting of Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio and Films.	Paris	July 25–Aug. 3
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Meeting of Specialists on Agricultural Extension	The Hague	Aug. 1–13
Meeting of Specialists on Improvement of Dairy Production and Marketing.	Reading, England	Aug. 1–29
Meeting of Specialists on Foot-and-Mouth Disease Control.	London	Aug. 14–15
Fourth Meeting of Technical Committee on Wood Chemistry.	Brussels	Aug. 25–27
Meeting of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission.	Bern	Aug. 1–7
Conference for the Revision of the 1945 Bermuda Telecommunications Agreement.	London	Aug. 8–13
Inter-American Commission of Women: Special Assembly	Buenos Aires	Aug. 8–22
XIV International Veterinary Congress	London	Aug. 8–
Twelfth International Dairy Congress	Stockholm	Aug. 15–19
Fifth International Congress on Microbiology	Rio de Janeiro	Aug. 17–
In Session as of September 1, 1949		
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region I Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Meeting of the Technical Plan Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Second Session.	Geneva	Aug. 1–
Fourth Meeting of the Administrative Council	Geneva	Aug. 15–
United Nations:		**1948**
Commission on Korea	Seoul	Dec. 12–
		1949
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem, Rhodes and Lausanne.	Jan. 17–
Security Council Commission on India and Pakistan	New Delhi	February
Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources.	Lake Success	Aug. 17–
Conference on Road and Motor Transport	Geneva	Aug. 23–

Session as of September 1, 1949—Continued		
ATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):		
Third Session of Contracting Parties	Annecy, France	Apr. 8–
FM (Council of Foreign Ministers):		
Deputies for Austria	London	June 30–
NESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Congress on Problems of Illiteracy and Adult Education.	Rio de Janeiro	July 27–Sept. 3
International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature.	New York City	Aug. 22–
ternational Wheat Council:		
Advisory Committee on Price Equivalents	London	Aug. 3–
Executive Committee	London	Aug. 8–
nth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art	Venice	Aug. 11–
nir International Fair	Ismir, Turkey	Aug. 20–
nference on Plant and Animal Nutrition in Relation to Soil and Climatic Factors.	Australia	Aug. 22–
o Technical Meeting on Agricultural Extension	Turrialba, Costa Rica	Aug. 23–
ternational Association for Research in Income and Wealth.	Cambridge, England	Aug. 27–
heduled September 1 to November 30, 1949		
O (International Labor Organization):		
rmanent Agricultural Committee: Third Session	Geneva	Sept. 1–
Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Coal Mines	Geneva	Sept. 12–
Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians	Geneva	Oct. 17–29
Tripartite Conference on Rhine Navigation	Geneva	October
Metal Trades Industrial Committee: Third Session	Geneva	November
Industrial Committee on Iron and Steel: Third Session	Geneva	Late November
nnes Film Festival	Cannes	Sept. 2–
ernational Statistical Institute: 26th Session	Bern	Sept. 3–
ESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
Executive Board: 17th Session	Paris	Sept. 3–
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–
International Seminar on Rural and Adult Education	New Delhi	Nov. 2–
Conference to Consider the Establishment of an International Institute of the Arid Zone.	Paris	Nov. 7–
dapest International Fair	Budapest	Sept. 3–18
ited Nations:		
Ecosoc: (Economic and Social Council):		
Subcommission on Statistical Sampling	Lake Success	Sept. 5–
ECAFE-FAO Joint Meeting	Singapore	Oct. 1–3
ECAFE Meeting of Inland Transport Experts	Singapore	Oct. 5–10
ECAFE Meeting of Standing Committee on Industry and Trade.	Singapore	Oct. 10–17
ECAFE: Fifth Session	Singapore	Oct. 20–
Social Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	November or December
General Assembly: Fourth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 20–
ermanent Central Opium Board: 54th Session	Geneva	Sept. 26–
nterim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements.	Lake Success	September
rth International Congress on Neurology	Paris	Sept. 5–10
h International Congress of Americanists	New York City	Sept. 5–12
ernational Union of Chemistry: 15th General Conference.	Amsterdam	Sept. 6–10

Scheduled September 1 to November 30, 1949—Con.		
XVII International Navigation Congress	Lisbon	Sept. 10–
Vienna International Fair	Vienna	Sept. 11–
Pan American Institute of Geography and History: First Consultation of Commission on Geography.	Rio de Janeiro	Sept. 12–
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–
International Monetary Fund: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement Conference.	Montreal	Sept. 13–
International Council of Scientific Unions: General Assembly.	Copenhagen	Sept. 14–16
Marseilles International Fair	Marseilles	Sept. 25–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: Eighth Session	Montreal	September
Air Routes and Ground Aids Divisional Meeting	Montreal	Nov. 1–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Conference on Locust Control	Central America	September
Meeting of Technical Committee on Food Composition	Washington	September
European Forestry and Forest Products Commission	Undetermined	Late September
Near East Regional Meeting on Animal Breeding Under Tropical and Subtropical Conditions.	Cairo	Oct. 3–
Joint Committee with WHO on Nutrition	Geneva	October
Timber Committee (FAO–ECE)	Geneva	October
Meeting of Specialists on Adjusting Livestock Feeding Practices to Current Feed Supplies.	France or Switzerland	October
Meeting on Control of Infestation in Stored Grain	Palmira, Colombia	October
Council: Seventh Session	Washington	Nov. 14–
Annual Conference: Fifth Session	Washington	Nov. 21–
Committee on Unexploited Forests	Habana	November
Meeting of Technical Committee on Physiological Requirements of Calories and Nutrients.	Washington	November
Netherlands Industry Fair	Utrecht	September
First Session of the Inter-American Council of Jurists	Rio de Janeiro	September
Pan American Sanitary Organization:		
Eighth Meeting of the Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 3–5
Third Meeting of the Directing Council	Lima	Oct. 6–12
Ninth Meeting of the Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 13–15
International Council for Exploration of the Sea	Edinburgh	Oct. 3–11
IRO (International Refugee Organization):		
Executive Committee: Sixth Meeting	Geneva	Oct. 6–10
General Council: Fourth Meeting	Geneva	Oct. 11–
International Criminal Police Commission: General Assembly.	Bern	Oct. 10–15
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Special Administrative Radio Conference for the Adoption of a New Frequency List.	Geneva	Oct. 17–*
South Pacific Commission: Fourth Session	Nouméa	Oct. 22–
Twelfth International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy.	Mexico City	Oct. 23–29
Inter-American Statistical Institute: Second Session	Bogotá	Nov. 7–
Third Session of the Committee on the 1950 Census of the Americas.	Bogotá	Nov. 7–
Third Inter-American Congress of Radiology	Santiago	Nov. 11–17
Postal Union of the Americas and Spain: Sxith Congress	Lima	Nov 15–

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.
*Tentative.

Revision and Extension of the Geneva Conventions

y William H. McCahon

Fifty-nine governments, including the Big Four, nt delegations to Geneva to participate in the iplomatic Conference of 1949, which was conened under the auspices of the Swiss Government r the purpose of concluding new treaties for the rotection of the victims of war.[1] The conference egan its deliberations on April 21 and concluded s work August 12.[2]

Specifically the task of the conference was to reise existing treaties in this field, namely the two eneva conventions of 1929 relative to the treatent of prisoners of war and the wounded and ck, and the Hague convention of 1907 for the laptation to maritime warfare of the principles f the Geneva convention (commonly referred to s the hospital ships convention), and to write a ew convention applicable to civilians in wartime. lthough several attempts had been made followg World War I and earlier, to bring into being civilian convention, all such attempts had been nsuccessful. Further efforts in this direction ere temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of Vorld War II.

Two earlier meetings on this subject, one at eneva in April 1947, and the second at Stockholm August 1948, had resulted in the formulation f draft conventions which served as the working ocuments for the Diplomatic Conference. Howver, since these earlier meetings were of short uration and had not been attended by as many overnments, considerable revision of the working ocuments was necessary and inevitable. The nited States, having actively supported the iniative taken by the International Committee of e Red Cross in the fall of 1945 to revise these eaties, officially participated in both the preparaory meetings.[3] Although there was from the ery beginning almost unanimous agreement mong the parties concerned that the job should be done as soon as possible and before the experiences of World War II had been forgotten, there were some who questioned the wisdom of such action on the grounds that it would create the impression of preparation for another world conflict. Max Petitpierre, Vice President of the Swiss Federal Council and Chief of the Federal Department of Political Affairs, in his opening address as president of the Diplomatic Conference, took cognizance of this line of thought and had the following pertinent comments to make on the point:

> . . . From various quarters it has been claimed that to set up rules for warfare is to prepare for war. I need hardly say that this conception is completely mistaken. If it had been adopted by our predecessors, the 1864, 1906, and 1929 conventions would never have come into being. Experience has shown that, once a conflict has broken out, it is useless to attempt a reconciliation between belligerents. It is therefore an imperative duty to establish conventions in peacetime for the protection of war victims. Our recognition of this duty in no way prevents us from earnestly hoping that war may be definitively eliminated from the history of mankind.—Translation from French.

The formulation of the United States position on the revision of these humanitarian conventions began early in 1946 with the establishment, on invitation of the Secretary of State, of an Interdepartmental Prisoners of War Committee. Interested agencies which have participated in and contributed to the formulation of the United States position on the subject include the Departments of State, Army, Navy, Air Force, Justice, Treasury (including Coast Guard), Post Office, Labor, Federal Security Agency, and the American Red Cross.

It was fitting that the site of the conference should be Geneva, for it was in that city, 85 years earlier, that the first convention for the relief of the wounded on the battlefield was signed. The humanitarian principles embodied in the convention of 1864, first conceived by Henri Dunant, a citizen of Geneva, have stood the test of time and

[1] For an account of the earlier meetings on this subject e BULLETIN of June 22, 1947, p. 1205, and Oct. 10, 1948, 464.

[2] For members of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of pr. 24, 1949, p. 522.

[3] France participated in both. The United Kingdom attended the April 1947 meeting of experts and sent unofficial observers to the Stockholm meeting. The U.S.S.R. declined to take part in either of the preparatory meetings.

have been revised and extended as changing circumstances required. First revised in 1906, a second revision in 1929 added a convention defining the treatment to be accorded prisoners of war. The need for a civilian convention having been highlighted by the unfortunate experiences of World War II, the Geneva meeting of 1949 was faced with the task of endeavoring to extend through international treaty similar protection to noncombatant civilians.

Although the conference lasted considerably longer than planned, almost 4 months instead of 6 weeks, it did fully accomplish the task which had been set before it. Four complete conventions were drafted and formally accepted. On August 12, 1949, Leland Harrison, chairman of the U.S. delegation, and Raymund Yingling, vice-chairman of the U.S. delegation, acting under the authority conferred on them by the President, signed in the name of the United States the revised wounded and sick, maritime, and prisoners of war conventions. Action by the United States delegation with respect to the signing of the civilian convention was deferred to permit a careful reading of the document by the interested agencies of the government. This deferment was in accordance with the procedure adopted by the conference regarding the signature of the conventions. That procedure permitted those governments which desired to do so to sign any or all of the conventions immediately, while holding open the register of signatures for a period of 6 months for those who wished to defer signing.

It is expected that the published texts of the four conventions will be available in the near future. An objective appraisal of the effectiveness of the work of the Diplomatic Conference of 1949 will have to be made by some future observer in the light of historical developments. It is believed, however, that the drafts of the three revised conventions represent a considerable improvement over the ones which they are intended to replace, and that the new civilian convention marks a step forward in the effort to mitigate, through international agreement, the suffering occasioned by war. Since many of the delegates to the conference had themselves been prisoners of war or civilian internees and many others had during the last war been charged with the administrative responsibility of the practical application of the conventions, much of the valuable experience gained thereby has been incorporated into the new documents. The new texts are consequently based on practical and realistic considerations while at the same time retaining the basic humanitarian objectives on which the first Geneva convention was founded.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

International Wheat Agreement of 1949. Message fron the President of the United States transmitting a certifie copy of the International Wheat Agreement, which wa open for signature in Washington from March 23 to Apri 15, 1949, and was signed during that period on behalf o the Government of the United States of America and th Governments of 40 other countries. S. Exec. M, 81st Cong. 1st sess. 31 pp.

International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea 1948. S. Exec. Rept. 4, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 4 pp.

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization S. Exec. Rept. 5, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Authorizing Completion of the Processing of the Vis Cases, and Admission into the United States, of certai Alien Fiancés and Fiancées of Members, or of Former Mem bers, of the Armed Forces of the United States, as wa provided in the so-called GI Fiancées Act (60 Stat. 339), a amended. S. Rept. 210, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Persecution of Religious Leaders for Political Purpose in Certain Countries. S. Rept. 220, 81st Cong., 1st sess 3 pp.

Amending the Trading With the Enemy Act so as t Extend the Time within which Claims may be Filed fo Return of any Property or interest acquired by the Unite States on or after December 18, 1941. S. Rept. 242, 81s Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Extending an Invitation To hold the 1956 Winter Olym pic Games at Lake Placid, N. Y. S. Rept. 272, 81st Cong. 1st sess. 1 p.

North Atlantic Treaty. Documents Relating to th North Atlantic Treaty. Prepared by the Staff of the Senat Foreign Relations Committee. S. Doc. 48, 81st Cong., 1s sess. vii, 128 pp.

Revised Supplemental Estimate of Appropriations fo Payment of Claims for Damages, Audited Claims, an Judgments. Communication from the President of th United States transmitting revised supplemental estimat of appropriations for payment of claims for damages audited claims, and judgments, amounting to $2,267,869.53 S. Doc. 52, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 57 pp.

Supplemental Estimate—United Nations for Relief o Palestine Refugees. Communication from the Presiden of the United States transmitting supplemental estimat of appropriation for the United Nations for relief of Pales tine refugees, fiscal year 1949, amounting to $16,000,000 S. Doc. 58, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Charter for an International Trade Organization. Mes sage from The President of the United States transmittin the charter for International Trade Organization, pre pared by a conference of the United Nations, Habana 1948, together with a memorandum from the Secretary o State. S. Doc. 61, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 11 pp.

Operations of the Department of State Under Sectio 32 (B) (2) of Public Law 584 (79th Cong.). Message fron the President of the United States transmitting a repor by the Secretary of State on the operations of the Depart ment of State under section 32 (B) (2) of Public Law 584 Seventy-ninth Congress. H. Doc. 130, 81st Cong., 1st sess 50 pp.

Amendment of Title 18 and Title 28, United States Code H. Rept. 352, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 66 pp.

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940. H. Rept. 432 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Extension of the European Recovery Program. H. Rept 440, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 13 pp.

eport on Third (Special) Session of General Council of IRO

George L. Warren

The General Council of the International Ref-ee Organization (IRO) held its third (special) sion at Geneva from June 28 to July 8, 1949. e Executive Committee met concurrently from ne 30 to July 8, 1949.

The session was convened for the special purpose considering the revised proposals of the Direc--General concerning the termination of the serv-s of the organization and future international ion for the protection of refugees and displaced sons in their civil status. These questions had n considered in a preliminary way at the second sion of the Council in March 1949, at which e the representatives of government members IRO were unprepared to reach definitive de-ons. Subsequent to the second session of the ncil in March 1949, the Director-General, Wil-n Hallam Tuck, had submitted his resignation the chairman of the Executive Committee, erin de Beaumont (France) to take effect no r than July 31, 1949. In consequence the Coun-at this special session faced the responsibility ction on the resignation and on the election of . Tuck's successor.

All 18 members of the IRO were represented at meeting:

Australia	Italy
Belgium	Luxembourg
Canada	Netherlands
China	New Zealand
Denmark	Norway
Dominican Republic	Switzerland
France	United Kingdom
Guatemala	United States
Iceland	Venezuela

presentatives of the United Nations, the Gov-ment of Israel, the Vatican, International La- Organization, United Nations Educational, entific and Cultural Organization, World alth Organization, and Food and Agriculture ganization were also in attendance as official ervers.

n the absence of J. Desy of Canada, Guerin de umont of France was elected chairman of the Council for the session. J. Schneider of Belgium served as first vice-chairman, Dr. V. Montoya of Venezuela as second vice-chairman, and Prince del Drago of Italy as rapporteur.

The Executive Committee met solely for the purpose of considering the resignation of Mr. Tuck and of recommending the election of his successor to the Council. Persistent efforts were made by members of the Executive Committee to induce Mr. Tuck to remain as Director-General. On the failure of these representations, his resignation was accepted with unanimous regret. All representatives present expressed their appreciation of the contribution he had made during his 2 years of service. A candidate to succeed Mr. Tuck as Director-General was presented by the United States representative, who proposed adoption by the Committee of a recommendation to the Council that John Donald Kingsley, Assistant Administrator of the Federal Security Agency, be elected to succeed Mr. Tuck. This recommendation was adopted, and at the final meeting of the General Council the recommendations of the Committee accepting Mr. Tuck's resignation with regret and electing Mr. Kingsley as Director-General to take office on July 31, 1949, were unanimously adopted.

The Council devoted the major part of its session to consideration of the Director-General's revised proposals for the termination of IRO services. After full discussion of the Director-General's recommendations, the Council decided to discontinue the registration of refugees and displaced persons on August 31, 1949, with the following exceptions: Unaccompanied children discovered after August 31, 1949, may be registered after that date as eligible for services; refugees in any area of IRO operations who left their countries of origin after August 31, 1949, may be registered as eligible up to October 15, 1949; and finally, refugees and displaced persons may be registered after that date solely for the purpose of receiving legal and political protection in their civil status. In reaching these decisions the Council stressed the urgency of determining for the information of the Council

at its session in October 1949, the total number of refugees and displaced persons requiring services by the organization, and particularly those among them who may require movement overseas. Only when this figure is known will the Council be able to determine the total of the residual assets available to the organization, which may be devoted to the continuing care of the aged and infirm refugees and displaced persons who will not qualify for resettlement in any country.

Consideration by the Council of the shipping program of IRO budgeted for the fiscal year 1949–50 indicated the need for an immediate recanvass of the receiving countries to determine to what extent these countries might find it possible to accept for resettlement an additional 150,000 refugees and displaced persons not presently budgeted for movement. These refugees and displaced persons anticipated to be awaiting resettlement on June 30, 1950, are in addition to the nonresettlable refugees and displaced persons who will not qualify for resettlement in any country because of age, infirmities, or other causes of dependency. The Council also decided to discontinue admissions to assembly centers in Germany, Austria, and Italy on December 31, 1949, and admissions to the cash-assistance programs chiefly in the Western European countries on March 31, 1950. The Council decided further that all care and maintenance should be discontinued on June 30, 1950, except for refugees and displaced persons in process of repatriation and resettlement on that date and those who will require permanent assistance such as institutional care for whom other satisfactory arrangements have not been completed prior to that date.

The Director-General's proposal that a counseling program to identify the hard-core group and those who may for personal reasons desire to remain in the countries of present residence be pressed vigorously was approved by the Council. This program will determine the numbers, particularly among those still to be registered, who will require repatriation or resettlement. As a result of this counseling program, the Council will have complete data before it at its October 1949 meeting on the basis of which final decisions on the termination of IRO services can be made.

The discussions which resulted in the foregoing decisions indicated that the Western European countries are seriously concerned with respect to provisions ultimately to be made by IRO for the continuing care of the hard core of nonresettlables. They fear that unless adequate provision is made for those remaining in Germany and Austria after the termination of IRO these persons will inevitably drift into the Western European countries and become a burden on the economies of those countries.

With these problems in mind the Council instructed the Director-General to formulate in co operation with the governments, authorities con cerned, and other interested organizations, plan for future provision for those refugees and dis placed persons who require permanent assistanc such as institutional care. The Director-Genera was authorized to allocate to such government and authorities which undertake permanent pro vision for the hard-core refugees the equivalen of the care and maintenance costs which woul have been incurred by the IRO for such refugee up to June 30, 1950, and to transfer to them, in hi discretion, IRO right, title, or interest in facilitie equipment, or such budgeted funds as the Director General determines by written order will furthe the permanent provision for hard-core refugee A report of transfers made to other authoritie both of the responsibility for the care of refugee and of the funds and capital equipment utilize for this purpose is to be made to the October 194 meeting of the Council.

The Council also considered plans for the ter mination of the International Tracing Service an instructed the Director-General to undertake nego tiations with the International Committee of th Red Cross with a view to the transfer of the Trac ing Service to that organization for permanen maintenance on a reduced basis.

With respect to future international action con cerning refugees the Council adopted a memo randum for transmission to the Economic and So cial Council already convened at Geneva on Jul 5, 1949. The memorandum stated the convictio of the Council that upon the termination of the IR there will remain in Europe certain numbers o refugees and displaced persons who will requir legal protection in their civil status and that inter national assistance in the protection of refuge should continue unbroken preferably under an or gan to be created within the framework of th United Nations. The Council decided specificall that IRO should not be continued in existence in or der to provide the required legal protection fo refugees. The Western European members of th Council urged that the Council recommend th setting up of a High Commissioner for Refuge under the United Nations and the establishmen of an international fund to provide continuing a sistance to refugees. Many governments, parti ularly Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, th United States, and Venezuela, took the positio that decisions on these questions would be pr mature and should be left to the Economic an Social Council and the General Assembly of th United Nations. The memorandum as final adopted cited the differences of views on these tw points.

The Council closed the third (special) session o Friday, July 8, 1949, and resolved to convene i fourth session on or about Tuesday, October 1 1949, at Geneva. It was also decided that the E ecutive Committee should meet at Geneva for i sixth session on October 6, 1949.

oluntary Association Among Free Nations for Security and Liberty

ddress by President Truman[1]

I am particularly pleased that you have asked e to be here on the day the Veterans of Foreign Vars is honoring distinguished representatives om other countries which have joined in the orth Atlantic Treaty. The presence of veterans om most of the treaty countries, meeting with ır own veterans, is deeply symbolic of the spirit ıat binds together the free nations of the world.

All the countries that signed the treaty have arned the tragic cost of war. All of us have arned how weakness invites aggression—how emocratic countries, unless they stand together, n be taken over one by one. And now, all of us e determined that, by joint efforts and a common efense, we shall become strong enough to prevent nother terrible conflict.

New Phase of Human History

Four years ago, when the war ended, the world ıtered a new phase of human history. There were any who believed that the world would quickly turn to its old ways. Many believed that the untries of the world would work their way, acefully and in cooperation, back to conditions stability and prosperity.

But the effects of this last war were too far-aching to permit such an easy adjustment. The estruction had been too great to allow a quick covery. The accumulated wealth of generations ıd been poured out and lost in the conflict. Con-tions of world trade had been fundamentally tered. As a result of the upheaval, many peoples demanded new rights and new responsibilities. Men who had lived for centuries in economic or political servitude asked for independence and a fair share of the good things of life.

The war against tyranny was sustained by belief in the Four Freedoms. Men refused to yield to dictatorship because they desired and believed they could secure conditions of material and spiritual freedom. When the war ended, they demanded to be treated as free men. They demanded a world in which they could attain security and liberty.

This demand cannot be suppressed. It must not be frustrated. It presents a challenge to us and to the values of our civilization which will require all our energies and wisdom to satisfy.

Meeting the Challenge of Communism

One pretended answer to this demand of man kind is offered by organized Communism. But that answer is a false one. Communism claims to satisfy the universal desire for a better life. But, in fact, it lures men by false promises back to tyranny and slavery—and more and more people, all over the world, are learning that fact.

The free nations of the world offer a different answer to the demand of mankind for security and liberty. Our answer is based upon voluntary association among free nations, mutual adjustment of our common problems, and combined economic effort. We are convinced that through these means the world can achieve economic progress and at the same time maintain and expand democratic freedoms. We are convinced that our answer will prevail.

The people of the United States have been meeting this challenge. In 4 short years they have

[1] Made at the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Vet-ans of Foreign Wars, held at Miami on Aug. 22, 1949, and leased to the press by the White House on the same date.

done more in the cause of world peace and world recovery than any nation has ever before been called upon to do.

We are not alone in this effort. Many nations which share our democratic values and our traditions are working with us. Without these allies in the cause of peace, our task would be hopeless. We can win a permanent peace only through the joint efforts of free nations striving toward the same objectives.

To achieve a better world we must prevent international violence. Unless protection against war can be secured, all efforts for the advancement of mankind will fail. One of the most important aspects of our foreign policy, therefore, is our effort to establish international order.

To this end, we have joined with other nations in creating a world organization which would outlaw aggression and establish a means of settling international disputes.

The principles of the United Nations are still our goal. We have undertaken to defend and preserve them. We will keep that pledge.

Shortly after the end of the war, however, it became apparent that the United Nations could not live up to all our hopes for it until all nations were united in the desire for peace. It became necessary, therefore, for the free countries to take action to defend the principles of that organization and to preserve it.

By an overwhelming bipartisan vote, the Congress approved my recommendation early in 1947 that the United States help Greece and Turkey resist Communist pressures. Our prompt action preserved the integrity of both countries.

By an equally overwhelming vote in 1948, the Congress approved our joint enterprise with 16 European nations to achieve economic recovery. The European Recovery Program has prevented general collapse in Europe, and has given hope to all countries who want to see the world resume the course of economic progress.

While we are working with our friends in Europe, we are also working with our friends and neighbors in this hemisphere. The pact of Rio de Janeiro, signed in September 1947, binds the nations of North and South America together in a defensive alliance.

The United States and 11 other nations have now joined in the North Atlantic Treaty. Like the Rio pact, this is a pledge of mutual assistance by nations which are determined to protect their independence. It is based on the principle that an armed attack on one member nation is an attack on all.

The Military Assistance Program

The next task is to back up this principle with military assistance to European nations and to certain other nations which are unable to build up their defenses without outside help.

I have recommended to the Congress that the United States supply three kinds of military assistance to friendly democratic nations in need of our help. First, we should help them increase their own military production. Second, we should transfer to them some essential items of military equipment. Third, we should send some of our experts abroad to help train and equip their military forces.

Some people who do not understand the state of the world very well have tried to make the Military Assistance Program seem a difficult and confused issue. On the contrary, it is very simple.

The purpose of the Military Assistance Program is to prevent aggression. Our European partners in the North Atlantic Treaty are not strong enough today to defend themselves effectively. Since the end of the war they have been concentrating on rebuilding their war-torn economies. We can strengthen them, and ourselves by transferring some military means to them, and by joining with them in a common defense plan. The Military Assistance Program is based on the same principle of self-help and mutual aid that is the cornerstone of the European Recovery Program and the North Atlantic Treaty.

We are not arming ourselves and our friends to start a fight with anybody. We are building defenses so that we won't have to fight.

Our aid will be limited to the material necessary to equip mobile defense forces. These forces will constitute no threat to the independence of other nations. The democratic nations have no desire for aggression; they only want to be able to defend their homes.

Most of our assistance under this program will go to Atlantic Treaty countries, but we will also help certain other nations whose security is important to world peace. We must continue our aid to Greece and Turkey. We should help Iran maintain its firm stand against Soviet pressure. And, in the Far East, two young republics—the Philippines and Korea—need military assistance if they are to maintain their national security.

If it were possible, we would prefer that these bulwarks against aggression be established by the United Nations. We hope the peace of the world will some day be enforced by security forces under the control and direction of the United Nations.

We have been working for that.

But the Soviet Union has blocked every effort to establish an effective international police force and to free the world from the fear of aggression. For that reason, we have had to join other friendly nations in forming regional defense pacts.

The United Nations Charter was wisely drawn to permit these regional defense pacts and other collective security arrangements which are consistent with the great principles of the Charter. The Military Assistance Program will help the

Jnited Nations to operate more effectively by in-
reasing the collective as well as the individual
bility of free countries to resist aggression.

The Military Assistance Program and the Eu-
opean Recovery Program are part and parcel of
he same policy. There is the closest relationship
etween economic recovery and military defense.
)n the one hand, economic recovery will lag if the
aunting fear of military aggression is wide-
pread. Such fear will prevent new investments
rom being made and new industries from being
stablished. On the other hand, if protection
gainst aggression is assured, economic recovery
vill move forward more rapidly. Sound eco-
omic recovery and adequate military defense
nust be carried forward together in balance.
'hat is exactly what we propose to do.

Great progress has been made in economic re-
overy in Europe. The production of the West-
rn nations of Europe has been rising steadily.
'o continue the momentum of this economic ad-
ance, it is necessary now to remove the obstacles
reated by the fear of military aggression.

We should therefore undertake a program of
ilitary assistance without delay. The cost of
uch a program is considerable, but it represents
n investment in security that will be worth many
mes its cost. It is part of the price of peace.

Combined Efforts for Peace

Peace with freedom and justice cannot be bought cheaply. No single program can bring it about, nor can any single nation. It can only be assured by the combined efforts of the multitudes of people throughout the world who want a secure peace. They are our friends, and they are friends worth having. We must keep them our friends if the world is to be a decent place for our children and their children to live in.

We must face the fact that we have forever put behind us the false security of isolationism. We have done so because we have learned—learned the hard way—that, in the world of today, isolationism is a futile and vulnerable shield. We have learned that the defense of the United States and the defense of other freedom-loving nations are indivisible. We have learned that we can serve our country best by joining in the common defense of the rights of all mankind.

The Congress of the United States in noble words has set out certain purposes of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Our organization is pledged:

> To maintain true allegiance to the government of the United States of America, and fidelity to its Constitution and laws; to foster true patriotism; to maintain and extend the institutions of American freedom; to preserve and defend the United States from all her enemies.

In the fulfillment of those high purposes, I enlist your support to the end that we may persevere in the ways of peace with the same vigor and determination with which we fought our country's wars.

'he Foreign Policy of a Free Democracy

y Ambassador Philip C. Jessup[1]

You Veterans of Foreign Wars are on record as
n organization deeply concerned with promoting
ie welfare of our country. No group of citizens
as a greater right to be heard on matters of na-
onal interest than those who have served in our
rmed forces during war. No group has a greater
sponsibility for rendering public service through
n intelligent watchful interest in the future of the
nited States. As a veteran of World War I,
claim a share in that right and acknowledge a
are in that responsibility. Discharge from ac-
ve service did not discharge us from our duties
citizens. Obviously the kind of service required
peace is different from that required in war. It is not generally recognized that it is nevertheless a vital and an arduous service.

I should be very happy if I could report to you that peace is safe and secure, but it is not. Peace is being maintained by the United States and a large group of like-minded nations. We are fighting for a just and permanent peace on the Atlantic and Pacific fronts today just as much as we were between Pearl Harbor and V–E and V–J days. We cannot relax our efforts for a day, for an hour.

Those efforts must be on an all-out national basis. You veterans who bore the brunt of World War II were backed by every resource of your government and by men and women working in a thousand different ways throughout this country and abroad. It was impossible for civilians during the war to sit back and say, "Let's leave it to the armed

[1] Address made at the Golden Jubilee National Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miami, Fla., on Aug. 24, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

forces." It is equally impossible for you now to leave the job of maintaining the peace—which is the prevention of another war—to those working full time on the problem in the diplomatic or military or other government service. You won't be drafted, and you aren't asked to enlist in active service. But your help—the help of your great organization—is essential.

We know that the job of winning the war included not only military effort but also scientific, economic, and financial effort. Keeping the peace also requires a multiple effort. If the United States weakens its military strength, the peace is not secure. The same is true if we weaken our foreign policy. It is also true if we do not remain strong economically, financially, and morally.

It is not bombast to say the United States is the most powerful country in the world. Some people in some nations may state that fact with envy; most people in most nations say it with hope. Only those who do not want peace say it with fear. Our national program has been clearly stated. It is based on national strength to be used in cooperation with other nations through the United Nations in the interest and for the well-being of all the world. That is the program laid down in the inaugural address of the President of the United States. Every Department and agency of the government has a part to play in carrying out that program. Every citizen has a vital stake in its success.

I am not going to talk about the elements of our economic, financial, and military strength. I do want to speak of our moral strength and our foreign policy.

It is not an American habit to talk much about moral strength, or those things which are called spiritual values. I make no apology for raising that theme. We know that the Communists are fighting all over the world to capture the mind and the spirit of men so that they can then enslave them by the ruthless totalitarian methods which kill the spirit, darken the mind, and torture the body. They begin with beautiful promises. They have cunning and skillful agents trained in corrupting the mind. They have the greatest success where there is ignorance or despair. Our job is to dispel the ignorance and to replace despair with hope.

On the Atlantic front our chief problem was the weary despair which the war and its ruin inevitably brought. The Marshall Plan, the Atlantic pact, and the Military Aid Program are bringing back hope.

On the Pacific front they need hope also, but the great problem is the vast ignorance of hundreds of millions of people on which Communism feeds. These people do not know that in countries ruled by Communists there is no freedom. They do not know that the prophets of Communism have publicly proclaimed that they will encourage national independence merely as a stepping stone to a new and terrible slavery. They do not know what our civilization and political principles have produced in the way of a free and prosperous life for the people of a great country.

Our idea of freedom and the good life is something we have for export. If we don't export it, the people who do not know it exists will buy the cheap shoddy promises of Communism. To back our export we need to have the fire of conviction which established this country and which in this generation has brought us to victory in two world wars. That same fire of conviction can keep us at peace.

Our peace strategy is global. The Atlantic and Pacific fronts are only illustrative. As in the war we have our allies, and our strategy must be a joint strategy. With our allies we have preponderant peace forces. We must be constantly alert that no trickery on the part of those who do not seek peace and that no error on our own part, brings us to the loss, or to the abuse, of that great power.

It is true today as it was when spoken 40 years ago by a great Secretary of War and Secretary of State—Elihu Root—that "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves."

That is our fundamental strength. Unlike the Soviet Union, we do not want more territory or subject peoples. We want all peoples to be free and prosperous because we believe that progress means a united move upward rather than climbing on the backs of others who are pushed down. We have acted on that belief, and we are putting it into practice through the United Nations, the symbol of international cooperation.

The broad outlines of a positive and forward-looking postwar foreign policy based on that conviction began to take form, and the framework within which it would operate began to emerge before the war ended. The guiding principles and the general methods by which we hoped to build a better world were developed and enunciated in a series of United Nations conferences beginning in 1943 and culminating with the establishment of the United Nations Organization in 1945. We foresaw the basic needs of the world for food and set up the Food and Agriculture Organization. We knew postwar relief was necessary and established United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. We anticipated the requirements for economic and financial help, and created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These and other specialized international agencies have all been brought into the general framework of the United Nations.

In all these remarkable efforts looking toward world reconstruction, recovery, and development in an environment of peace and harmony, there

vas no animosity or antagonism toward any of he participating nations. All the plans laid in hat period assumed the continued cooperation of ll the Allied powers in a common endeavor to reate a better world. That assumption has been roved wrong. The Soviet Union refuses to coperate in improving the welfare of mankind and n insuring international peace and security. This pposition does not invalidate the strategy of inernational cooperation. It merely increases the eed for united effort on the basis of clear and unmpeachable principles.

This opposition is not only obstructive, but agressively so. It not only is a challenge to the eliefs and aspirations of the free peoples, but also threat to their security and welfare. It is a hallenge that must be taken up, a threat that must e countered. There is no reason for hysteria. 'here is need for calm determination.

Let us frankly acknowledge that many of the ctions and much of the effort of the United States n international affairs in recent months have been irected toward countering the clear threat to ourelves and other free peoples. We could not have one otherwise without betraying all that we stand or. Let us also frankly admit that self-interest, we had taken that as the sole guide, would have ictated the same course.

The realities of the situation have required us develop new methods and measures to meet them ccessfully, but they have not diverted us from ur long-range, primary objectives. We still seek just and enduring peace, in which all peoples will e free to achieve better living conditions and a ider enjoyment of human rights. We still firmly pport the United Nations as the most feasible nd effective means by which the nations of the orld can work together to keep the peace and romote the welfare of their peoples.

The United Nations should not be judged by utoian standards, but by the world as it is. As long s deep-seated differences among its members perst, the United Nations is bound to be affected by at division. Nevertheless, the fact of primary nportance is that the United Nations continues function in spite of the East-West conflict, even ough its effectiveness is diminished. It provides common meeting ground for all the nations which enuinely seek the solution of problems by conltation and collaboration. By the continuity its operations, the United Nations strengthens e habit of working together. Above all, it conins the contending forces within a recognized rum and requires them to justify their actions the world in terms of the purposes and prosions of the Charter. The United Nations looms rger and larger as the manifest conscience of ankind.

Within the limits of the matters with which the United Nations was expected to deal, it has gradually and painstakingly achieved a record of real accomplishment. A look at that record should caution us against taking an unduly pessimistic view of the ability of the United Nations to deal with particular cases. If the representatives of the United Nations had been as easily discouraged as some observers, they would not have manifested the patience and perseverance that eventually brings success.

Last December, for example, when the Dutch took military action against the Republicans in Indonesia, headlines and comments in this country took the following line:

> Once again the world is afforded an excellent illustration of United Nations impotence in such situations.
>
> Revival of the Indonesian war is another challenge to United Nations authority and world peace.
>
> The United Nations will be holding a post-mortem on a *fait accompli.* Its history in Palestine does not suggest that it will be any more effective in Indonesia in urging withdrawal to the old lines while arbitration and mediation is talked.

Yet the United Nations continued its efforts and was able a few months later to bring about a cessation of armed conflict and an agreement of the parties to resume negotiations. The headlines and comments following this development reflected a great change in sentiment, as indicated by these samples:

> The agreement . . . is another victory for the United Nations.
>
> The United Nations Commission provided the machinery for arriving at the truce.
>
> The United Nations Commission on Indonesia has been active and successful.

The parties are now meeting in a round-table conference at The Hague with the United Nations Commission participating.

Similarly, the ups and down of the Palestine case have been accompanied by corresponding variations in the public evaluation of the United Nations efforts to obtain a peaceful settlement. Last fall, such statements as these appeared in the press of this country:

> The best thing for the United Nations to do, in the matter of Palestine, is to withdraw as gracefully as possible.
>
> Both the prestige and authority of the United Nations appear to be seriously endangered by the situation in Palestine.
>
> It has involved the United Nations' greatest admission of defeat of the purposes of its own existence.
>
> Why doesn't the United Nations admit its inability to function and pull out of the whole mess?

But Ralph Bunche and his fellow mediators would not give up so easily. They persisted through weary weeks of negotiation and finally, only a month ago, succeeded in obtaining an armistice between Israel and the last of the neighboring states with which it had been in conflict. This

time the tone of the comments were quite different, as shown by the following:

> To the scoffers . . . who say that the United Nations is helpless or useless or worse, the story of this phase of the Palestine problem should give pause, and food for thought.
>
> The achievement of the United Nations in Palestine is a great gain for the world and for the prestige and future effectiveness of the United Nations.
>
> Dr. Bunche succeeded in his task partly because of his personality, partly because of the framework in which he operated.

The parties are now discussing final settlements at Geneva with a United Nations Commission participating.

When the decision was made to submit the question of the Berlin blockade to the United Nations during the session of the General Assembly last fall, some feared that the consequences might be fatal to the United Nations. Much of the reaction in this country was along the following lines:

> Reference to the United Nations will not bring a solution.
>
> Do we want to dramatize the fact that we are not succeeding in using the United Nations as a mechanism for arriving at agreements?

Reference of the Berlin question to the United Nations did not bring an immediate solution. Yet it is generally conceded that the United Nations contributed significantly to the solution that was subsequently achieved. This appraisal is reflected in such press comments as the following:

> The agreement concerning Berlin is an accomplishment of the United Nations of the greatest importance.
>
> Despite the profound differences of principle between East and West, despite the veto, it remains a great and useful thing that the United Nations exists to provide a forum where all these efforts at finding a meeting ground can take place.

These experiences demonstrate that there is no justification for discouragement if progress toward the solution of the problems that remain, and new ones which arise, is slower and less spectacular than we would like. We have had no days as black as some of those which preceded victory in the war. If the majority of the members of the United Nations persevere in their patient efforts to achieve an effective system of collective security, they will win because they are right. This truth cannot forever be concealed from other peoples because iron curtains will eventually rust away when exposed to truth.

The United States has never been afraid to face the future. Times of peace and prosperity as well as those of danger and distress need forethought. If we did not plan ahead for peace, we would be less likely to reach the goal and less likely to retain the gains when they are made. It is Communist, and not American doctrine, that enmity and war are inevitable.

Consistent with our faith and with our word pledged through the ratification of the United Nations Charter, we have cooperated in the efforts of the United Nations to work toward disarmament. Little progress has yet been made because the Soviet Union has refused to accept the conclusions of the majority in the Commission for Conventional Armaments regarding the essential features of an effective plan of regulation. The Soviet Union tried to shift the blame for this lack of progress, but the other members recognized their proposals as a mere propaganda maneuver and rejected them.

The General Assembly requested the Commission to give highest priority to the development of a plan for a census of armaments and armed forces, with a control organization for verifying the information to be submitted to the states subscribing to the plan. This request reflected the belief, shared by the United States, that disarmament cannot be based on promises alone but only on duly certified knowledge of the facts: This means that the whole international community must have full information about armaments and armed forces, checked and double-checked by neutral observers, as a necessary prerequisite to any actual reduction and regulation of conventional arms.

It must be emphasized that the plan for an arms census and verification of the figures will not go into effect even for those countries which have supported it unless and until it has been approved in the Security Council and the General Assembly and has been subscribed to by the United States and other governments. In other words, the plan will become a reality only after each member of the United Nations has had an opportunity to review it and decide whether it wishes to accept the plan. We are not going to exchange arms for empty promises.

We have gone forward also in the search for safe control of the most dangerous weapon. The majority of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has developed a plan for international control of atomic energy, based largely on proposals made by the United States. We offered to give up atomic weapons and to transfer to an international authority atomic activities dangerous to international security, but only upon the absolutely essential condition that a system of effective and enforceable safeguards has first been established and is in actual operation.

The plan of the majority of the Commission, incorporating this condition, has been approved by the General Assembly as providing "the necessary basis" for a system which would safeguard international security. The Commission, however, is unable to proceed further because the Soviet Union has refused to accept the plan approved by the majority of the Commission and by the General Assembly. In accordance with the provisions of

ıe General Assembly resolution and our standard olicy, we have begun talks among the six spon- ɔring powers. We have never closed the door to ıe Soviet Union for a discussion of any interna- onal problem.

One of the plain facts in the present situation is ıat the Soviet Union is contemptuous of weakness ıt respects strength. It was the strength of the Vest which led the Soviet Union to abandon the erlin blockade and to make at least some moves ɔward agreement in the recent meeting of the ouncil of Foreign Ministers in Paris. Our rength is made up of unity with the free peoples the world; of industrial power; of military ɔwer; and of calm confidence in the soundness our domestic system and our peaceful foreign ɔlicy.

We had revealed that strength in several ways. here was the Berlin airlift. That great opera- ɔn saved the people of Berlin from the starva- ɔn with which the Berlin blockade threatened em. I want to pay tribute to the men who or- ınized it and operated it.

Then there was the steady progress toward the ganization of a Western German Government. ere the basic unity of purpose and of policy be- veen France, the United Kingdom, and the nited States was a most potent factor. That is unity we must preserve, strengthen, and extend.

We have other friends and allies for peace in l parts of the world. We are closely bound to r good neighbors south of the Rio Grande and ve formalized that unity in the defensive pact Rio de Janeiro, which was concluded within the amework of the United Nations Charter. We ve similarly concluded the North Atlantic eaty with eleven nations who form the North lantic community, again acting in conformity th the Charter. We are working closely with her members of the United Nations for our mu- al benefit and strength to promote the common ırpose of maintaining peace and the good life.

These close associations are not and cannot be e result of domination and dictation. The So- et Union believes in that method as did Hitler. e do not believe in it. There are always differ- ces of opinion between the closest of friends. ıose differences can be resolved by mutual under- anding and accommodation because the com- ɔn purpose is basic. When the Soviet Union mes to realize the soundness of that common pur- se and the method of achieving it we stand ady to work equally with them. It must not be rgotten that we are as friendly to the Russian ople as to other people. We are not trying to nquer Russia. We are not rivals for the domi- tion of the world because we do not want to minate the world. If their government will abandon the dream of world domination which throughout history has destroyed such blind dreamers, a full share in international cooperation will be theirs.

At this moment in history we must continue the process of helping Western Europe to rebuild itself in economic stability and in the sense of safety which comes from a well-planned common defense if any state should again be misled into contemplating the fatal step of committing aggression against the democratic forces of the world.

The only way the Western European members of the pact can rapidly acquire an effective defense is for the United States to supplement what they are doing for themselves and each other by supplying arms and equipment from this country, as proposed in the Military Assistance Program. This aid will enable the pact members in Europe to turn their shadow armies into effective forces that will become the nucleus of the integrated defense essential to the maintenance of peace in the North Atlantic area. The development of an actual defense-in-being in Western Europe will give the people of those countries the reassurance that they require for further economic and social progress, and will prove to be a stabilizing influence in Europe and the world.

No one regrets more than do the government and people of the United States that we must devote to arms and other defense measures part of our substance and energy, which we would prefer to use for more productive purposes.

The menace of aggressive Communism to the liberties and rights of free peoples is the immediate and pressing problem that must be overcome. We are confident that the concerted effort of the free nations will succeed in overcoming it. But we are well aware that this is not the only problem, nor in the long perspective of history perhaps, the most significant. We will not hesitate to do what is necessary to help the free nations preserve their independence and integrity. Neither will we lose sight of the constructive and humane tasks which we set ourselves while the war was being fought.

The Secretary of State under the President is charged with the mighty responsibility of waging peace so that this country will not need to wage war. He is supported by all the resources of our government. He acts in consultation with other officers of the government and within the framework of decisions by the Congress. Like all other officers of the United States of America he is responsible, and responsive, to the people. Do not ever get the idea that the men and women carrying on our foreign relations are the actors on the stage and that you, the citizens of the United States, are just the audience. We are all in this great world problem together. You have the privilege of the free citizen to criticize foreign policy. You have the responsibility of the free citizen to participate in its formation and execution.

Department of State Answers Criticism on China Policy

CHINA WHITE PAPER FAIR AND HONEST RECORD

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 24*]

A number of statements continue to be publicly made to the effect that important documents were omitted from the so-called China White Paper which, if printed, would have materially altered the record.[1] It is insinuated that documents were deliberately omitted in order to falsify the record. These insinuations are not supported by any evidence. They could not be supported because there is not an iota of truth in them. As I said in my letter of transmittal to the President, "no available item has been omitted because it contains statements critical of our policy or might be the basis of future criticism." All the Department files bearing on our relations with China during the period in question were examined, and a fair and objective sampling was reproduced in the White Paper. As I also pointed out, there are many archives outside the Department which have not yet been analyzed. I stated plainly that this volume is not "the full historical record" of the period covered. I repeat that it is a fair and honest record.

As I see it, there are certain clear differences of opinion regarding the wisdom of American foreign policy in the Far East during the last few years. Some of these differences relate to misunderstanding of the facts, and some of them remain in the field of judgment where opinions no doubt will continue to differ. I think the attacks which are being made center on the following points:

First, it is believed in some quarters that at least in certain periods the Department of State did not understand the nature of the Chinese Communist movement. Personally, I think a fair reading of the White Paper will be convincing that the Department has throughout understood the true nature of that movement, although various individuals in the Department and in its service have differed in their evaluation of the problem and the best methods of dealing with it. This is the kind of argument which could be interminable. Actually, the important test of our attitude lies in the field of action. During the period we are discussing, we were faced with two major decisions with regard to the Communist movement in China. The first was whether we should provide them with arms. Our answer to that was emphatically "no." The second was whether we would attempt to assist a political arrangement between the Nationalist Government and the Communist movement. For reasons which have already been set forth, our decision was that we should assist the efforts to reach a political settlement which had been initiated, not by any United States action, but by the Generalissimo and the leaders of the Communist movement.

In the second place, it is argued that the Chinese Communists could have been defeated in the field if the United States had sent more aid or had assumed command functions. In the judgment of our military authorities, including General Marshall and General Wedemeyer and General Barr, this could not have been done without very heavy military involvement. The Congress affirmed the Department's judgment that such an involvement should not be undertaken when it refused to include in the China Aid Act of 1948 the so-called Greek-Turkey proviso.

The most recent indication of these differences of opinion is evidenced by the charges made by Representative Walter Judd that the Department had suppressed a number of important documents including a report on the Chinese Communists prepared by the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department in 1944 or 1945. This presumably refers to a report entitled *The Chinese Communist Movement* dated July 1945. I have obtained the permission of the National Military Establishment to make that document public. The report is available for examination. I see no reason to reprint it. It is one of many intelligence reports and is part of the vast mass of documentation which would require a large series of volumes to publish.

[1] *United States Relations With China*, Department of State publication 3573 (1054 pp.) for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., $3 a copy.

I have just obtained a copy of a so-called summary of this report, which was never previously ubmitted to the Department of State. It is my nderstanding that this summary represented the iews of the officer who wrote it and not of the Var Department and was therefore not circulated. The point of view expressed in the summary apears to differ in some important respects from he views expressed in the report itself.

There are only two copies of the full two-volume eport and one copy of the summary, on which Dr. Judd bases his charges. Those are available o you for such detailed study as you wish to give hem.

In order that the record may be set straight, I ave had prepared an analysis of all of the points nade by Dr. Judd in his statement before the Iouse of Representatives on August 19.

I wish to repeat that the Department is deeply oncerned in the task of developing lines of action hich will meet the situation in China and in the 'ar East. We are working at that task with a full ense of its seriousness and urgency and in the hope nat a completely bipartisan approach will facilite the evolution of our national policy. As I ated on August 5, we do not share the defeatist ttitude which some critics seek to force upon us.

NALYSIS OF SIXTEEN CHARGES OF DISHONESTY" IN THE WHITE PAPER

Released to the press August 24]

The report of the Military Intelligence Division f the War Department entitled *The Chinese Comunist Movement* dated July 1945, states the fact f which the Department was always aware that e Chinese Communists were Communists. It so states that "some of the keenest observers go far as to predict the ultimate ascendancy of the hinese Communists in China if the present reaonary groups in Chungking are allowed to connue in power." It fully confirms the view of e Department that the conduct of the ruling ique in the Kuomintang had caused the governent to lose its popular following. It confirms e view expressed in the White Paper that during e war against Japan, the Government in Chungng was devoting more attention to strengthening s internal position than to fighting the common emy. It states that "unity between the Chinese litical parties is the key to a solution of China's oblems." It argues in favor of agreement beeen the Chinese National Government and the viet Union.

The second and third charges made by Dr. Judd late to alleged documents bearing upon the Tehran, Cairo, and Potsdam conferences. There were no such agreements or commitments as these charges suggest. In the footnote on page 113 of the White Paper, there is a brief reference to the discussions at Tehran. The "Cairo commitments" which it is alleged are omitted from the White Paper are printed on page 519. As a matter of fact, the informal discussions at Tehran, which were not commitments, ranged over a wide variety of subjects, but it seemed appropriate in this volume to mention only those dealing with the Far East. As stated on page 113 there was discussion at Tehran of the desirability of making Dairen a free port. Previously this question had been discussed by President Roosevelt with Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo. The Generalissimo indicated his agreement with the suggestion provided the U.S.S.R. cooperated with China in the Far East and provided there was no impairment of Chinese sovereignty. The Yalta agreement, of course, specifically provided that "China retain full sovereignty in Manchuria."

The fourth, fifth, and sixth points refer to the Stilwell period. The files for this period are in the custody of the National Military Establishment. As stated in the footnote on page 70, "It is the understanding of the Department of State that the National Military Establishment is preparing a full history of World War II" and that the Department's publication does not "purport to be a full and complete account." The charges refer specifically to the "suppression" of President Roosevelt's telegram to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek delivered by General Stilwell about September 19, 1944. An extract from what may be presumed to be the telegram in question, which gives the essence of the situation, is printed at pages 67–68. It is difficult to see how the historical record of the entire period would be clarified by going into the question whether General Stilwell solicited the President's telegram to the Generalissimo. The extracts from General Stilwell's report printed on pages 68–70 clearly present his point of view. The record also makes clear that the relations between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell were so strained that it became necessary to replace General Stilwell by General Wedemeyer.

The seventh charge is that the Department suppressed President Roosevelt's message to the Generalissimo in March 1945 requesting him to place Communists on the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco conference. On the contrary, the facts are stated on page 96, namely, that General Hurley recommended that there should be Communist representation on the delegation, and that President Roosevelt had supported this recommendation and had so advised the Generalissimo.

The eighth charge of "dishonesty" relates to the fact that the full texts of reports of Messrs. Davies, Service, and Ludden are not printed. These reports are quite voluminous. Twelve

pages (564–576) are devoted to reproducing extracts from these reports. The general themes which the reports bring out are summarized in the text on pages 64–65.

The essence of the controversy over these reports relates to the question whether the writers of them revealed a bias in favor of the Communists. The extracts bring out and make no attempt to conceal the fact that many of these reports do indicate that the writers believed that the Communists were strong while the Kuomintang and the National Government were disintegrating. The extracts bring out and do not attempt to conceal that the writers of some of these reports believed that cooperation with the Chinese Communists was desirable as a part of the war effort against Japan. What the record further reveals is that these views of junior officers did not prevail and did not control the action of the United States Government.

As bearing upon this point, attention may be called to the fact that on pages 87–92 there is printed a report of the American Chargé at Chungking under date of February 26, 1945, suggesting that military aid should be given to the Chinese Communist forces. It is also stated on page 92 that this course of action was not approved and that "it remained the policy of the United States to supply military matériel and financial support only to the recognized Chinese National Government."

The ninth charge is based upon the alleged suppression of directives to Ambassador Hurley and his reports and recommendations. General Hurley's instructions are explained on page 71 and most of chapter III is devoted to an exposition of his points of view and activities including numerous extracts from his reports. This record is clear and full, and no elaboration of detail could make it clearer.

The tenth charge insinuates that the State Department has suppressed a report by Vice President Wallace to President Roosevelt on China in 1944, alleged by Dr. Judd to have been written by Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent. The insinuation is made that the note at the bottom of page 56 of the White Paper contains some trick. That note says that the Department is not aware of any written record which Mr. Wallace himself may have made. It refers to annexes 43 and 44 for notes of Mr. Wallace's conversations. They are printed in full and were written by John Carter Vincent, an officer of the Department of State, who accompanied the Vice President to China. Dr. Judd insists that the alleged report to which he refers "must be produced from wherever it is and published." The Department reiterates in the plainest language that it does not have in its files and does not know of the existence of any report of the nature suggested by Dr. Judd.

The eleventh charge is that the Department suppressed a telegram to Ambassador Hurley in China instructing him to disregard the Roosevelt policy of support for the Chinese Government in favor of the adoption of Mr. Wallace's view. A further intensive search of the Department's files has failed to reveal any such instruction. It is possible that Dr. Judd has in mind the instructions sent by Secretary Stettinius to Ambassador Hurley on April 23, 1945, which are printed on page 98 but which are not of the nature which Dr. Judd suggests.

Dr. Judd further demands some explanation why no reference is made to the missions to China of Lauchlin Currie, Owen Lattimore, and Donald M. Nelson. Mr. Nelson's participation and extracts from his reports are found on pages 71–72. Mr. Lattimore was in China at this time not as an official of the United States Government but as an adviser to the Generalissimo. As appears in annex 43, Mr. Lattimore had previously accompanied Mr. Wallace on his mission. A further search of the Department's files fails to reveal reports from Mr. Lattimore or from Mr. Currie.

The thirteenth charge relates to the alleged suppression of directives to the American Military Advisory Group in Nanking. The history of this advisory group and the nature of its functions and activities is fully described on pages 338–35 of the White Paper. Further information on this general subject is to be found on pages 323–325 where Secretary Marshall's instructions for General Barr are printed. These instructions frankly reveal the nature of the authorization given to General Barr and the limitations placed on the nature of the services he was authorized to render to the Chinese armies. There is no suppression of the facts.

In the fourteenth charge, it is further insinuated that Secretary Marshall or other officials of the Department were guilty of some underhand maneuvering in altering the presentation of the views of General Wedemeyer. The idea that General Wedemeyer's press statement "was doctored" is false and misleading. Following normal practice, General Wedemeyer submitted a draft statement to Secretary Marshall, who was then in Rio de Janeiro, for the Secretary's approval. The Secretary returned the draft with some suggestions. The publication of the full text of General Wedemeyer's report on China and the full treatment of his views completely disposes of the charge that there is any attempt to misrepresent or distort his views.

The fifteenth demand is for the publication of the full text of Acting President Li Tsung-jen's recent letter to President Truman, part of which is reproduced on page 409. As in many other cases, full texts of documents were not reproduced for the obvious reasons of limitations of space and need for condensation. The insinuation that the

(*Continued on page 359*)

J.S.–U.K. and Canada Discuss Dollar Earning Problem

Background Memorandum for the press from the State and Treasury Departments, August 26, 1949

ondon Discussions

1. During Secretary Snyder's visit to London n July, the Secretary, Ambassador Douglas, and mbassador Harriman had a general exchange of iews with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir tafford Cripps, the President of the Board of rade, Harold Wilson, and the Canadian Minister f Finance, Douglas Abbott, concerning the balnce of payments between the dollar and sterling reas.[1] The conversations reviewed the recent acleration in the drain on the reserves of the sterng area, and the British representatives outlined ne steps which they felt it necessary to take to eal with that immediate situation. It was agreed t that time that further consideration should be iven to the balance-of-payments problem and that ossible remedies would be explored. The discusons now scheduled for September 7 are designed examine these matters, in the light of the inforation developed by technical and fact-finding disussions among the experts of the three countries.

ecent Loss of Reserves

2. The United States Government fully recogzes the serious import of this situation both for ne British Empire and the rest of the world. Vhile in London, Secretary Snyder was much imressed with the earnest effort being made by the ritish Government to deal with a situation which as proved somewhat more difficult than its earlier tim ates.

During the war years Britain's foreign exchange eficit totaled nearly 40 billion dollars. Half of e total was financed through lend-lease, and the mainder had to be financed by borrowing from her nations or by liquidating investments and ilizing reserves. Some 4.5 billion dollars worth foreign investments was sold during this period hile the rest of the deficit was met through the accumulation of sterling by other countries and by the RFC loan and dollar loans and gifts from Canada. The British still hold substantial long-term assets abroad. British investments in the United States are valued at about 2 billion dollars, and the value of investments in other areas is several times that figure.

Since the war, the British Government has achieved considerable success in many of its economic efforts. Industrial production has been raised to the level of 136 percent of 1938. The physical volume of imports of the United Kingdom has been reduced to 82 percent of 1938. These figures are only two indications of the serious efforts being made by the United Kingdom to make up for the ground lost during the war.

Notwithstanding these fine efforts, the drain on British reserves of gold and dollars in 1949 has been larger than anticipated. The central reserves of the sterling area fell from 1,898 million dollars on March 31, 1949, to 1,636 million dollars on July 30, 1949. It had been hoped that it would not be necessary to draw further on these reserves.

Dollar Position in 1946–48

3. During the 3 years 1946–48, the sterling area paid out gold and dollars in the amount of 6.7 billion dollars in excess of its own current dollar earnings. This heavy deficit resulted from a number of factors in the postwar situation which had not been experienced before. Investment and shipping income did not contribute as heavily to earnings as before the war, import prices were higher, and normal sources of supply, particularly in Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia, were not available. During this period, the United States extended financial assistance in the amount of more than 4.4 billion dollars. This was equivalent to more than two-thirds of the over-all shortage of dollars. In addition, Canada made available approximately a billion dollars.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 197.

The Trend of Reserves

4. The gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area, in spite of this assistance, were reduced from 2,466 million dollars on January 1, 1946, to 2,063 million dollars on January 1, 1948. From that date to June 30 of this year there was a further decline of 427 millions, of which 262 million occurred during the second quarter of 1949. As of June 30, the official reserves had fallen therefore to 1,636 million dollars.

Current and Prospective Dollar Deficit

5. It is this sharp drop in the second quarter of 1949 which has caused concern. Looking at the picture before making any allowances for foreign assistance, the dollar deficit of the sterling area almost doubled, amounting to 633 million dollars in April-June, as against 330 million dollars in the first quarter of the year. While the figures of the second quarter may have been influenced by some temporary factors, the British Government has apparently concluded that the downward trend in reserves must be corrected. The year ending June 30, 1949, as a whole has cost 271 million dollars in reserves, despite an allocation of 1,239 million dollars from ECA for that period. The British Government estimated its dollar requirements from ECA for the year ending June 30, 1950, at 940 million dollars in its initial submission to OEEC, but has recently submitted to OEEC a revised estimate of 1,518 million dollars for that year. This latter estimate, however, does not take into account the cuts in the import program announced in July.

Cut in Import Programs

6. The basic reason for the loss of reserves was the excess of dollar imports of the sterling area over the amount available to the area from dollar earnings and from the funds provided by the United States and Canada under their respective programs of foreign assistance. To meet this situation the British Government therefore decided to cut back the dollar-import program of the United Kingdom by about 400 million dollars, as compared with the 1948 level of imports from the dollar area. This represents a cut of about 25 percent in the value of dollar imports, but corresponds to less than 6 percent of total United Kingdom imports from all sources. It is understood that because of lower dollar prices for some foods and raw materials in 1949, as compared with 1948, the physical volume of dollar imports will not fall by as much as 25 percent. As a result of the Empire Conference held in London last July, most of the sterling-area countries have given general undertakings to carry out similar reductions of about 25 percent in their dollar-import programs. This is designed to save about 250–300 million dollars per annum to the sterling area.

[Released to the press August 27]

Technical and fact-finding discussions concerning the dollar-earning problem opened on August 27 between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada at the Department of State. These discussions will be followed by a conference at the ministerial level opening on September 7.

James E. Webb, Under Secretary of State, will head the United States delegation during the preliminary discussions. Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs; William McChesney Martin, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; and Richard M. Bissell, Jr., Assistant Deputy Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, are other members of the United States delegation. They will be assisted by advisers from other Departments and Agencies of the Government.

Significance of Import Adjustment

7. The significance of this adjustment should not be exaggerated. As Sir Stafford Cripps stated before the House of Commons last July:

"Although this fall in our reserves is a serious development, yet any comparison with the events of July and August 1947 would be entirely misleading."

Under the European Recovery Program it was anticipated that difficulties would be encountered from time to time in making the necessary adjustment to the declining level of United States assistance. Unless dollar earnings were to increase proportionately, it was understood that contraction of imports from the dollar area would be necessary. It is hoped that the physical volume of imports into the sterling area from the dollar area will be adequate at the reduced level to permit the continuation of economic progress in the United Kingdom, although the rate of progress will naturally be somewhat slower. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has indicated his hope that it will be possible to maintain existing levels of consumption and investment in many lines of activity.

Importance of Increased Dollar Earnings

8. The decline of British reserves and the imposition of these import restrictions does, however, call attention to the importance of an increase in the dollar earnings of the sterling area. It is clear that the amount of assistance available under the Recovery Program for all participants will be about 30 percent below last year's program. Unless dollar earnings are increased to offset the declining scale of United States assistance, further adjustments may have to be made in subsequent

nport programs. It is expected that in the forthoming conference there will be an exchange of iews with respect to measures which may be proosed by the British Government for this purpose, nd also discussion of related questions concerning ıe ability of the United States and Canada to acilitate an expansion of British dollar earnings. 'here is, of course, no easy or ready process by 'hich this can be accomplished. On the part of ıe British Government and the other authorities ı the sterling area the problem involves difficult nd painstaking examination of a wide variety of conomic factors. Policies designed to accomplish ıis objective may have to be developed and purıed along many fronts, and their effects may be ılt only gradually in many cases.

ırpose of the Conference

9. It is the primary purpose of the forthcoming ɔnference to exchange views concerning the Brith dollar earnings problem, in the light of the eed for adjustment to a declining level of United tates assistance. It is recognized that this probm involves grave difficulties not susceptible of ıick and easy solution.

The United States expects the problem to be ɔnsidered within the existing framework of nited States foreign economic policy as expressed ı such measures as the Reciprocal Trade Proram, the International Trade Organization, the uropean Recovery Program, and the institutions tablished at Bretton Woods.

The United States Government is definitely ɔpeful that beneficial conclusions may be reached. cannot, of course, forecast in any way the reılts of the conference.

he Coming Into Effect f the North Atlantic Treaty

tatement by the President

eleased to the press by the White House August 24]

With the deposit of instruments of ratification Denmark, France, Italy, and Portugal, the orth Atlantic Treaty today enters into effect. his is a momentous occasion not only for all the gnatories of the treaty, but for all peoples who are our profound desire for stability and peacel development.

By this treaty we are not only seeking to estabh freedom from aggression and from the use force in the North Atlantic community, but we are also actively striving to promote and preserve peace throughout the world. In these endeavors, we are acting within the framework of the United Nations Charter, which imposes on us all the most solemn obligations.

These obligations, which bind us to settle international disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territory or independence of any country, and to support the United Nations in any action it may take to preserve peace, are all clearly stated in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Today, as this treaty comes into effect, it seems particularly appropriate to rededicate ourselves to the carrying out of the great task we have set for ourselves—the preservation of stability and peace. No nation need fear the results of our cooperation toward this end. On the contrary, the more closely the nations of the Atlantic community can work together for peace, the better for all people everywhere.

Three Fisheries Treaties Ratified

[*Released to the press August 18*]

The Senate has unanimously advised ratification of three fisheries treaties, the Secretary of State announced on August 18. Two of these involve the tuna fisheries of the eastern Pacific Ocean: the convention between the United States and Mexico for the establishment of an International Commission for the Scientific Investigation of Tuna, signed at Mexico City January 25, 1949;[1] and the convention between the United States and Costa Rica for the establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, signed at Washington May 31, 1949.[1] The third, the international convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, signed under date of February 8, 1949,[1] covers the species of the Northwest Atlantic Ocean that are of international interest. Parties to the latter are: Canada (including Newfoundland), Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, and the United States, all countries that have a fishing interest in the area.

All three of the agreements establish commissions charged with the duty of scientific investigation of the particular fisheries. No regulatory powers are involved, although in the case of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries it is anticipated that the individual governments may issued regulations upon recommendation of the Commission.

Following the prompt action of the United States Senate, there is good reason to hope for early ratification by the other nations involved.

[1] BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1949, p. 174; Mar. 13, 1949, p. 319; and June 12, 1949, p. 766.

Sales of Militarized and Demilitarized Surplus Combat Matériel

[*Released to the press July 28*]

The following is a list of the sales of surplus United States militarized and demilitarized combat matériel effected by the Department of State in its capacity as foreign surplus disposal agent, during the months of December 1946, May, June, July, September, October, November, and December 1948, and January, February, March, April, and May 1949, as reported to the Munitions Division of the Department and not previously announced.

Country	Description of matériel	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
Belgium	1 YMS motor mine sweeper and 12 landing craft to Recimpex, (a Belgian firm) Brussels.	$759, 400. 00	$7, 500. 00	3/25/49
	Ex-German vessel P–568 (air rescue) to Belgian national (demilitarized).	(1)	7, 050. 00	11/29/48
Brazil	Spare gun parts	6, 157. 06	615. 71	1/10/49
	6 C–47A aircraft and 10 T–7 aircraft	1, 341, 312. 00	190, 000. 00	4/7/49
	Spare parts for B–25J aircraft	52. 33	5. 23	4/20/49
	3 A–24 aircraft for spare parts to Brazilian national (demilitarized).	180, 861. 00	3, 700. 00	12/18/46
Canada	1 YMS to Canadian national	650, 000. 00	4, 525. 00	10/29/48
	Spare parts for tanks	311. 04	62. 21	2/25/49
Chile	1 damaged C–47 aircraft	74, 122. 00	10, 000. 00	5/7/48
	1 AT–6D aircraft	25, 029. 00	3, 000. 00	4/25/49
China	Surplus ammunition and explosives in the Marianas.	3, 576, 608. 12	35, 766. 08	March 1949
	Surplus ammunition and explosives in Bonins, Ryukyus, and Marianas Islands.	6, 192, 318. 61	61, 931. 41	March 1949
	1 PC and 3 SC vessels to Chinese national (demilitarized).	2, 450, 000. 00	11, 000. 00	7/22/49
	7 LCM, 1 LCVP, 1 LCP(R) and 2 LCP(L) to Chinese national (demilitarized).	180, 100. 00	550. 00	5/29/48
	1 LCT and 1 LCVP, demilitarized, to Board of Supplies, Executive Yuan.	148, 600. 00	20, 000. 00	5/7/48
Colombia	4 C–47A aircraft and 6 F–47D aircraft	1, 019, 604. 00	81, 000. 00	2/21/49
	2 OA–10A aircraft	443, 886. 00	20, 000. 00	3/1/49
	4 C–47A aircraft and 6 F–47D aircraft	1, 019, 604. 00	81, 000. 00	3/9/49
Cuba	Telescopes, mounts, quadrants	7, 381. 84	369. 09	1/14/49
Dominican Republic	3 83′ Coast Guard cutters and 1 37′ picket boat.	454, 000. 00	19, 700. 00	10/15/48
Ecuador	10 rocket launchers 2.36″ M9A1	362. 50	36. 30	4/12/49
	Spare parts for aircraft	629. 28	62. 93	5/6/49
France	Ex-German drydock no. 65 to City of Nantes	(1)	100, 000. 00	4/13/49
	262 vessels (all smaller type craft; no warships already on loan to the French from wartime lend-lease).	106, 298, 208. 00	2, 191, 915. 00	3/21/49
Greece	Ex-German drydock	(1)	400, 000. 00	2/9/49
Guatemala	Practice bombs and charges	3, 350. 00	335. 00	2/17/49
	Ordnance spare parts	10, 882. 86	873. 47	2/7/49
Honduras	Machine guns, rifles, howitzers	47, 890. 00	3, 102. 30	3/28/49
	Ammunition, gas masks, bayonets, pistols	43, 752. 20	3, 208. 27	4/29/49
Iran	Aircraft spare parts, ammunition, weapon spare parts.	1, 142, 371. 57	286, 903. 53	3/29/49
	Grenades, ammunition, pistols, binocular spare parts.	1, 143, 731. 18	193, 163. 69	4/29/49
Italy	9 incomplete, nonflyable F–51 aircraft and 24 C–45 aircraft for use as spare parts.	2, 038, 444. 00	339, 000. 00	3/18/49
	3 Minesweepers (demilitarized)	(1)	390, 000. 00	3/21/49
	30 nonflyable UC 64A aircraft	1, 135, 650. 00	96, 750. 00	5/13/49
Mexico	15 flamethrowers, portable	4, 515. 00	451. 50	2/18/49
	Ordnance spare parts for telescopes, tanks, fuse setters and periscopes.	147, 289. 62	51, 645. 59	4/28/49
Netherlands	1 P–38 aircraft to Netherlands Delft Technical School (demilitarized).	105, 362. 00	150. 00	11/19/48
Peru	Weapon spare parts	14, 692. 81	1, 097. 87	3/31/49
	.30 and .50 caliber ammunition and artillery shells.	510, 628. 37	38, 905. 98	5/6/49
	6 83′ Coast Guard cutters and 1 LCVP	703, 000. 00	21, 750. 00	3/14/49

Country	Description of matériel	Procurement cost	Sales price	Date of transfer
ippines	1 LCP (L) to Philippine national (demilitarized).	8, 600. 00	200. 00	9/16/48
	1 landing craft to Philippine national (demilitarized).	139, 500. 00	450. 00	6/7/48
	1 SC–703 (sub-chaser) to Philippine national (demilitarized).	400, 000. 00	500. 00	12/27/48
	1 YMS–367 to Philippine national (demilitarized).	650, 000. 00	10, 000. 00	11/4/48
	2 LCVP's to Philippine national (demilitarized).	14, 600. 00	260. 00	2/9/49
	1 P–768 (air rescue) vessel to Philippine national.	18, 500. 00	3, 135. 00	10/13/48
	1 FS–C vessel to Philippine national (demilitarized).	12, 912. 00	1, 295. 00	10/12/48
	1 SC–637 to Philippine national (demilitarized).	400, 000. 00	500. 00	12/27/48
	1,000 carbines cal. .30 (MI)	71, 500. 00	7, 150. 00	1/11/49
	4,500,300 rds carbine ammunition	109, 132. 78	10, 935. 73	3/16/49
	1 Coast Guard cutter to Philippine national (demilitarized).	2, 000, 000. 00	11, 000. 00	3/16/49
zerland	1 C–45 aircraft and spare parts	78, 273. 84	27, 660. 52	1/18/49
ed Kingdom	1 FS–B vessel to British national (demilitarized)	37, 946. 00	7, 625. 00	10/7/48
guay	Spare parts for AT–11 aircraft	190. 43	142. 82	1/28/49
	4 BMG .50 HB and 14 M1A1 sub-machine guns.	317. 11	31. 71	1/10/49
	1 C–47 aircraft	104, 382. 00	32, 500. 00	3/11/49
	11 B–25J aircraft and 2 C–47 aircraft	1, 862, 284. 00	120, 750. 00	3/11/49
	Ordnance spare parts	15, 915. 69	1, 517. 14	1/18/49
	Spare parts for 40 mm. guns	5, 930. 81	296. 54	4/26/49
ezuela	10 F–47 aircraft	1, 003, 460. 00	35, 000. 00	3/3/49
	Spare parts for F–47D aircraft	71, 112. 60	7, 111. 26	3/3/49
	8 F–47D aircraft	802, 768. 00	28, 000. 00	3/3/49
	12 B–25J aircraft	1, 803, 840. 00	99, 000. 00	3/3/49
	4 F–47D aircraft	401, 384. 00	14, 000. 00	3/2/49
	2 AT–7 aircraft	143, 004. 00	20, 000. 00	5/6/49
	1 AT–7 aircraft	71, 502. 00	10, 000. 00	5/6/49

[1] Captured enemy equipment.

portation Into U.S. Surplus operty Located in Foreign Areas[1]

ection 508.15 (formerly § 8508.15 of Title 32) FLC Regulation 8, as amended (Departmental ulations 108.30, 108.50, 108.65; 11 F. R. 13423, F. R. 5963, 13 F. R. 614), is hereby amended ther so that the section will read as follows:

508.15 *Importations into United States.* Sur- s property sold in foreign areas before July 1, 9, shall not be imported into the United States the same or substantially the same form in ch it was exported from the United States if n property was originally produced in the ted States and is readily identifiable as such, ept to the extent that the Secretary of Com- rce or his delegated representative specifically horizes such importation upon determination t the importation would relieve domestic short- s or otherwise be beneficial to the economy of this country: *Provided, however,* That the prohibition of this section shall not apply to the importation of such property (a) for the purpose of reconditioning for reexport or (b) by a veteran (or member of the Armed Forces) upon certification by him that the importation is being made for his personal use or (c) if sold primarily for and imported for use as scrap metal and the importer furnishes an undertaking in a form and an amount to be prescribed by the Treasury Department to insure that none of the property will be diverted from use as scrap metal. Nothing in this section shall prevent the importation of property in transit to a point in the United States on or before June 30, 1949, in accordance with the provisions of FLC Regulation 8, Order 6 (14 F. R. 1283).

This order shall become effective upon publication in the *Federal Register.*

(58 Stat. 765, 59 Stat. 533, 60 Stat. 168, 60 Stat. 754, 50 U. S. C. App. Supp. 1611–1646; Pub. Law 152, 81st Cong.)

August 16, 1949.

[SEAL]

DEAN ACHESON,
Secretary of State.

4 *Fed. Reg.* 5201.

THE DEPARTMENT

Consultants on Far Eastern Policy Arrive in Washington

[*Released to the press August 24*]

Text of letter sent by Secretary Acheson to Raymond B. Fosdick

August 23, 1949

DEAR MR. FOSDICK: Now that Mr. Case has arrived in Washington to join you in your joint service as Consultants on our Far Eastern policy,[1] I should like to repeat in this letter what has already been conveyed to you orally.

I have asked you to make the great personal sacrifice of coming here to consult with me and my principal advisers at a time when the situation in the Far East presents many serious complexities. We desire every possible assistance in reaching wise conclusions regarding the policies which the United States should follow in promoting the interests of this country. I do not hesitate to state the matter in terms of our self-interest because I am convinced that our interest coincides with the peace and welfare of all countries which, like our own, are inspired by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

I ask you to consider the problem in all its aspects entirely free from any sense of being bound by any preconceived or preestablished policy or directive. All of the resources and personnel of the Department will be at your disposal to facilitate your task. Ambassador Jessup, who will be working with you, will make the necessary contacts and arrangements for you. I hope you will also seek the views of other competent persons in civilian and official life and weigh all opinions which you can assemble within the physical limitations of the time which you are able to devote to this problem.

I shall not ask you to present a report, but I do count on you from time to time as your study progresses to confer fully and frankly with me and with the other principal officers of the Department so that we may have the benefit of your views in framing recommendations which I shall make to the President and discuss with members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

I hope that you will devote as much time as you other obligations permit to the intensive period o your studies in Washington and that thereafte you will be available from time to time for con tinuing consultation.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 22, 1949, p. 279. A similar letter was addressed to Everett Case.

First Appointment Under Departmental and Foreign Service Exchange Program

On August 23 the Department of State an nounced that Margaret Joy Tibbetts, divisiona assistant in the Office of British Commonwealt Affairs, has been selected as the first departmenta officer to be assigned to the Foreign Service unde a recently inaugurated exchange program of th Department of State and Foreign Service officer Objective of the new program, initiated by Deput Under Secretary Peurifoy, is to provide furthe training and development of qualified officers b means of an interchange of Foreign Service an Departmental personnel. Through this exchang Department of State officers will be given the op portunity to gain experience in the conduct of fo eign relations overseas, and Foreign Service of cers, in turn, will be brought into closer conta with foreign-policy developments in Washingto

In her first overseas assignment, Miss Tibbet will serve in the political affairs section of the Em bassy in London. She will replace David Lin baugh, a Foreign Service Reserve officer, who returning to Washington in the near future.

The exchange program is expected to provi data on possible means of carrying out the Hoov Commission recommendation that the Departme of State and the Foreign Service be amalgamat into a single organization, members of whi would be available for assignment to Washingt or any one of the 300 Foreign Service posts sca tered throughout the world. Department of Sta officials indicate that a considerable number of a plicants will be processed for appointment to ove seas assignments during the coming months.

Appointment of Officers

John C. Elliott as Chief of the Munitions Division, Off of Controls, effective July 10, 1949.

Correction

The Editor of the BULLETIN regrets the misspelling of Ambassador Lewis Douglas' name in the issue of August 15, 1949, both on the cover and on page 229. Ambassador Douglas spells his first name "Lewis" rather than "Louis".

PUBLICATIONS

reign Relations on Far East, 1933 eleased

eleased to the press August 27]

The Department of State released on August 27 *reign Relations of the United States, Volume I, The Far East.* This is the first volume to be mpleted of the five volumes which will comprise e Foreign Relations series for 1933.

More than half of volume III deals with the r Eastern crisis created by Japanese aggression ainst China, the earlier stages of which were re-rded in volumes for 1931 and 1932. At the be-nning of 1933 the Japanese seized Shanhaikwan, er overran Jehol province, extended their mili-y activities south of the Great Wall, and with-ew from the League of Nations when their ions were condemned by that organization. en hostilities were ended by the signing of the ce at Tangku on May 31, 1933, which was fol-ved by shaky peace lasting until the outbreak real though unrecognized war in July 1937.

American policy with regard to the Far East-n crisis continued to follow the lines laid down 1931 and 1932, depending upon the influence of pressure of public opinion and the nonrecog-ion of changes brought about by aggression. th respect to nonrecognition, Secretary of State mson after consultation with President-elect osevelt was able to assure the British that there uld be no change of policy with the coming nge of administration.

The unwillingness of the American Government resort to military or economic sanctions against pan is shown in the 1933 record as it was in 1 and 1932. In a telegram of January 13, 3, to Geneva, Secretary Stimson stated: "The sent administration has clearly voiced its be-f that resort by the world to use of sanctions uld be unwise in principle and would not have support." This attitude is expressed in other cuments, most definitely in a letter from Presi-t Hoover to Secretary Stimson on February 1933. After the change of administrations, Department of State on March 11 informed British Embassy that the administration would ss for passage of legislation authorizing the sident to impose embargoes but added that this vernment did not perceive that any useful pur-e would be served by imposing an embargo on ns to China and Japan in the existing circum-nces. Secretary of State Hull, on March 31, tructed the American representative at Geneva t the American Government would not be drawn into any discussion of the League of Nations had made

There are warnings in the 1933 rec future war between the United States a As reported from Paris on February 7, a Fr diplomat mentioned the Philippines as an object of Japanese aggression and stated that Japan's preparations for war were aimed directly at the United States. On March 17 it was reported that this was the view of the French General Staff. From Tokyo, Ambassador Grew reported on February 23 that Japan was not bluffing and that military propaganda had led many to believe that war by Japan with the United States or Russia was inevitable. The same idea from a Russian source was reported by Ambassador Grew on March 9. There are, however, a number of reports from Tokyo on the likelihood or inevitability of a Russian-Japanese war, and apparently the general view in Tokyo was that such a war was far more likely than one in which the United States would be involved. This view was not shared by the veteran Minister of the Netherlands, General Pabst, who warned, as reported on December 12, that the Japanese naval ambitions pointed toward the South Pacific with the Philippines as the first object of attack. Nelson T. Johnson, Minister in China, had reported on June 12 his personal conviction that the departure of the United States from the Philippines, upon their being granted independence, would be the signal for the beginning of a Japanese advance southward.

In addition to the section on the Far Eastern crisis, this volume contains sections on China, Japan, and Siam covering a variety of subjects.

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1933, Volume III, The Far East, was compiled by John Gilbert Reid of the Division of Historical Policy Research, under the direction of E. R. Perkins, editor of Foreign Relations. Copies of this volume (xcviii, 794 pp.) may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., for $2.75 each.

Department of State Answers Criticism on China Policy—*Continued from page 352*

failure to publish the complete text of this letter distorts the meaning of the paragraphs printed is wholly without foundation.

The sixteenth point is directed to a criticism of the omission of an explanation for the failure to include the views of General MacArthur or SCAP. In a recent telegram to the Secretary of Defense, which was printed in the *Congressional Record* of August 18, General MacArthur pointed out that he had forwarded his general views on the subject of China to the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Dr. Judd is a member, on March 3, 1948.

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The Problem of the Former Italian Colonies at the Third Session of the General Assembly

y David W. Wainhouse and Philip A. Mangano

INTRODUCTION

The General Assembly of the United Nations at s fourth regular session will resume considera-on of the problem of the disposition of the former alian colonies. This item will be one of the most nportant on its agenda. The settlement of this fficult and complicated problem has been given e United Nations as a result of the inability of e four great powers—the United States, the nited Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and France—to ach agreement on the matter. So wide has been e range of international opinion on possible so-tions that no decision could be reached by the eneral Assembly after initial study and debate st spring. The course of that debate and the rious proposals considered and voted upon are e subject of extended treatment in this article. The territories involved are the three former lian colonies—Libya, Eritrea, and Italian maliland—comprising a total area of over 1 mil-n square miles and a combined population of er 3 million. Stretching between Egypt on the st and Tunisia and Algeria on the west, Libya is far the largest of the three former colonies. population, like Eritrea and Italian Somali-d, is approximately 1 million. The native pop-tion, composed mainly of Berbers and Arabs, Moslem in religion. Although much of the ter-ory is desert, the basis of its economy is agri-tural and pastoral, chiefly in the sections along Mediterranean coast, along mountain slopes d at scattered oases in the interior. Since libera-n from Axis control in 1943, most of Libya has n under separate British administrations for renaica (the eastern portion) and Tripolitania e western part bordering on Tunisia and Al-ia). There are Italian and Jewish minorities the coastal areas of Tripolitania of approxi-tely 40 thousand and 15 thousand, respectively. renaica, in June of this year, was granted self-vernment for internal affairs under the over-all protection and supervision of the British administration. A third part of Libya, the sparsely populated Fezzan in the southwest, has been under French administration since occupation of that area during the war by French forces pushing up from West Africa.

In East Africa, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland border on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, respectively. Inland, Eritrea stretches along the northeastern boundary of Ethiopia and the eastern tip of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. With a mixed population of Christian Copts and Moslems, together with an Italian community in the towns of Asmara and Massawa, the inhabitants total over 1 million. Italian Somaliland, with a population of about 970 thousand, is the least developed of the former colonies. Its inhabitants are closely related by race and culture to the Somalis in British and French Somaliland, southeastern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. Their religion is the Moslem faith. Both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland are poor in natural resources. Though agricultural and pastoral in their economies, both must import a certain amount of their food requirements. A considerable proportion of the population of each is nomadic or seminomadic, and political or social advancement, except in settled areas, has been slow. Eritrea and Italian Somaliland have been under British administration since 1941.

According to article 23 of the Treaty of Peace With Italy, signed February 10, 1947, Italy renounced all right and title to her former colonial possessions in Africa. It was established that pending their final disposition they would remain under their "present," British and French, administration. The United States, the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R. and France jointly were to determine the final disposition within 1 year from the coming into force of the treaty (September 15, 1947) and in the manner specified in annex XI of the treaty. Annex XI embodied a Joint

Declaration by the four great powers, engaging themselves to seek a settlement "in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments." The declaration provided that if, with respect to any of these territories, the four powers were unable to agree within 1 year from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace With Italy, "the matter shall be referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation, and the Four Powers agree to accept the recommendation and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it." It was further provided that the deputies of the (four) Foreign Ministers should continue consideration of the problem so as to furnish the Council of Foreign Ministers with recommendations on this matter. The deputies were also to send out commissions of investigation to the territories involved to obtain necessary data and to ascertain the views of the inhabitants.

The Council of Foreign Ministers and their deputies labored long and intensively with this problem before and after conclusion of the treaty. When the Council met for the first time at London in September 1945, there was general agreement that the principle of trusteeship as outlined in the United Nations Charter, signed a few months earlier, should be applied. However, there was little meeting of minds on the form of trusteeship which might be applied to the three territories, whether under the administration of a single state, of a group of states, or of the United Nations organization itself. Former Secretary of State Byrnes, on behalf of the United States, proposed administration of all three areas by the United Nations, acting through the Trusteeship Council. Qualified support for this proposal was initially given by the British who, however, felt that it might be applied only to Libya. France preferred single-power trusteeships with Italy as the administering power. The Soviet Union also adhered to the idea of individual trusteeships and advanced a claim to such a trusteeship for itself in Tripolitania.

The four Foreign Ministers again took up the problem at a Paris session which was divided into two parts: April 25–May 20 and June 15–July 12, 1946. The Soviet Union by this time had moved from a claim to trusteeship in Tripolitania to advocacy of a joint Soviet-Italian trusteeship for that area. From that position it shifted to support for Italian trusteeship in all three territories along lines that French had already proposed. Although preferring its own plan for direct United Nations trusteeships, the United States was prepared to accept the French plan if the others could agree and if a definite date were set for the independence of Eritrea and Libya. Britain, which had assured the Senussi leaders of Cyrenaica during the war that they would never again be allowed to come under Italian rule, could not agree to the French plan, and the French Foreign Minister could not agree to a time limit for independence. The British made counterproposals for the immediate independence of all of Libya, but obtained no general support. The United States then reverted to its original proposal.

Later, during the June–July meeting of the Foreign Ministers, it was agreed in principle that if the four powers could not agree on a solution within a year after the coming into force of the peace treaty, they would refer the matter to the General Assembly for a recommendation, binding themselves in advance to accept that recommendation and to put it into effect. This agreement was accepted by the peace conference at Paris in October 1946, and finally emerged in the four-power declaration of February 10, 1947 which was incorporated as annex XI in the treaty.

The establishment of a Four Power Commission of Investigation by the deputies of the Foreign Ministers was delayed until the fall of 1947 because the Soviet Union took the position that it could not be organized before the Italian treaty had been ratified. The Commission was finally sent out to the territories in November 1947, visiting Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Libya. After it had completed its investigation, including special attention to the views of the inhabitants in so far as they could be evaluated, the Commission reported to the Deputy Foreign Ministers in July 1948. The deputies also received the views of the other interested states including Egypt and Italy. The deputies made further efforts to reach agreement on the basis of the Commission's report and other data. By this time the United States had moved away from advocacy of direct United Nations administration because of lack of support by the other powers and because the existing state of East-West relations made it seem unlikely that such an arrangement could be effectively applied. France and the U.S.S.R. still favored Italian trusteeship generally though with variations of the details. Britain and the United States believed Italian trusteeship in Italian Somaliland would be feasible and acceptable to a majority of the inhabitants but felt that British administration in at least a part of Libya, particularly Cyrenaica, would be more in keeping with the desires of the inhabitants and in the interests of international security. The United States and later the United Kingdom supported the strong Ethiopian claim to part of the territory of Eritrea on ethnic and economic grounds and also supported Ethiopia's need for an outlet to the sea.

With the approach of the deadline for four-power agreement, September 15, 1948, the U.S.S.R. called a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, though it seemed apparent that absence of agreement among the deputies would continue to be reflected in the Council. This impression was confirmed when the Council met on September 7 at Paris where the Soviet delegation reversed its position. It proposed United Nations trusteeships for all three territories along lines marked

imilar to the original American proposals of 945, which were not acceptable to the other three overnments. The four governments, unable to gree, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General f the United Nations dated September 15, 1948, nforming him that they were referring the prob- em to the General Assembly in accordance with he pertinent provisions of the Italian peace reaty. The four powers also sent for the in- ormation of the members the report of the Four ower Commission of Investigation which visited ibya, Eritrea, and former Italian Somaliland. Inder pressure of other business, the General ssembly did not reach the point of considering is problem at the first part of its third regular ession at Paris last fall. The matter was sched- led for discussion at the second part of that ses- on meeting in New York in the spring of 1949.

. INITIAL DEBATE IN COMMITTEE I

rocedural Matters

Hard upon the election of Fernand van Lang- hove (Belgium) as Chairman, Committee I roceeded, at its 238th meeting, April 6, 1949, to ke up the question of the former Italian col- ies. Two procedural questions immediately ose, involving the manner in which Italy and presentatives of substantial political groups of e inhabitants of the African territories might esent their views to the Committee.

The Italian Government in a letter to the Sec- tary-General dated April 4 [1] formally requested opportunity to participate in the discussion the problem. John Foster Dulles of the nited States delegation proposed that the Com- ittee accede to the Italian request and sub- itted a draft resolution providing for appro- iate participation by an Italian representative, ithout vote, in the Committee's discussions. is proposal was immediately adopted.[2]

The representative of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah han, wanted to be sure that the Committee would k the views of the local inhabitants. He also ggested that the Italian spokesman should ini- lly give an account of his country's past co- ial policies and aims. The United Kingdom presentative then came forward with a proposal r a three-member subcommittee which would een requests for hearings in the Assembly of representatives of parties or organizations in the territories. The subcommittee would report to Committee I on "the extent to which these parties or organizations represent substantial sections of opinion in the territory in question" and would make recommendations on whether they should be heard and if so, how they should be heard.[3] After some discussion, in which it was pointed out that no such group had as yet requested a hearing, the matter was temporarily laid aside. It was quite evident that the members fully agreed on the principle that hearings should be afforded representatives of the local population at the proper time.

At the 240th and 242d meetings of Committee I, the United Kingdom revised proposal for a subcommittee to "screen" requests for hearing representatives of groups of the inhabitants was taken up. As revised, the British proposal left open the number of states to be represented on the subcommittee.[4] A French amendment proposed that the subcommittee study and take into account "the information on political organizations in the respective territories contained in the Four Power Commission report." [5] At Egypt's suggestion, it was agreed that a deadline be set for the receipt of requests for hearings, with April 23 as the terminal date. A Cuban proposal called for establishment of an eleven-member subcommittee to be designated by the Chairman according to geographical distribution.[6]

The first list of possible members of the subcommittee proposed by Chairman van Langenhove named the seven following states to serve on the subcommittee: Norway, New Zealand, Egypt, Iran, France, Brazil, and the United Kingdom.[7] This proposal was challenged by the representatives of Poland and the Ukraine, who asked for inclusion of one or more Slav states, including the U.S.S.R.[8] The United States indicated that perhaps neither it nor the U.S.S.R. need be represented on the subcommittee, since the list proposed by the Chairman possessed a good balance.

The Chairman was finally asked to prepare a list of 11 members of a "screening" subcommittee. The new list, which was adopted without objection, included Brazil, Egypt, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States.[9] An informal Venezuelan suggestion that the subcommittee arrange to hear Italian views on the representative character of groups requesting a hearing was

U.N. doc. A/C.1/430.

U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.238 and U.N. doc. A/C.1/431. e resolution, after noting the Italian request, stated t the Assembly "decides to invite the Government of ly to send a representative to sit, without vote, during Committee's consideration of the question of the dis- al of the former Italian colonies, such representative e present for the purpose of answering questions, pro- ing such assistance as the Committee may require and king an initial statement, as well as such further state- nts as the Committee may require."

[3] U.N. doc. A/C.1/432. The Four-Power Commission of Investigation, whose report was available to all members of the Assembly, had, of course, made a considerable effort to consult local opinion in Libya, Eritrea, and former Italian Somaliland and had recorded its views on the trends of feeling in each territory.

[4] U.N. doc. A/C.1/432/rev.1.

[5] U.N. doc. A/C.1/434.

[6] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.242.

[7] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.240.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.242.

called rather sharply into question by Ethiopia, Haiti, and Pakistan. Disagreement on this point was resolved with the understanding that the subcommittee would be free to determine what evidence it wished to hear and whom it should consult.[10]

A show of hands vote was then taken on the United Kingdom draft resolution as amended by France and Egypt. The proposal was adopted by 51 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions.[11]

Opening Statements by the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R.

Between April 6 and 9, the delegates of each of the four powers which had labored long with the controversial problem made initial statements on the views of their respective governments.

Mr. Dulles spoke for the United States on April 6.[12] He pointed out that the Assembly was exercising an authority "unique in the history of the United Nations." The four powers had agreed in advance to be bound by the Assembly's recommendations. Accordingly, the Assembly would in effect be a "supreme legislative authority" on this issue. He emphasized the baffling nature of the problem, referred to changes in the positions of the four powers during their efforts to reach a solution, and described reference of the question to the Assembly as "an act of faith in the United Nations."

The interests of the inhabitants and of peace and security, principles laid down in the Italian peace treaty and certainly in the Charter, were governing. The United States had concluded that Libya should be placed on the road to early independence under the trusteeship of a state or states able to promote such independence and to assure that the territory play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. The United States favored British administration under trusteeship for Cyrenaica (eastern part of Libya) in any case, whether the Assembly dealt with Libya as a whole or in part. The British had given concrete evidence of their ability to guide non-self-governing peoples toward independence.

With respect to Eritrea, much less advanced toward self-government, Mr. Dulles pointed to the close affinity of much of that area with the neighboring Ethiopian people. Because of this affinity, because of the legitimate desire of Ethiopia for direct access to the sea, and because of the demonstrated relationship of eastern Eritrea in the past to the maintenance of international peace and security, the United States believed that the eastern part, including Massawa and Asmara, might be incorporated into Ethiopia. Provision could be made for the appropriate protection of Italian and other minorities. The western province, closely connected with the people of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, should have its future provided for separately. As for Italian Somaliland, where progress toward independence or self-government would require a long period of guidance, the United States believed that Italy could well be entrusted with the administration under the trusteeship system. Despite excesses of the past, Italy had rewon its democratic and peace-loving character, and the Italian people could appropriately be afforded opportunity to participate constructively in the development of a part of Africa in cooperation with the native peoples.

A statement of France's views was given on April 7 by M. Chauvel, who reviewed briefly the history of the issue since the end of the war. He stressed the importance of an early settlement because provisional military administration was satisfactory neither to the inhabitants nor to the occupying powers. He held that Somaliland was poor and politically backward; Eritrea had a Coptic and Moslem population; and that Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan constituted distinct regions of Libya none of which yet qualified for self-government. Administration of all of these territories under trusteeship had been favored generally by the four powers after their study of the matter, allowing for a varying view on the transfer of Eritrean territory to Ethiopia. France did not believe that either a direct United Nations trusteeship (as proposed by the United States in 1945 and by the Soviet Union just prior to the third session of the Assembly) nor a collective trusteeship in the hands of several states would provide a workable or effective administration. In the case of a direct United Nations trusteeship, even if a capable administrator were chosen, he could not depend on adequate financial resources from the United Nations budget to meet local development needs.

M. Chauvel said that France continued to believe that Italy was qualified to assume the responsibility for trusteeship even though she was not a member of the United Nations. Although Ethiopia had a right to reparations for past Italian injustices and to guaranties for the future, the new Italian Republic would know how to act in a spirit of democracy and progress, and its administration would be under the over-all scrutiny of the United Nations.[13]

Mr. McNeil (United Kingdom) regretted that the French view did not coincide with that of the British Government. Britain, he said, had administered the East African territories since 19[illegible] and all of Libya except for the Fezzan since 19[illegible] and had carried a substantial deficit for those territories. Provisional military administration under the restrictions of the Hague convention had not hitherto been able to take important and needed steps of any far-reaching economic or political character in the territories. Mr. McNeil was

[10] *Ibid.*
[11] U.N. doc. A/C.1/435.
[12] BULLETIN of Apr. 17, 1949, p. 484.
[13] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 239.

ferring to the restrictions imposed upon a military occupant under the Hague Regulations Respecting the Law and Customs of War on Land (1907).

He maintained that the problems and stages of development of the territories were so different that each should be dealt with as a separate entity, not in terms of a common solution. Although a unified Libya was a legitimate objective, its inhabited parts were widely separated and it actually had three separate administrations. If it were proposed that France be granted certain rights in the Fezzan, the British would support the proposal. For Cyrenaica, there was the standing pledge to the Senussi, who had fought beside the British, that they would not again come under Italian rule. This position implied no hostility toward Italian claims. If Britain were asked to administer Cyrenaica and prepare its peoples for early independence, it would faithfully do so. The relationship was such that, if trusteeship were felt desirable for that area, and Britain felt that it was, the Cyrenaicans would naturally look to Great Britain as the logical trustee. In such case, the United Kingdom would maintain contact with other parties in Libya looking toward eventual unity.

As for Tripolitania, the British had no desire to retain administrative functions. Substantial reforms were needed but were difficult under the current "restrictive" regime. The United Kingdom favored the transfer of eastern Eritrea to Ethiopia not only because this should benefit the inhabitants but because Ethiopia deserved compensation. The peoples of the predominantly Moslem western province would expect some different arrangement. Finally, the United Kingdom agreed that Italian Somaliland was not ready for independence and that Italy might appropriately be asked to assume trusteeship there.

Mr. Gromyko (U.S.S.R.) spoke on April 9. He began by trying to demonstrate that a solution among the four powers, in the 3 years during which they considered the problem, had been thwarted by the United Kingdom and the United States. According to Mr. Gromyko, the U.S.S.R., throughout the four-power negotiations, had consistently sought to achieve agreement by making concessions to the points of view of the other delegations. It had, however, never been able to accept British proposals which would further strengthen the quasi monopolistic position of the United Kingdom in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea area. After the decision that a year should be allowed for four-power agreement after the Italian treaty came into force, and that otherwise the matter would be subject to General Assembly decision, the three Western powers, Mr. Gromyko charged, had tried to drag out discussions, feeling sure that their wishes would obtain majority support in the Assembly. When the year's deadline was approaching, the U.S.S.R. had made a last effort to obtain agreement by prompting a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, September 13–15, 1948. This was not, in the Soviet view, a meeting of the Council, because some of the other governments had not sent their Foreign Ministers.[14] Nevertheless, he said, further Soviet proposals had been submitted, first for Italian trusteeship in each territory and then for direct United Nations trusteeship along the lines of the original American proposal of 1945.[15] Lack of agreement stemmed, said Mr. Gromyko, from the attitude of the three Western powers that Italian Somaliland should be given separate treatment, and from the British pretensions to a special position in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

Mr. Gromyko asserted that the British and American delegates in Committee I had, in their opening statements, been deliberately vague as to Tripolitania and the western part of Eritrea; hence, he assumed, there must be some private agreement between their governments to leave those areas under British control which, he said, amounted to United States control.

The Soviet delegate then charged that British administration had depressed the economic life of the territories, had kept the peoples from self-development, and had taken out quantities of factory equipment and other resources. French administration in the Fezzan was similarly criticized. In essence, Mr. Gromyko charged that the Western powers were seeking to transform the African territories into "strategic military bases" for the United States and the United Kingdom, aimed against the U.S.S.R.

After a self-righteous portrayal of the Soviet Union as the great friend of non-self-governing peoples, the Soviet representative concluded by presenting "suggestions" for direct United Nations trusteeship over all the former Italian colonies.[16] For each of the three territories, an administrator would be appointed by the Trusteeship Council and would be assisted by an Advisory Council, including representatives of the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., France, Italy, and the United States, who would select two representatives of the European and indigenous residents of each territory to serve on such Councils. Provision would be made for the independence of Libya and Eritrea after 10 years, but no date would be set for the

[14] The Western powers were agreed that the meeting was that of the Council, since in each case, their representatives had full powers to act for their Foreign Ministers.

[15] It may be noted that, at a time when the U.S. delegation was proposing direct U.N. trusteeship during the CFM discussions in 1945, the Soviet delegation was approaching former Secretary Byrnes with a proposal that Britain, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S. each take over administration of one of the colonies. Mr. Molotov privately told Mr. Byrnes that "the Soviet Union should take the place that is due it . . . and therefore should have bases in the Mediterranean for its merchant fleet." See James F. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly*, Harper and Bros. 1947 pp. 95–96. Apparently the U.S.S.R. was not so sensitive about mentioning the strategic and security importance of Libya in the CFM as in the General Assembly.

[16] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.240.

grant of independence to Italian Somaliland. In the case of Eritrea, Ethiopia would be granted a territorial concession providing an outlet to the sea through the port of Assab.[17]

Mr. McNeil (United Kingdom) immediately protested that the U.S.S.R. was making unwarranted propaganda charges and called for a more constructive spirit. He pointed out that it was rather extraordinary that the U.S.S.R. should claim that each of its changes in position since 1945 was in the interest of promoting agreement while attributing less worthy motives to the other three powers. Denying the charges of imperialistic exploitation of the former colonies by the British military administration, Mr. McNeil admitted that equipment had been removed from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, during the war and in order to aid in mounting an offensive against the Axis in the Middle East. He did not doubt that the Soviet Union had done the same in certain parts of Europe during the fighting. Moreover, the United Kingdom had been carrying the deficits of these areas. He pointed out that its efforts to improve native agriculture had been largely handicapped by drought in North Africa.

Initial Italian Statement

At the 241st meeting of the Committee on April 11, Italy's Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, presented his government's views. He acknowledged that the problem was most complicated and that it involved the reawakening of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Recalling the struggle of the Italian people for democracy and the principle of nationality in the nineteenth century, he pointed out that, after the tragic interlude of Fascism, Italy had returned to her democratic heritage. He felt that the new Republic should not be punished for the wrongs of a vanished dictator. Though unfortunately his country had not yet gained admission to the world organization, most members had shown their conviction that it ought to be admitted. It should follow that Italy be considered qualified to take part in guiding the African peoples toward independence and self-development. Italy, "a country of peasants and artisans devoid of any racial prejudice," would faithfully discharge such responsibilities entrusted to it and could render considerable technical and other assistance of the type required.[18]

Count Sforza remarked that broad sentiment seemed to exist in favor of Italy's trusteeship for Italian Somaliland. Libya, he felt, should become "one of the pivots of our friendly cooperation with the Arab States." Administrative responsibility in Tripolitania would enable his country to help shoulder the burden, which it regarded as a duty, involved in developing the former colonies toward independence. The Libyan problem needed to be settled in its entirety. It need not be feared that the natives of Tripolitania would resist Italian administration. Disturbances there since the war had not been directed against the Italians who lived on friendly terms with the Arabs. The elections at Tripoli in January had given evidence, he claimed, of substantial sympathetic feeling toward Italy.

Eritrea, Count Sforza maintained, had never been part of Ethiopia, and annexation by the latter would place too heavy a burden on Ethiopia, resulting in a decline in Eritrea's economy and in discouraging the contribution of the Italian community. Ethiopian security, while important, could be otherwise assured. Italy requested administrative responsibility in Eritrea in the general interest, and believed Ethiopia should be given access to the sea through Assab.

In conclusion, Count Sforza maintained that the problem should be solved, not on the basis of annexation or partitions for reasons of military security, but through reaffirmation of the principles of collective security and of loyal international cooperation. Count Sforza felt that Ethiopia would have no ground to fear for her security if Italy were to administer Eritrea under United Nations supervision. He also cited the new "constructive and creative spirit of Europe," to which Italy was contributing and which could augur well for the development of African peoples.[19]

Ethiopia's Attitude

Aklilou Abte Wold (Ethiopia) explained his country's position on April 7 and 11, before and after the statement by Count Sforza. In his first speech, the Ethiopian delegate asserted that his country was vitally interested, on economic, social and security grounds, in the disposition of Eritrea and Somaliland. The Assembly's decision on the whole problem was of crucial importance for the peoples of the Middle East and of Africa. As far as Ethiopia was concerned, he insisted, pre-Fascist Italy had, by its policies in the late nineteenth century, paved the way for the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935-36. Italian expansion into Eritrea had always been resisted by Ethiopia to which Eritrea was naturally connected by race, religion, language, and culture. Union of the two territories would be the right solution. Already a number of Eritreans were serving in the Ethiopian administrative system,[20] and Eritrea's imports came chiefly from Ethiopia. In addition, northern Ethiopia's chief sea outlet was through the port of Massawa. Prior to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, said Mr. Wold, there had never been more than 5 thousand Italian settlers in Eritrea. If that territory were transferred to his country,

[17] U.N. doc. A/C.1/433.
[18] U.N. doc. A/C. 1/SR. 241.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Mr. Wold claimed that as high as 10 percent of the officials in the Ethiopian administration were Eritreans.

Ethiopia was ready to assure them all appropriate civil, cultural, and legal rights.[21]

Replying to Count Sforza, Mr. Wold challenged the former's statement that Eritrea had never been a part of Ethiopia, and cited a provision of a British treaty of 1884 with his country as evidence that union had existed. Mr. Wold claimed that 50 years of Italian rule had not changed the backward condition of Eritrea, except for the "show-windows" of Massawa and Asmara. As evidence of this he referred to the Four Power Commission's report, and held that 90 percent of the people of the territory opposed Italy's return in any form. Mr. Wold wondered how Italy, a country itself requiring outside economic aid, would provide the assistance needed for Eritrea's development, as the territory was distinctly a deficit area. He then reverted to the theme that if Italy were again to be placed "on both sides of his country," Ethiopia would feel threatened and would have to do something about it.[22]

Latin American Views

Between April 7 and 21, most of the Latin American states, at varying length, explained their positions. Throughout the entire debate, Messrs. Arce (Argentina), Belaunde (Peru), and Santa Cruz (Chile) took a particularly active part. The Latin American spokesmen, with the exception of Mr. St. Lot (Haiti), appealed for generosity toward a redeemed Italy, and favored the establishment of trusteeship for most of the territories involved, with Italy generally as the administering power, alone or in conjunction with others. Within that general context, differing views were expressed as to particular details.

The Brazilian view, as stated by Mr. Muniz, was that individual trusteeships for the territories would be best, and that Italy was particularly qualified. However, British and French concern with Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, respectively, should be considered, as well as Ethiopia's need for an outlet to the sea.[23] Mr. Castro (Uruguay) made a rather general statement, calling for a just decision which would not neglect Italy's cooperation and capacity.[24]

For Argentina, Mr. Arce scored the role of unanimity which had blocked four-power agreement on the colonies and had severely handicapped the Security Council. He emphasized the freedom of decision on this and other questions enjoyed by the General Assembly. Believing independence for the territories was not feasible, Argentina favored Italian trusteeship for Libya, Somaliland, and northern Eritrea[25] since democratic Italy would know how to develop the lands and guide the peoples toward independence. Southern Eritrea with an outlet to the sea could be transferred to Ethiopia, with a joint Italo-Ethiopian boundary commission assisted by a United Nations mediator to draw the frontiers. The Peruvian delegate, Mr. Belaunde, paid special tribute to the colonizing talents of the Italian people, and called for harmonizing the interests of Italy, Britain, France, and Ethiopia in a manner consistent with the welfare of the local populations. Although favoring transfer of a zone of Eritrea to Ethiopia with an outlet to the sea, Peru felt that the rest of the territory, including Asmara and Massawa, with their Italian minorities, should be placed under Italian trusteeship. Tripolitania might also be placed under Italian trusteeship. Mr. Belaunde referred more generally to the British and French interest in the other parts of Libya—Cyrenaica and the Fezzan.[26] In a statement of Colombia's view, Mr. Zuleta advanced ideas similar to those of Argentina and Peru. Like them, he asserted that a solution of the whole problem should be reached at one time.

Cuba's representative, Mr. Alvarez, lauded the principle of having the General Assembly settle difficult international problems by a majority vote. The interests of the native inhabitants, he insisted, were paramount, and the Italians must adjust to the new situation. Cuba advocated a joint trusteeship under Britain, France, and Italy for the western part of Eritrea[27] and in other respects subscribed to the position of Peru.[28]

Chilean representative, Mr. Santa Cruz, believed that special attention must be given to improving the standard of living in the former colonies. The problem should be viewed as part of the over-all need for the economic development of non-self-governing territories in Africa in order to assure social progress. The Assembly should take this need especially into account in its resolution. With reasonable adjustment to Ethiopia's claims to part of Eritrea and to the logical position of Britain in Cyrenaica, the Chilean delegation believed Italy should be chosen to administer the territories.[29] The Paraguayan delegate, Mr. Acosta, favored French administration for the Fezzan, and British administration for Cyrenaica; in other respects he favored Italian

[21] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.239.

[22] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 242. Mr. Wold also decried the presence on the Italian delegation of a man who had been governor of Ethiopia in 1937 when excesses were being committed.

[23] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 239.

[24] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 241.

[25] Some delegations, notably those from Latin American states, spoke of northern and southern Eritrea; generally speaking such references applied to what the United States and other delegations termed western and eastern Eritrea, respectively. The eastern (southern) part is that including the plateau inhabited by Coptic Christians, and the towns of Assab, Asmara, and Massawa.

[26] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.241.

[27] In defining the western part of Eritrea, the Cuban delegate included "the Moslem province and the cities of Asmara and Massawa."

[28] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.242.

[29] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.243.

administration. He was prepared to accept postponement of a decision if that were in the best interests of peace and security.[30]

The Dominican Republic spokesman, Mr. Urena, suggested the establishment of a well-defined advisory body, including representatives of the inhabitants, to assist the Trusteeship Council in its supervision of Italian administration of Tripolitania.[31] Mr. Stolk (Venezuela) favored Italian trusteeship in part of Eritrea and in Somaliland, and thought that consideration should be given to Italy and France as administrators of Tripolitania and the Fezzan, as well as to British administration in Cyrenaica. He stressed the interests and wishes of the local peoples in working out a settlement.[32]

The delegates of El Salvador, Bolivia, Guatemala, Panama, Ecuador, Honduras, and Costa Rica expressed broadly similar views during the initial debate.[33]

Attitudes of India and Pakistan

The representatives of Pakistan and of India indicated support for the principle of direct United Nations administration of the territories in their statements of April 18. Both showed some interest in the Soviet proposal for such an arrangement, but each had specific changes in mind as to details.

For Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan deprecated the idea of a piecemeal settlement and declared that, paying heed to the wishes of the populations, the main objective was complete independence of all of the territories as soon as possible. Libya, he maintained, needed only a short period of preparation for independence and could be placed under United Nations administration for 5 years. Ethiopia's claim for a part of Eritrea should be met within proper limits, and the remainder of Eritrea, if substantial in size, might require trusteeship. France, Ethiopia, and the United Kingdom, he thought, should pledge the attainment of a united and independent Somaliland to right the ancient wrong of the division of Somali tribes under foreign rule.[34] Somaliland should become independent in 10 years. Sir Zafrullah believed an advisory committee of nine,[35] to assist the United Nations administrator in each territory, would be desirable. As for possible Security Council supervision of strategic points in the territories, Pakistan could agree provided that, for such purpose, it be understood that the Security Council would set aside the use of the veto. In general, the Pakistan statement was weighted with sharp criticism of Italy's past record and with stress on the opposition to that country's return which might be expected from the inhabitants. In lower key, Sir Zafrullah also spoke slightingly of progress toward independence in French North African territories.[36]

India's view, as stated by Mr. Setalvad, was that the wishes and needs of the inhabitants should heavily outweigh strategic considerations or the interests of certain European states.

Since the Four Power Commission had revealed that the inhabitants were not ready for independence, a direct United Nations trusteeship would best serve their interests and help them attain early independence. Mr. Setalvad then outlined a number of points which, he said, could be worked out by the Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship Affairs) if the Assembly adopted the principle of direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories. These points included provision for (*a*) appointment by the Trusteeship Council of a Governor for each territory; (*b*) creation of a corps of international civil servants to provide some of the necessary administrative personnel; (*c*) transfer of authority from the existing administrations to the United Nations after a short period; (*d*) establishment of a police force for local defense and maintenance of law and order; (*e*) Advisory Councils made up of representatives of the inhabitants to assist the administration in each territory and to take over progressively more legislative and executive responsibility; (*f*) the holding of a plebiscite in each territory after from 10 to 20 years of trusteeship to determine whether any of the territories wished independence or union with an adjacent area.

In view of the Ethiopian position, Mr. Setalvad advocated an immediate plebiscite, under United Nations supervision, to determine whether the people of eastern Eritrea wished union with Ethiopia. The Indian delegate recognized that his whole plan would involve extraordinary expenditures by the United Nations, but he argued that the cause was worth the cost.[37]

Additional Eastern European Views

The delegates of Yugoslavia, Poland, the Ukrainian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, and Byelo

[30] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244.

[31] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244. To some extent, at least, this idea was drawn on, so far as Tripolitania was concerned, in the draft resolution later developed by a subcommittee, and adopted by Committee I.

[32] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244.

[33] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.245, 246, and 248. Costa Rica's representative, Mr. Canas, favored maintaining the "essential unity of Libya under an Italian trusteeship of limited duration," if generally acceptable to the inhabitants; otherwise he could agree to a limited British trusteeship for Cyrenaica.

[34] Sir Zafrullah indicated that the presence of Somalis in the Ogaden province of Ethiopia as well as in French and British Somaliland, and in the frontier sections of Kenya, should thus be kept in mind in planning the disposition of former Italian Somaliland.

[35] In comparison with the Soviet proposal for a seven member Advisory Council, Pakistan favored two more, to be named by Egypt and one other Middle Eastern state.

[36] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 243.

[37] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244.

russia, all adhered faithfully to the position of the Soviet Union. They joined in the latter's charges of imperialism on the part of the Western powers which, they said, stood in contrast to the sound and wise proposals of the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Vilfan (Yugoslavia) denied the fitness of Italy to administer any of the territories, claiming that she would be subservient to Anglo-American military plans and that her treatment of the Slovene minority was not such as the peace treaty required.[38] Mr. Tarasenko (Ukraine) accused Britain and the United States of scheming a new "colonial partition" based on military considerations and a desire for profits.[39] Poland's spokesman, Mr. Katz-Suchy, deplored the failure of great power machinery to settle this and other postwar problems, blamed the so-called Western "aggressive bloc" for this failure, and vilified Britain's record in the administration of dependent areas. The Polish delegate, who also vilified the United States, France, and Italy, concluded that the Soviet proposals were best calculated to meet the interests of the local peoples. For Byelorussia, Mr. Kisselev joined in attacking the motives of the United States and Great Britain.[40] Mr. Hoffmeister (Czechoslovakia) made a somewhat more moderate statement, not lacking in criticism of the supposed aims of the Western powers, in support of the U. S. S. R. position.[41]

Arab States' Views

Mr. Khachaba (Egypt) addressed the Committee on April 19 followed by Messrs. Dajani (Saudi Arabia) and Sawaidi (Iraq) on April 20. Expressing special concern with the former colonies on grounds of neighborhood and friendship, Egypt asked for the independence and unity of Libya. During the Ottoman period, said the Egyptian representative, Libya had been autonomous, and its peoples had looked to Allied victory in the recent war as their road to freedom. If, nevertheless, trusteeship were decided upon for Libya, Egypt felt strongly that it should be for a short period, that unity should be maintained, and that an Arab state should participate in the administration. In connection with Libya, Egypt would claim the restoration of several small areas for economic and strategic reasons.[42]

Egypt favored the transfer to Ethiopia of that part of Eritrea forming part of the Ethiopian plateau and whose population favored such union. The remainder, Moslem inhabited, could logically be added to the Sudan. For Somaliland, Egypt favored a single-power trusteeship leading to independence. Mr. Khachaba did not suggest an appropriate state to fill that role.[43]

The representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Dajani, noted that, according to the Four Power Commission's report, the territories were not yet ready for independence. He questioned such a judgment with respect to Libya. He did not wish to see a repetition of the rivalry of various powers for mandates, as after the First World War. Probably it would be best to apply the trusteeship system, but for a fixed period of time, with independence the stated goal and with the administering power to be selected on the basis of the wishes of the inhabitants. Like Egypt, Saudi Arabia stressed the maintenance of the unity of Libya and could not understand an argument put forward by France that the three parts of Libya were quite separate. Mr. Dajani did not comment directly on Eritrea or Somaliland.[44]

Mr. Sawaidi of Iraq, reemphasized the idea of Libyan unity and maintained that trusteeship, where applied, should be transitory and should not be used as a basis for various powers to retain control in territories under their administration. With respect to Eritrea and Somaliland, he expressed views similar to those of Egypt.[45]

South African and Australian Positions

In contrast to the rigid identity of views manifested by the Eastern European states, two British Dominions, South Africa, and Australia, approached the matter from somewhat different points of view.

Asserting his country's special interest in the problem as an African matter, Mr. Andrews (Union of South Africa) believed that a stable and secure settlement required individual trusteeship. He favored giving Britain responsibility in Cyrenaica, France in the Fezzan, and Italy in Tripolitania, Eritrea, and Somaliland, with an Eritrean port to be ceded to Ethiopia. South Africa believed that administration by several powers led only to friction, while direct United Nations administration raised serious problems of authority and financial support. Although Libya was more nearly ready for independence than the other territories, the future was too uncertain to fix a time limit on trusteeship.[46]

Mr. Hood (Australia) felt that unless, after further consideration, substantial agreement could be reached, it might be advisable to establish the Assembly's own special commission to review all relevant factors and to report with recommen-

[38] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244.
[39] *Ibid.* The Ukrainian spokesman conveniently overlooked the fact that any administering authority would have to make a substantial financial outlay for the improvement of conditions in the territories without prospect of financial returns.
[40] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.245.
[41] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.246.
[42] These were: the Jaghub oasis, athwart two roads from Cyrenaica into Egypt; the desert plateau of Sollum and the town of Bardia; and the oases of Arcona and Jarad in the Siwa area. U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.245.
[43] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.245.
[44] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.246.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*

dations in the fall. Such a commission could visit the respective territories and prepare a satisfactory basis for Assembly action. Australia preferred a comprehensive solution based on the needs of the inhabitants and on the reasonable interests of certain states but was not prepared to state her definite views on each territory.

Other Views

The Belgian and Netherlands delegates favored individual trusteeship arrangements, taking into account Italy's experience and capacity and Ethiopia's special claims to part of Eritrea. Both felt that the United Kingdom could appropriately be responsible in Cyrenaica, and France in the Fezzan.[47] Liberia and Burma were opposed to vesting Italy with trusteeship responsibility for any of the territories. Both felt special recognition of Ethiopia's claims in Eritrea was called for. Mr. Cooper (Liberia) prefered direct United Nations administration generally, but could accept a short-term British trusteeship in Cyrenaica and temporary British administration of the rest of Libya and Somaliland until a final settlement there would be reached.[48] Mr. So Nyun (Burma) also favored direct United Nations administration except, possibly, in the case of Libya which seemed ready for independence and should not have its unity impaired. Colonialism and "frustrated nationalism," he remarked, must not be allowed to cause the same kind of trouble in Africa as they had unfortunately engendered in the East.[49]

Turkey, said Mr. Ussakligil, would have preferred immediate independence for the territories but conceded that transitional trusteeships could be of benefit. The United Kingdom could be given a 5- to 10-year trusteeship for Cyrenaica, and regenerated Italy given responsibility in Italian Somaliland. After reuniting a proper section of Eritrea with Ethiopia, the remaining portions of Eritrea and Libya should be administered provisionally by a state with means and the democratic ideals needed to promote independence.[50] China, on the other hand, hoped that, save for a portion of Eritrea which Ethiopia should have, the remaining territories might come under direct United Nations administration. Five years should suffice to bring Libya to independence, and the General Assembly should review the progress of Eritrea and Somaliland toward independence after 5 and 10 years respectively. The Chinese delegate, Mr. Koo, contended that article 77, paragraph 1 (b) of the Charter was designed to meet such a case as that of the former Italian colonies.[51] China had been active at San Francisco in seeing that article 81 of the Charter included provision that "the Organization itself" could be the administering authority for trust territories. Mr. Koo was not ready to admit that financial and administrative problems peculiar to a United Nations trusteeship could not be satisfactorily met.[52]

First Hearings of Representatives of the Inhabitants

Sub-Committee 14,[53] which had been established on April 11 to "screen" organizations and groups claiming to represent substantial sectors of opinion in the various territories, recommended initially that the representatives of three such groups be heard directly by the First Committee. These were: the Moslem League of Eritrea, the New Eritrea Pro-Italia Party, and the Somali Youth League. On April 20 and 21 the spokesmen for these groups were invited to the Committee table to make statements and answer questions.[54]

The spokesman for the Moslem League of Eritrea[55] maintained that Eritrea's population was predominantly Moslem and that the remainder was not homogeneous. His group opposed the transfer of any part of Eritrea to Ethiopia whose need of a sea outlet could be served through Jibuti.[56] This group asked for an independent Eritrea which would give all necessary guaranties to other nationals living there, such as the Italians. In reply to a Belgian inquiry, Sultan Ali said that if independence were not granted immediately his group would wish trusteeship under the United Nations itself.[57]

The New Eritrea Pro-Italia Party[58] claiming to represent all elements of the population declared itself opposed to any partitioning of the territory and favored Italian trusteeship preparatory to independence. His group, said Mohammed Abdulla, could not be taken into serious account at the time of the four-power investigation because it had just been formed.[59] Denying that there were any Italians in his party, the

[47] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244 and 245.
[48] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.245.
[49] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.246.
[50] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.244.

[51] Under the general heading of article 77 which refer to the categories of territories to which trusteeship ma apply, paragraph 1 (b) reads: "Territories which may b detached from enemy states as a result of the Secon World War."
[52] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.246.
[53] Sub-Committee 14 is referred to as the "screenin sub-committee." Between Apr. 19 and May 2 it mad five reports to Committee I, describing the various group whose requests for hearings it had examined, and fo warding its recommendations for a hearing before Con mittee I for the representatives of certain of those group See U.N. doc. A/C.1/439; U.N. doc. A/C.1/441, 442, an 443 and A/C.1/445.
[54] At the 247th and 248th meetings.
[55] Ibrahim Sultan Ali.
[56] In French Somaliland.
[57] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.247. The Ethiopian delega challenged Sultan Ali's estimate of the proportion b tween Moslem and non-Moslem residents of Eritrea.
[58] Represented by Blatta Mohammed Abdulla.
[59] He claimed a current membership of 400 thousand.

pokesman had no alternative other than Italian rusteeship to suggest. He emphasized the widepread use of Italian by the population as an nportant factor.[60]

Mr. Issa (Somali Youth League) who was heard n April 21 claimed to represent the overwhelming ajority of the people of Italian Somaliland. He id that administration by Italy would be completely unacceptable. That country, he argued, ad forfeited all claim to return as the administerg power, because of 50 years of misrule and beuse of the stipulation of the Italian peace treaty. n outlet for Italy's surplus population never had een met and never could be through immigration Somaliland. Replying to a Liberian question, r. Issa said his people would offer physical restance if Italy should return. He concluded by king for any suitable trusteeship arrangement rovided that Italy were excluded. He had in ind a trusteeship period of 10 years preparatory independence.[61]

romyko–Dulles Exchange

At the conclusion of these first hearings, Mr. romyko (U.S.S.R.) spoke again and charged at military plans of the United States and the nited Kingdom were causing difficulties for the eneral Assembly, as had been the case during the ur-power discussions. He amplified previous arges of British maladministration and said at Italy's interests could be properly met rough participation in the Advisory Councils rovided for in the U.S.S.R. proposal for United ations administration. Again accusing Britain d the United States of seeking to gain control er the territories for dubious strategic reasons, argued that the problem of cost involved in nited Nations trusteeships need not prove inluble.[62]

In reply Mr. Dulles (United States) pointed out at since the U.S.S.R. had not shared in the sacrees of the North African campaigns, it was hardly alified to dismiss "the relevancy of this area to ternational peace and security." He wondered en the Soviet Union would submit for the judgent of the United Nations the matter of settlent for certain areas which the Soviet army had errun during the war. Until such time, it illhooved Mr. Gromyko to criticize the internanal approach of the Western powers. Since e United Nations had unfortunately become a attle-ground for two different points of view," e proposal for direct administration by the ornization, originally made by the United States 1945, was not feasible. In addition, the United tions budget would hardly be adequate for the rpose of financing such arrangements. Mr. Dulles pointed out that the world could easily distinguish those nations which wished to cooperate constructively in solving postwar problems and those which did not. He decried Soviet insistence that others were obstructing a solution.[63]

At the 249th meeting (April 21) some further general discussion took place. The representative of France reviewed the history of the four-power negotiations so as to correct inaccuracies in the Soviet version.[64] Argentina and Peru restated their earlier positions and described the U.S.S.R. plan as unrealistic. Mr. McNeil (United Kingdom) replied vigorously to the Soviet aspersions on his country's administration of the territories and promised to circulate a document giving details on the extent of the removal of industrial equipment from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland during the war.[65] He cited sections of the Four Power Commission report giving definite figures on the deficit incurred by the British administration in the various territories. He also felt that Britain's colonial experience and record merited the confidence of the members. He observed that strategic factors in the North African picture were quite properly being considered in the world forum, although the U.S.S.R. had taken what it wanted in the way of bases, unilaterally, as in Lithuania.[66]

After Poland's representative had again castigated British colonial administration and the alleged desire of the United States for world domination, the Chairman proposed that the Committee adjourn discussion of the problem a few days until hearings of additional groups of the inhabitants would be possible. The Committee agreed to this plan.[67]

Five days later, on April 26, prior to the second stage of hearings for groups of the inhabitants, the Polish delegate attempted, on a point of order, to resurrect discussion of the execution of the two Greek trade unionists which he had sought to have considered at the 243d meeting. He was ruled out of order by the Chairman to the accompaniment of protests from the representatives of Byelorussia and the Ukraine.[68]

Mr. Tarchiani [69] then delivered a statement outlining what Italy had been able to do in the past toward the improvement of conditions in the former colonies. Before Fascism, he related, democratic Italy had encouraged native participation in local assemblies and in the administration, had

[60] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.247.
[61] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.248.
[62] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.248.

[63] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.248.
[64] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.249.
[65] This was duly circulated as a Working Paper, U.N. doc. A/C.1/W.9, on April 21.
[66] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.249.
[67] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.249. At this time the only proposals so far submitted were the U.S.S.R. "suggestions" (A/C.1/433) and the Uruguayan proposal for an 11-member subcommittee to prepare a draft resolution on all the territories for the First Committee's consideration.
[68] U.N. doc. A/C.1./SR.250.
[69] Italian Ambassador to the United States.

advanced educational facilities, and had improved transportation and health conditions. Italian settlers had, even more recently, remained on friendly terms with the indigenous peoples. Italy, he said, was preparing constructive development plans in the hope that some of the territories might be entrusted to her charge.[70]

In reply to arguments that direct United Nations trusteeship would run into financial difficulties, Mr. Setalvad (India) claimed that a United Nations trusteeship might have to meet a deficit of only about 5.5 million dollars annually.[71] South Africa, on the other hand, suggested that it would be well to decide the question of single or multiple trusteeship and then determine the choice of administering powers. South Africa did not feel that the cession of an appreciable part of Eritrea to Ethiopia reflected the wishes of the inhabitants though it favored an Ethiopian outlet to the sea. It again urged a positive role for Italy, particularly in Tripolitania, and felt that if agreement could be reached on British administration in Cyrenaica, French in the Fezzan, and Italian in Italian Somaliland, it would then be possible to deal with Eritrea and Tripolitania where a positive role for Italy seemed indicated.[72]

In a lengthy speech, Mr. Asha (Syria) then argued Italy's financial incapacity to carry the burden of administration and feared rivalry among Britain, France, and Italy if each were placed in charge of one of the territories. He suggested that Latin American delegations supporting Italian desires were not aware of realities and that they were too distant to appreciate the feeling in Asia and the Middle East toward colonialism. Syria called for the earliest possible independence and unity of Libya.[73]

Continued Hearings for Representatives of the Inhabitants

At the recommendation of Sub-Committee 14, two additional spokesmen representing organizations of the inhabitants appeared before Committee I on the afternoon of April 26. These were Mr. Bairu (Unionist Party of Eritrea) and Mr. Shenaib (National Congress of Cyrenaica). Mr. Bairu claimed that since 1941 his party had favored union with Ethiopia and had at that time been led to believe that the British would support such a solution. There were ethnic and linguistic reasons for such union. He claimed to represent 700 thousand individuals. Mr. Bairu said many Moslems adhered to his party's view. He suggested that the Pro-Italia Party was inspired from Rome and minimized the importance of the Moslem League and its anti-Ethiopian platform.[74]

Mr. Shenaib (of the Cyrenaican National Congress) cited the autonomy enjoyed by Cyrenaica during its Ottoman period and charged Italy with oppression and decimation of the population. He recalled the aid proffered the British by the Emir Sayid Idris el Senussi, the Cyrenaican leader, during the critical campaigns of 1940 and claimed that that this gave rise to the clear desire for independence. He deplored the continuance of military administration since the war but paid tribute to the patience and political maturity of the Cyrenaicans. In response to questions from the Belgian and Australian delegates, Mr. Shenaib said that Cyrenaica's independence might be coupled with the unity of Libya, provided that the Tripolitanians would accept the rule of the Emir. His people, he said, would not at this stage accept trusteeship although they acknowledged the benevolent conduct of Great Britain. They would, if necessary, resist the return of Italy by force.[75]

Mr. Schukry, spokesman for the National Council for the Liberation of Libya, was heard on April 27. He appealed at once for unity and independence, asserting that separate regimes would be contrary to the wishes of the people. The people of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were clearly opposed to the return of Italian rule, and it was regrettable that expression of the views of the people of the Fezzan had been discouraged by the French. If able to express their wishes, he believed that the Fezzanese too would claim independence and unity for Libya. Mr. Schukry challenged Italy's claim to have advanced the well-being of African peoples and denied that the recent municipal elections in Tripoli implied support of Italy's claims. He also asserted that the riots in 1948 in Tripoli were in fact directed against the Italian community. Italian improvements in Libya, he maintained, were solely for the benefit of Italian settlers. There had been only a few thousand of these, despite efforts to persuade more people to emigrate. In conclusion Mr. Schukry said that the people of Libya were in favor of the rule of the Senussi Emir over a free and united Libya and that this was not a new attitude.[76]

Replying to a question from the Philippine delegate, Mr. Schukry said that Libyans did not want any form of trusteeship, not even under the United Nations. They considered themselves ready for independence and would know how to obtain financial assistance on their own if necessary as many other independent countries were doing.[77]

On April 28 and 29 Committee I listened to the representatives of five more groups recommended for hearings by Sub-Committee 14. Mr. Perlzweig (Jewish Community of Tripolitania

[70] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.250.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 251.
[75] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 251.
[76] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 252.
[77] *Ibid.*

ɔpealed for guaranties in the Tripolitanian set-
ɜment for the Jewish community and other mi-
ɔrities. The Jewish community sought no spe-
al privileges and desired to live on amicable
rms with the Arabs but it had been subjected
violence and discrimination instigated, perhaps,
om outside the country. He advocated no par-
cular form of administration, but asked that any
w regime be required to protect equal rights,
vil and religious, with some supervision of such
atters by an international body.[78]

Mr. Ciccolungo (National Association of Refu-
es from Libya and East Africa) claimed the
atus of "African citizens of Italian language"
r the groups he represented.[79] He appealed for
ir treatment of the Italian refugees from Africa
ho had worked constructively there in the past
d wished to return. Their lands had been won
reclamation from the desert, he said, not taken
om the Arabs. Fruitful cooperation between
e former colonies and Italy, if the latter were
be given trusteeship responsibility generally,
ould benefit both the people of the territories
d of Italy.[80] A somewhat similar statement
as made by Mr. Sellabi (Association of Libyan
-Servicemen) who opposed a Libyan regime
der the rule of the Senussi and praised Italy's
st contribution. He favored Italian trustee-
ip for Libya, followed by early independence.[81]

Mr. Casciani (Italo-Eritrean Association) asked
r the immediate independence of Eritrea.
lthough his group included Italian elements
iendly toward Italy, its members regarded Eri-
a as their homeland. Any division of Eritrea
ould injure the territory's economy and cause
cial damage. Ethiopia's need for an outlet to
e sea could be met by the granting of free zones
d did not require annexation of territory. If
e Assembly could not agree on immediate in-
pendence, then, said Mr. Casciani, Italian trust-
eship would be the next best solution. Partition
any case was to be avoided.[82]

A combined group known as the Conference of
maliland and the Progressive League of Mijer-
i presented its views through Mohadalle Mo-
med. He maintained that the Somali Youth
ague heard earlier had misrepresented the
shes of the people. The Somali Conference
imed more than two-thirds support of the entire
pulation.

What was really needed, said Mohadalle Mo-
med, was a period of guidance by a suitable
ropean nation toward independence as an
amic state and with opportunity for admission
Somalis to the administration as well as to
gher institutions of learning. Italy was fitted,
said, to discharge such a trusteeship effectively

U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.253.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.

and would be welcomed for that purpose by the people.[83]

All in all, Committee I had now given ear to the representatives of 12 groups claiming to speak for the peoples of the territories involved. In view of the conflicting claims regarding their following and their conflicting testimony as to proper disposition of the territories, it was indeed difficult for the Committee to reconcile all the views put forward. The next few days were spent in exploring the ground with a view to developing a proposed solution which, if not perfect, might receive general support.

Resumption of the General Debate

Immediately following the hearings, the representative of the Philippines, Mr. Romulo, made a strong speech against the idea of single-power trusteeship. The inhabitants of Libya opposed the return of Italian rule, but Italy and Egypt could have a voice in the administration of that area by the United Nations through the Trusteeship Council. The Philippines, he said, respected Latin culture and Italy's democratic tradition, but could only wonder whether perhaps a "peaceful and democratic" Japan might not similarly some day request the restoration of Formosa, Okinawa, and Korea. The day for such moves was over, said Mr. Romulo, who reminded the Latin American delegations the crusade for freedom of Simon Bolivar and José Rizal.[84] The Haitian delegate endorsed Mr. Romulo's views.[85] Peru, replying to Mr. Romulo, asserted that her position took account of the interests of the inhabitants and represented a step forward in line with the principle of independence.[86]

III. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PUT FORWARD

United Kingdom Draft

After the Chairman had declared the end of the general debate, Mr. McNeil (United Kingdom) distributed a draft resolution on behalf of his delegation and outlined its provisions.[87] In brief, it proposed:

(a) that Libya achieve independence after 10 years if the General Assembly then approved, with an interim period of advice and assistance under trusteeship;

(b) that Cyrenaica, without prejudice to subsequent incorporation in a united Libya, be placed under trusteeship with Britain as the administering power, the terms of trusteeship to be drawn by the Trusteeship Council and subject to later approval by the Assembly;

[83] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 254.
[84] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.254.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] U.N. doc. A/C.1/446, May 3, 1949.

(c) that Egypt, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States jointly develop a plan for submission to the Fourth Assembly, for the application of trusteeship to the rest of Libya, with attention to administrative relationships with Cyrenaica;[88]

(d) that Eritrea, except for the western province, be incorporated into Ethiopia, under conditions providing guaranties for the protection of minorities in Asmara, Massawa, and elsewhere, and incorporation of the western province into the adjacent Sudan;

(e) that Italian Somaliland be placed under trusteeship with Italy as the administering authority;

(f) that the necessary agreements for putting into effect the recommendations on Eritrea and Somaliland be negotiated, on behalf of the Assembly, by the Trusteeship Council (on trusteeship matters) and the Interim Committee (on nontrusteeship matters).

Mr. Dulles (United States) expressed general support for the British draft and felt that it contained a practical basis for further study. He observed that it proposed, in the main, principles for settlement, not a final solution. The French representative, Couve de Murville, objected that the British draft did not provide a complete settlement and questioned its provisions on Eritrea and on Libya as a whole.[89]

Latin American Draft

Padilla Nervo (Mexico) then presented a draft resolution in behalf of the Latin American delegations, in the interests of harmonizing views and promoting a fair settlement.[90] The draft provided for:

(a) Libya to obtain independence 10 years after the resolution was adopted if the Assembly then approved; meanwhile she would be placed under trusteeship with Egypt, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States who would jointly submit conclusions as to manner of trusteeship to the Fourth Assembly session;

(b) Italian Somaliland to be placed under trusteeship after a similar study by Ethiopia, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States;

(c) the same powers as those in the case of Somaliland to study and recommend appropriate trusteeship for Eritrea, leading to independence, subject to the "just claims" of Ethiopia;

(d) agreements necessary to give effect to the foregoing recommendations to be submitted for subsequent approval by the General Assembly.

Mr. Nervo noted that the Latin American draft avoided partitioning Eritrea and placed no particular emphasis on the immediate form of government or final destiny of Cyrenaica. It provided a means for achieving a sound and over-all plan at the September session.[91]

Indian Draft

On behalf of India, Mr. Setalvad next explained his delegation's draft resolution.[92] It provided for:

(a) trusteeship for Libya and Somaliland, with the United Nations as the administering Authority, for a period of from 10 to 20 years, to be determined in each case by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council. Thereafter those territories would become independent or be joined with adjacent territories according to the inhabitants' wishes as revealed through a plebiscite;

(b) the Fourth Committee,[93] in consultation with the Fifth Committee,[94] to prepare detailed proposals for the Assembly on appropriate means of administration by the United Nations and on how and when authority should be transferred from the existing administrations to that organization;

(c) the wishes of Eritrea's people on the matter of union with Ethiopia to be ascertained through dispatch of a special commission which could hold a plebiscite or adopt other appropriate means, and which would report its finding on whether all "or any part" of Eritrea should be joined to Ethiopia; such commission would consist of 7 members of different nationalities appointed to serve in their individual capacities by the Secretary-General

(d) the Fourth Committee to make its recommendations to the Assembly on Libya and Somaliland by ------, --------, and the special commission for Eritrea to report to the Assembly in time for the next session.

The Indian delegate maintained that the administrative and budgetary problem could be solved under India's resolution, and that references to a lack of agreed direction in Trieste and Berlin were irrelevant since the Trusteeship Council acted by simple majority.[95]

Australian Draft

Australia then presented a draft, maintaining that agreement on a settlement at the present session appeared most unlikely. Mr. Hood felt that the Latin American draft amounted to postponement of a real decision, but a vote even in principle at the present stage would be premature. Besides, the hearings of political groups of the inhabitants had not made clear the true wishes of the local peoples. On past experience of the United Nations with such matters, Australia proposed appointment of a 7-member Special Committee to investigate thoroughly the affairs of all territories on which the Assembly failed to reach a decision and to report, with such proposals as it felt appropriate, to the Secretary-General by September 1, 1949.[96] Haiti immediately expressed interest in the Australian draft, subject to minor changes.[97]

The 257th meeting closed after Mr. Tarchiani (Italy) had observed that of the 12 local organiz

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[88] The five states would also obtain the comments of the Trusteeship Council on this particular problem.

[89] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.256.

[90] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.449, May 4, 1949. Co-sponsors were: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

[91] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.256.

[92] U.N. doc. A/C.1/448 and Corr. 1.

[93] On Trusteeship Affairs.

[94] On Administrative and Budgetary Affairs.

[95] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.257.

[96] U.N. doc. A/C.1/447 and A/C.1/SR.257.

[97] Mr. St. Lot believed the Special Committee should not have to produce a report at the time of the fourth General Assembly. He also now believed that the matter of Ethiopian claims to part of Eritrea might best be settled by a plebiscite.

ons which had been heard, 6 had been in favor of alian trusteeship while only 4 had strongly opsed it, and of these, 3 wanted immediate indeendence. He cautioned against acceptance of e United Kingdom plan for dividing Eritrea as dangerous precedent.[98] Mr. Ryckmans (Belum) was not enthusiastic about any of the prosals advanced but was somewhat disposed ward the United Kingdom draft, if its defect in t providing for a simultaneous over-all settleent were remedied. He suggested amendment the fourth paragraph in order to provide that e five-power study group for Libya present ecific trusteeship agreements to the next ssembly.[99]

aqi Proposals

When discussion was resumed by the Commite on May 9, Mr. Muntaz (Iraq) strongly objected any plan for the dismemberment of Libya or any partition or diminution of Eritrean terriry without knowing the real wishes of the inabitants. His delegation circulated three sepate drafts dealing with Libya, Eritrea, and alian Somaliland.[1] For Libya immediate inependence would be granted. For Italian omaliland, a 10-year period of trusteeship would provided under the administration of five states ith Egypt, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, nd the United States to consider and propose itable terms of trusteeship to the fourth General ssembly. For Eritrea, a five-nation commission ould ascertain the "real wishes" of the inhabints and report its findings to the next Assembly ssion.[2]

evised Soviet Draft

Proclaiming devotion only to the lofty prinples of the Charter, and again attributing base otives to the United States and Great Britain, Ir. Gromyko then presented his delegation's rejsed proposal[3] which had been modified in an ffort to make it more attractive to certain other elegations. As revised, the Soviet draft now alled for direct United Nations trusteeship for ibya, Eritrea, and Somaliland, with independnce for the first two in 5 years and in 10 years for he latter. An administrator, appointed by the Trusteeship Council for each territory, would be assisted by an Advisory Council of 9 members, 6 of them representatives of States and 3 representatives of the people of the territory.[4] A territorial concession would be made to provide Ethiopia with an outlet to the sea. Strategic points in all three areas, if so designated by the Council, would be administered by the latter.

Mr. Gromyko asserted that the recruitment of necessary international personnel need not be difficult, and the "administrators" would have authority subject only to the Trusteeship Council where no veto power prevailed.

Decision to Establish a Drafting Subcommittee

After the Chinese and Australian delegates had commented on the various proposals before the Committee,[5] Mr. Dulles (United States) stated his belief that the time had come to move toward finding some "common denominators" through appointment of a subcommittee as earlier suggested by Uruguay. He urged the importance of making every effort to achieve substantial progress at the current session, since delay might carry real injustice. He submitted a United States draft resolution[6] providing for a subcommittee of 15 member states to consider the various proposals "which have been submitted or may be submitted to the Committee," and to report with a draft resolution for the Committee's consideration by noon of May 12.

While the United States proposal was awaiting distribution, the Committee accorded a short final hearing to Mr. Rossi (Italo-Eritrean Association) and to Mr. Issa (Somali Youth League). The former made a renewed plea for the independence of Eritrea under the protection of Italy and another power to be named by the United Nations after verifying what second state would be agreeable to the inhabitants. Mr. Issa now asked for the immediate independence of Somaliland or a suitable trusteeship from which Italy would be excluded.

Discussion then proceeded on the proposal for

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[98] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.257.

[99] *Ibid.*, and U.N. doc. A/C.1/451 dated May 9. This hange would be accomplished by insertion of the words including the trusteeship agreements necessary to imlement them," after the words "terms and conditions" the fourth paragraph of the United Kingdom draft.

[1] U.N. doc. A/C.1/455, 456, and 457.

[2] Mr. Wold of Ethiopia intervened in the discussion at his point to reassert that the majority of a large part of Eritrea clearly wished union with Ethiopia; he deprecated ny idea of an additional fact-finding commission on that oint. He again emphasized the economic dependence of astern Eritrea upon Ethiopia.

[3] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.264. U.N. doc. A/C.1/433 rev. 1.

[4] Thus Libya's Advisory Council would have representatives of the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., France, Italy, United States, and Egypt, plus 1 European and 2 Arab residents chosen by the 6 government members; the 6 for Eritrea would include the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., France, Italy, United States, and Ethiopia and would choose 1 European resident and 2 indigenous representatives; the 6 for Somaliland would be the same as for Eritrea, with the same provision for inclusion of 3 residents of the area.

[5] Mr. Koo now believed that the Latin American draft was appropriate, while Mr. Hood, in anticipation of postponement, renewed the suggestion for study between Assembly sessions by a United Nations commission.

[6] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.264; A/C.1/458, May 9. The United States draft proposed the following membership: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, India, Iraq, Mexico, Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States.

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establishment of a drafting subcommittee.[7] Uruguay voiced support for the proposal. Mr. Tarasenko (Ukraine) objected that the procedure was "impracticable" and the Polish delegate agreed, complaining that the composition of the proposed subcommittee needed more representation from Eastern Europe.

The representative of Czechoslovakia proposed that Poland be named to replace Chile. Mr. Gromyko described the proposal for a drafting subcommittee as a "maneuver" and the representative of Byelorussia suggested that both Poland and Czechoslovakia be added.[8] Separate votes were taken on the proposal to add Poland and Czechoslovakia. The inclusion of Poland was adopted by 13 to 12, with 27 abstentions. The inclusion of Czechoslovakia was rejected by 8 to 12, with 32 abstentions. Thus amended the United States proposal was adopted by 33 to 0, with 20 abstentions. The Committee had rounded out a solid month of debate on this issue.[9]

IV. SUB-COMMITTEE 15

The Sub-Committee met on May 10[10] elected L. Padilla Nervo (Mexico) as its chairman and Hermond Lannung (Denmark) as its rapporteur and proceeded forthwith to consider the most desirable approach with a view to finding a common denominator to the different proposals submitted in the First Committee.

The representatives of Iraq felt that since there was a proposal to give Libya immediate independence, the Sub-Committee's consideration of Libya should be kept separate from its consideration of Eritrea and Somaliland where, in view of the draft resolutions, a common denominator existed already. To the representative of Argentina, the logical step to be followed by the Sub-Committee was to decide first whether or not the territories in question should be granted immediate independence; failing that, whether or not the system of trusteeship should be applied. Should the Sub-Committee fail to agree on these approaches, then the whole question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies would have to be postponed to the next session of the General Assembly. With this view the representatives of Brazil, Chile, Egypt, and India seemed to be in general agreement.

The United States representative felt that the Sub-Committee should first decide whether the solution would be separate for each territory or a comprehensive one. He was of the opinion that the representatives could not express their final views on any separate territory unless they knew of the over-all views regarding the total settlements. The Chairman, then, suggested that representatives could express their views on the separate territories and would not be obliged to maintain them unless they knew the over-all solution.

The Chairman summed up this initial phase of the Sub-Committee's discussion as follows: it was proposed to deal separately with each of the territories concerned with a view to discussing the principle of immediate independence; should that prove unacceptable, the discussion could center on the principle of trusteeship either under the auspices of the United Nations or a collective or single trusteeship. In such an event, the representatives would then exchange views on a total solution. Should there be no agreement, postponement would then be indicated. He made it clear that the draft resolution, if one was agreed upon by the Sub-Committee, would in no way prejudice the right or position of any delegation in the First Committee.

Libya

At Brazil's suggestion, the Sub-Committee proceeded to deal with the territory of Libya. Iraq, supported by India, said that after listening to the representatives of the indigenous inhabitants of Libya, his delegation was of the view that the Libyan people were fit for immediate independence. Support for this view was also expressed by Egypt. Although there seemed to be general agreement about the principle of independence for Libya, there was a considerable difference of opinion on whether that independence should be immediate or whether an interim period should be fixed. Argentina, Brazil, and the Union of South Africa favored an interim period since they felt the area was not ripe for immediate independence. To the Polish representative it was not sufficient to discuss the phrases immediate and interim periods in connection with the principle of independence without knowing what was meant by those two phrases. He was of the opinion that the Sub-Committee should try to establish the shortest possible period and an interim administration, the nature of which would be most conducive to eventual independence. These two concepts, he contended, were fully covered by the U.S.S.R. proposal submitted in the First Committee, both as to the time limit and the nature of the administration.

The Chairman put to the vote the question

[7] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 264.

[8] *Ibid.* At this point Czechoslovakia withdrew its amendmend which called for the addition of Poland only.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Representatives on Sub-Committee 15 were: Mr. Arce (Argentina), Mr. Hood (Australia), Mr. Muniz (Brazil), Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile), Mr. Lannung (Denmark), Mr. Abdul Rahim (Egypt), Mr. Aklilou-Wold (Ethiopia), Mr. Burin des Roziers (France), Mr. Ina (India), Mr. Bakr (Iraq), Mr. Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Mr. Katz-Suchy (Poland), Mr. Jooste (Union of South Africa), Mr. Klimor (U.S.S.R.), Mr. Clutton (United Kingdom), and Mr. Dulles (United States). No formal minutes were kept of the meetings of this Sub-Committee.

ıether Libya should be granted immediate inde-
ndence or independence after an interim period.
ıere were 5 in favor of immediate independence,
in favor of an interim period, with 1 absten-
ɔn.[11]

The Sub-Committee, at the suggestion of the
ıairman, then discussed the nature of the in-
:im period agreed upon; i. e., whether that
riod should be covered by a United Nations,
:ollective, or separate trusteeship. The Egyp-
ın representative preferred to settle the time
nit question first and then consider the nature of
e trusteeship, while the Polish representative
lt the Sub-Committee was not empowered to dis-
ss proposals which were not before it. In the
ew of the representative of Argentina, the terms
reference of the Sub-Committee did not prevent
from discussing different solutions. Every
presentative on the Sub-Committee had the right
suggest whatever he deemed fit. The vote on the
inciple of direct United Nations administration
r Libya was rejected by 2 in favor, 10 against,
d 4 abstentions.[12]

Following the Sub-Committee's vote rejecting
e principle of United Nations administration for
bya, the representative of the United Kingdom
ıted that ever since his delegation presented its
aft resolution in the First Committee, his gov-
nment had been considering the possibility of
oposing suggestions that might be acceptable
the Latin American delegations. To this end
s government had been conducting negotiations
ith a view to reconciling the Italian and the
nited Kingdom views. The United Kingdom
presentative assured the Sub-Committee that any
reement arrived by his government and that of
aly would in no way prejudice any resolution
be adopted by the General Assembly. He went
ı to suggest a global solution for Libya along the
llowing lines: Cyrenaica should be administered
the United Kingdom; Fezzan should be ad-
inistered by France; and Tripolitania should be
lministered by Italy as of 1951. In the mean-
me the United Kingdom administering authori-
es in Tripolitania would be assisted by an Ad-
sory Council composed of other powers includ-
g a representative of the local inhabitants. In
ldition, the three trust powers administering
ibya would take administrative and coordinative
eps so as not to prejudice eventual Libyan unity.

The United Kingdom representative promised
circulate a paper embodying these views on the
nderstanding that they would be mere suggestions
ıd would in no way amount to a proposal. Both,
ıe representative of the U.S.S.R. and of Iraq,
asserted that the Sub-Committee was exceeding its terms of reference in entertaining proposals containing new ideas. It was not a matter for the Sub-Committee but for the First Committee where all the members of the United Nations are represented. The Iraqi suggestion that the Sub-Committee adjourn in order to obtain the authorization of the First Committee on the United Kingdom suggestion was, however, rejected by 4 votes in favor, 8 against, and 4 abstentions.

The United Kingdom suggestions circulated in the Sub-Committee in its afternoon meeting of May 10 were as follows:

> that it should be agreed in principle that Libya be granted independence ten years from the date of the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly, provided that the General Assembly then decided that this step is appropriate.
>
> (*a*) *Cyrenaica* should, as already suggested in the United Kingdom resolution, without prejudice to its incorporation in a United Libya, be placed under the International Trusteeship System with the United Kingdom as the administering authority.
>
> (*b*) *Fezzan* should be placed under the International Trusteeship System with France as the administering authority, also without prejudice to its incorporation in a United Libya.
>
> (*c*) *Tripolitania* should, also without prejudice to its incorporation in a United Libya, be placed under the International Trusteeship System at the end of 1951 with Italy as the administering authority.
>
> During the interim period, the present British temporary administration should continue, but it is suggested that it should be assisted by an Advisory Council consisting of representatives of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Egypt (or another Arab State) and a representative of the people of the territory. The scope and duties of the Advisory Council including its headquarters and the procedure for the transfer of the administration to Italy, should be determined by its members in consultation with the administering authority.
>
> The powers charged with the administration of the three territories should take all necessary measures to promote the co-ordination of their activities in order that nothing should be done to prejudice the attainment of an independent Libyan State. The Trusteeship Council would be responsible for supervising the execution of this provision.

Support for the United Kingdom suggestions on Libya was given by Chile, the Union of South Africa, and Brazil. The opposition was led by the Polish and Iraqi representatives who were joined by the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Egypt. Particularly vehement in opposing the United Kingdom suggestion was the Polish representative who referred to the United Kingdom's revised proposals reported in the morning's press (the Bevin-Sforza agreement) as "bartering under the table," and as a territorial deal which had been arrived at outside the United Nations. The Australian representative cautioned the Sub-Committee to move with care. The Danish representative wanted United Kingdom administration for Cyrenaica and a joint United Kingdom, French, Italian, and Egyptian administration for the remaining part of Libya. The Iraqi representative reverted to his suggestion

[11] For immediate independence: Egypt, India, Iraq, Po-
nd, and U.S.S.R. For an interim period: Argentina,
razil, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Mexico, Union
South Africa, United Kingdom, United States. Ab-
ention: Australia.

[12] Report of Sub-Committee 15 to the First Committee
U.N. doc. A/C.1/466, 11 May 1949, p. 1.)

that the views of the representatives of the populations concerned should be ascertained before the Sub-Committee took a vote on the United Kingdom suggestions, but the Chairman reminded the representative of Iraq that the representatives of the local population had already stated their views before the First Committee and that several delegations had been guided by these views. Did the Iraqi representative intend to move that the Sub-Committee hold up the proceedings until the local representatives could be heard again, asked the Chairman. In that case he would put such a proposal to a vote. The representative of Iraq insisted that the representatives of the local population had not been consulted on the form of trusteeship in case immediate independence were denied, whereupon the Chairman put the Iraqi proposal to a vote, which was defeated by 5 for, 8 against, and 3 abstentions.

The Chairman then asked for a vote on the four main principles of the United Kingdom suggestions, namely:

(*a*) independence after 10 years, provided that the General Assembly agreed to such a step;

(*b*) during the 10-year period, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan should be placed respectively under the trusteeship of the United Kingdom, Italy, and France;

(*c*) Tripolitania, during an interim period of 2 years, should remain under the present British administration which would be assisted by a Special Advisory Council, as specified in the United Kingdom suggestions;

(*d*) The three administering authorities should coordinate their activities in such a way as not to prejudice the future unity of Libya.

The four principles were adopted by a vote of 8 for, 5 against, and 3 abstentions.[13] The Sub-Committee voted upon these principles on the understanding that it was not committing itself to an exact wording, that this was a "tentative vote," and that after the Sub-Committee had seen the total picture any representative would be free to change his vote.

Italian Somaliland

No proposal for the independence of Italian Somaliland had been submitted to the First Committee. The U.S.S.R. proposal recommended a transition period of 10 years, that of India a period of 10 to 20 years, and that of the Latin American countries recommended that the territory be placed under the international trusteeship system with a view to its future independence. The U.S.S.R. favored direct United Nations administration. The Iraqi representative proposed a five-power trusteeship with a 10-year transitionary period to independence, and the United Kingdom recommended a trusteeship with Italy as the administering authority.

[13] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, France, Mexico, South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States. Against: India, Iraq, Egypt, U.S.S.R., and Poland. Abstained: Australia, Denmark, and Ethiopia.

By a vote of 4 in favor, 9 against, and 3 abstentions, the Sub-Committee rejected the application to Italian Somaliland of the principle of a direct United Nations trusteeship.[14] The Sub-Committee, by a vote of 3 for, 10 against, and 3 abstentions, rejected the principle of a collective trusteeship for Italian Somaliland.[15] By a vote of 9 in favor, 6 against, and 1 abstention, the Sub-Committee adopted the principle that the territory be placed under the trusteeship of Italy.[16]

Eritrea

There were two proposals with regard to Eritrea, namely, the U.S.S.R. proposal which envisaged the establishment of a trusteeship with a view to eventual independence, and the United Kingdom proposal partitioning Eritrea between Ethiopia and the Sudan.

The representative of Ethopia thought the principle of independence should not be discussed since the territory was not ready for independence. He again urged that Eritrea minus the western province be annexed to Ethiopia. In this position he was supported by the United Kingdom representative who stated the belief of his delegation that Eritrea could not stand by itself. Partition, the U.S.S.R. representative argued, was an imperialist concept and was in direct contradiction with the principles of the Charter. Eritrea, he stated, had always existed as a single unit.

With the Soviet contention that Eritrea had always existed as a single unit the representative of Ethiopia took issue. Pointing out that the name of Eritrea was given by the Italians after the occupation of that territory, and that prior thereto Eritrea had for thousands of years formed a part of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian representative asserted that Eritrea could achieve her independence within Ethiopia in the same manner as Lithuania had achieved independence within the Soviet Union.

To the French representative no perfect solution was possible for the area. But among the imperfect solutions, the U.S.S.R. proposal was not acceptable because of the impossibility of implementing it. Although the French delegation accepted the United Kingdom proposal, it would reserve its position on the question of Italian communities for which adequate safeguards must be

[14] For: Ethiopia, India, Poland, and the U.S.S.R. Against: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States. Abstained: Egypt, Iraq, and Mexico.

[15] For: Egypt, Ethiopia, and Iraq. Against: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, India, South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Abstained: Australia, Mexico, and Poland.

[16] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Mexico, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States. Against: Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Poland, and U.S.S.R. Abstained: Australia.

rovided. Should the United Kingdom proosals be adopted, the Sub-Committee, argued the 'rench representative, could then proceed to a onsideration of methods to safeguard the intersts of the Italian communities, possibly with the elp of a newly established subcommittee, includ-ng Ethiopia among its members. With the esblishment of a subcommittee, the Argentine epresentative took issue and although he was not leased with the U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom roposals, he deemed it necessary for the Sub-Committee to vote on both proposals. The United States representative shared the views of his Argentine colleague.

The Sub-Committee then voted on the question whether Eritrea should be placed under the trusteeship. The principle of a direct United Nations Trusteeship was rejected by 2 votes in favor, 8 gainst, and 6 abstentions.

Before proceeding to a vote on the United Kingom proposal, the Ethiopian representative, adressing himself to the French reservations with espect to guaranteeing the interests of the Italian ommunities, stated that his delegation was ready o give all necessary and adequate guaranties to afeguard those interests.

The Australian representative seemed irked by he activities of the Sub-Committee which curiusly enough, he said, coincided with an agreeent arrived at outside of the United Nations. The eference to "an agreement" pointed at the Bevin–Sforza formula for the disposal of the former talian Colonies. The French delegation, the Australian representative pointed out, had in the First Committee held views different from those xpressed in the Sub-Committee. He was intersted to know the reasons for that reversal of olicy. Should member states resort to agreements utside the United Nations, the Sub-Committee vould lose its objective charter, since its findings vould not carry the stamp of the responsibility of ts members. He recalled that the draft proposals resented by Iraq, India, and the Latin American tates provided for a fuller and more thorough nvestigation of the question. Again Australia vondered whether that would not be the best ourse to follow.

The representative of the United States recalled is statement of April 6, 1949, in the First Comnittee, in which he stated that Eritrea minus the vestern province should be incorporated into Ethiopia, and that a separate solution should be ound for the western province. He assured the Sub-Committee that his delegation still mainained that position.

Also in answer to the Australian representative, he French representative said that if delegations vere to maintain strictly their views upon that uestion, no solution would ever be found. The French delegation was disposed to accept solusions that seemed to be acceptable to all.

The Sub-Committee proceeded to take a vote on the United Kingdom proposal to incorporate Eritrea, except for the western province, into Ethiopia, "under terms and conditions to include appropriate guarantees for the protection of minorities in Asmara and Massawa and elsewhere." The proposal was adopted by 10 votes for, 3 against, and 2 abstentions, one representative being absent.[17]

Another vote was taken on the United Kingdom proposal to incorporate the western province into the adjacent Sudan. The proposal was carried by a vote of 7 for, 2 against, 6 abstentions, and 1 absent.[18]

Protection of Minorities

The Chairman invited the representatives to express their views on the question of the protection of the Italian minorities in Eritrea. Special treaties could be concluded with a view to guaranteeing a special status for the cities or for their population, suggested the Chilean representative. The United Kingdom representative argued that member states were under specific obligations through the United Nations Charter. Since Ethiopia had already promised to protect the Italian minorities in the cities of Asmara and Massawa, a special status for these cities could be agreed upon between Ethiopia and the United Nations by means of a treaty. Bearing in mind the experience with Danzig and Trieste, the representative of the United States declared that he would vote against giving a special international status to the cities in question, since such a status would have disastrous economic and other consequences. He felt that the guaranties should be thought of in terms of persons and not of territories. The United Kingdom representative explained that his delegation never contemplated any solution for the principal cities which would impair Ethiopia's sovereignty. He had only in mind a special municipal status for the cities, not anything approaching an international status as, for instance, had been granted for Danzig or Trieste. To the representative from the Argentine, the important point was that the cities have their own special government and not be ruled from Addis Ababa. The French representative pointed out that, actually, each city under discussion was already divided into two distinct administrations: one European zone and one Eritrean zone. This fact, he said, was made clear by the report of the

[17] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Mexico, U.K., and U.S. Against: Iraq, Poland, and the U.S.S.R. Abstained: Australia and South Africa. Absent: India.

[18] For: Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, U.K., and U.S. Against: Poland and U.S.S.R. Abstained: Argentina, Australia, Denmark, Iraq, Mexico, and South Africa. Absent: India.

Four Power Commission. The obvious solution, he said, would seem to be to maintain the status quo in that respect.

At this point, the representative of Ethiopia intervened to say that the terminology as to the status of the two cities was not clear to him; his government was prepared to protect and respect Italian minorities wherever they might happen to be. If apart from that, special guaranties were to be required for Massawa and Asmara, that might be more than was called for, and he questioned whether such a special regime would be compatible with his country's sovereignty. He wanted a concrete formula.

Stating that he appreciated the position taken by Ethiopia, the United Kingdom representative proposed by way of compromise that the word "status" be eliminated so that the language in paragraph 3 of the United Kingdom draft (U.N. doc. A/C. 1/446) read, "the establishment of a special municipal constitution for the cities of Asmara and Massawa."

After the Chairman had suspended the meeting for a quarter of an hour to allow representatives to come to an understanding, the United Kingdom representative declared that a redraft had been agreed to as follows: to insert after the words "to include" in the last line of page 1 of the United Kingdom draft (U.N. doc. A/C.1/446): "the provision of appropriate guarantees for the protection of minorities and, without prejudice to the sovereignty of Ethiopia, separate municipal charters for the cities of Asmara and Massawa," etc. The Ethiopian representative stated that he wanted to consult his government on the new formula before stating his position; the Chairman asked for clarification of the term "separate charters." In reply to the Chairman's request the United Kingdom representative explained that the charters for the two cities would give them a status distinct from that of other Ethiopian cities. In the light of the British explanation the representative of the United States stated he would support the amendment but suggested the word "distinctive" as preferable to the word "separate." "Distinctive" was agreeable to the United Kingdom representative if it was acceptable to the Ethiopian delegation. To the Ethiopian representative, neither "separate" nor "distinctive" was acceptable, and he suggested "appropriate." If, said the representative from Argentina, the meaning of the term "appropriate" implied that the two charters would be different from all other municipal charters existing in Ethiopia, then he would agree. In his opinion, however, the words "distinctive" or "separate" seemed more fitting than the word "appropriate." The phrase dealing with the status of the towns of Massawa and Asmara, as amended, was adopted by a vote of 9 in favor, 2 against, 4 abstentions, 1 absent.[19]

The Sub-Committee then moved on to a consideration of the suggestion, which became paragraph 4 of the Sub-Committee's draft resolution, which was as follows:

> That agreements and instruments designed to give effect to the foregoing recommendations in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Italy be submitted for the subsequent approval of the Fourth Regular Session of the General Assembly (except those for Tripolitania, which shall be submitted to the Sixth Regular Session); that the Trusteeship Council, where trusteeship is concerned, and otherwise the Interim Committee, be authorized to represent the General Assembly in working out such agreements, in cooperation with Italy, where Italian interests are concerned and that in the case of Libya, the trusteeship agreements so to be submitted provide for such adequate inter-territorial administration relationships as will promote the attainment of an independent unified Libyan State.

The representative of Australia wanted to know what kind of agreement alluded to in paragraph 4 was contemplated to give effect to the Sub-Committee's recommendation to be made regarding Eritrea.

The Chairman stated that it was his understanding that, in order to give effect to the recommendations referred to, certain prior steps would have to be taken. Paragraph 4 gave the Trusteeship Council the task of studying the phases of the problem connected with the trusteeships to be created, on behalf of the General Assembly. As for such matters connected with the problem not involving trusteeship, the Interim Committee would represent the General Assembly in working out the different aspects.

The vote on paragraph 4 was 10 for, 2 against, and 3 abstentions, with India absent.[20]

By a vote of 10 for, 4 against, and 1 abstention, one member being absent,[21] the Sub-Committee finally adopted the following draft resolution:[22]

> The General Assembly,
>
> In accordance with Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy,
>
> HAVING CONSIDERED the relevant provisions of the Charter
>
> HAVING STUDIED the question of the disposal of the former Italian Colonies.
>
> HAVING TAKEN note in particular of the Report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation, and having heard organizations representing substantial sections of opinion in the territories concerned,
>
> *Recommends*
>
> 1. That Libya be granted independence ten years from the date of the adoption of this Resolution, provided that the General Assembly then decides that this step is appropriate;

[19] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Mexico, South Africa, U.K., and U.S. Against: Poland and the U.S.S.R. Abstention: Australia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Iraq. Absent: India.

[20] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Mexico, South Africa, U.K., and U.S. Against: Poland and U.S.S.R. Abstained: Australia, Egypt, and Iraq. Absent: India.

[21] For: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Mexico, South Africa, U.K., and U.S. Against: Egypt, Iraq, Poland, and U.S.S.R. Abstained: Australia. Absent: India.

[22] Contained in U.N. doc. A/C.1/466.

a) that Cyrenaica be placed under the International ısteeship System, with the United Kingdom as the ninistering authority, without prejudice to its incor- ation in a united Libya,

b) that the Fezzan be placed under the International ısteeship System, with France as the administering hority, also without prejudice to its incorporation in nited Libya,

c) that Tripolitania be placed under the International ısteeship System by the end of 1951, with Italy as the ninistering authority, also without prejudice to its in- poration in a united Libya. During the interim period, present British temporary administration shall con- ue, with the assistance of an Advisory Council con- ting of representatives of Egypt, France, Italy, the ited Kingdom, the United States, and a representative the people of the territory. The Advisory Council uld determine its scope and duties in consultation with Administering Authority.

That the Powers charged with the administration of three territories take all necessary measures to pro- te the coordination of their activities in order that hing be done to prejudice the attainment of an inde- ıdent Libyan State. The Trusteeship Council will be ponsible for supervising the execution of this provision.

. That former Italian Somaliland be placed under the ernational Trusteeship System, with Italy as the Ad- nistering Authority.

. That Eritrea, except for the Western Province, be orporated into Ethiopia, under terms and conditions forth below, to include the provision of appropriate ırantees for the protection of minorities and, without judice to the sovereignty of Ethiopia, appropriate mu- ipal charters for the cities of Asmara and Massawa, l that the Western Province be incorporated in the jacent Sudan.

. That agreements and instruments designed to give ect to the foregoing recommendations in accordance th purposes and principles of the Charter and the pro- ions of the Treaty of Peace with Italy be submitted the subsequent approval of the Fourth Regular Ses- n of the General Assembly (except those for Tripoli- nia, which shall be submitted to the Sixth Regular ssion); that the Trusteeship Council, where trusteeship concerned, and otherwise the Interim Committee, be thorized to represent the General Assembly in working t such agreements, in cooperation with Italy, where lian interests are concerned and that, in the case of oya, the trusteeship agreements so to be submitted pro- le for such adequate inter-territorial administration ationships as will promote the attainment of an inde- ndent, unified Libyan State.

The representative of Ethiopia wanted the re- ort to the First Committee to show that his vote ıs given under the reservation of ultimate ap- oval by his government of the proposed guaran- es in respect to Asmara and Massawa. The presentative of Australia desired the report to e First Committee to show that the Sub-Com- ittee had not examined all the proposals sub- itted to the First Committee, and the representa- ves of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico anted it expressly recorded that the joint Latin merican draft resolution[23] should not be con- dered as withdrawn.

The representative of Egypt pointed out that, n case the independence of united Libya should ot be decided upon, a four-power Committee of hich Egypt and the Administering Authority ould be members, be established in order to examine Egyptian claims for the rectification of her frontiers with Libya, to investigate wherever necessary and to report to the Secretary-General before 1 September 1949."

[23] U.N. doc. A/C.1/449.

V. FINAL CONSIDERATION IN COMMITTEE I

The Committee devoted its 269th to 272d meetings (May 12–13) to a consideration of the report and the draft resolution prepared by the Sub-Committee and to other proposals both old and new.[24] The Iraqi delegation immediately claimed that the Sub-Committee had exceeded its terms of reference in that a new draft by the United Kingdom which had served as a basis for the Sub-Committee resolution had not been considered by Committee I. The Chairman disallowed this point.[25] In answer to a Polish query about the circulation of letters to the Secretary-General from Cyrenaican and Somali representatives, the Chairman advised that the communications would be circulated in customary fashion.[26] The representative of Poland also formally proposed that the representatives of groups of inhabitants should again be heard with respect to the various proposals now before the Committee. After some discussion, in which the Arab states and those of Eastern Europe pressed for additional hearings, the Committee decided to hear the reactions of the local representatives to the U.S.S.R., Iraqi, and Sub-Committee proposals. The vote was 23 in favor, 15 against, with 17 abstentions.[27] The rest of the 269th meeting as well as the 270th was given over to such hearings.[28]

Additional Views of Inhabitants' Groups

The National Council for the Liberation of Libya objected to the Sub-Committee draft as representing an imposed partition of Libya. Its spokeman cited the angry demonstrations in Tripolitania at the news of the Bevin-Sforza formula. The Libyans, he said, could not be expected to submit to such a plan.[29]

[24] Section VII of the Sub-Committee's report (U.N. doc. A/C.1/466) noted that the First Committee "remained seized of all the different proposals already submitted."

[25] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.269.

[26] *Ibid.* The Cyrenaican communication had made objection to the placing of Cyrenaica under United Kingdom or any form of trusteeship.

[27] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.269. The vote was as follows: In favor: Egypt, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussia, China, Czechoslovakia. Against: France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Peru, South Africa, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, and Chile. Abstaining: Ethiopia, Guatemala, Israel, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, United States, Venezuela, Australia, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark and Dominican Republic.

[28] The delegation of the Cyrenaican National Congress had already left New York and could not be heard.

[29] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.269.

Sultan Ali speaking for the New Eritrea Pro-Italia Party, the Moslem League of Eritrea, and the Italio-Eritrean Association[30] opposed the adoption of the Sub-Committee draft since it involved partition and annexation. He urged that further investigation by the United Nations of the economic and ethnic position of the territory should be made and advocated direct United Nations trusteeship if independence were not granted.[31]

Mr. Perlzweig (Jewish Community of Tripolitania) felt that Tripolitania ought not to be left to languish under the existing, provisional administration for 2 more years. What was needed, he argued, was a clear and immediate program of internal improvements, coupled with safeguards for the equal rights of all inhabitants and the equal status of the "various communities," such as the Jews, the Italians, and the Maltese. He said that the local Jews would prefer trusteeship under the United Nations.

Mr. Issa (Somali Youth League) said that his group still considered a 10-year United Nations trusteeship as the only acceptable alternative to independence. They would resist Italy's return. Mr. Mohamed (Somali Conference), on the other hand supported the Sub-Committee proposal on Somaliland, saying that his group was far more representative than the Somali Youth League. Independence, he held, could best be achieved by a period of guidance under Italian trusteeship under United Nations auspices. In reply to a Syrian question, Mr. Mohamed felt that such a trusteeship might last about 30 years. He rejected any intimation that his attitude was inspired from Rome and explained that what progress had been made in Somaliland along educational and civic lines was due to the pre-Fascist Italian administration.[32]

Further Discussion of the Draft Resolutions

The Israeli delegate[33] explained that he favored the earliest possible independence for all of the territories and an adjustment permitting an Ethiopian outlet to the sea. He doubted the advisability of leaving certain parts of the former colonies under British administration. On the whole, his delegation, said Mr. Eban, inclined toward the Indian draft resolution.[34] Sir Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan) spoke against the Sub-Committee draft and felt, in particular, that a United Nations commission should be sent to Eritrea to ascertain and report to the Assembly on the best means of providing for tha territory.[35] Messrs. Santa Cruz (Chile) an Villagomez (Ecuador) defended the Sub-Com mittee draft, though the latter objected to the pro vision for the incorporation of western Eritre into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan without knowin the wishes of its people.[36]

At the afternoon meeting on May 13, the Polis delegate queried the Latin American delegatior on how they could reconcile their own traditio of achieving independence "through revolutio and wars against the colonial powers" with a pla for dividing Libya and retarding independen for the territories in question.[37] Saudi Arabia i dicated support for the Iraqi draft proposing i mediate independence for Libya and favore transfer of a part of Eritrea to Ethiopia.[38] Ge eral Romulo (Philippines) felt the Sub-Commi tee had fallen short of its responsibilities a would vote in favor of the Iraqi and Indian res lutions.[39] Mr. Kisselev (Byelorussia) claim that the Anglo-Italian discussions had "bypasse Committee I.[40] The delegations of Peru, De mark, and the Union of South Africa felt th the Sub-Committee plan was the best possib under the circumstances.[41] Haiti could not su port the Sub-Committee, although Siam was pr pared to accept it.[42]

Mr. Gromyko (U.S.S.R.) again returned the well-worn charge that the United Stat and the United Kingdom were pursuing an "a gressive and imperialistic" policy and that th were trying to railroad other delegations into gi ing them a free hand in the former colonies When neither Mr. Dulles nor Mr. McNeil chose reply, Mr. Arce (Argentina) called for conco and maintained that the Sub-Committee draft re resented a solution to which all could adjust a which would insure by peaceful means the achie ment of independence for the former colonies.

Vote of the Committee on the Various Proposals

At the 272d meeting, May 13, Committee I w at last prepared to proceed to a vote on the se eral drafts before it. It was decided to co sider first the Iraqi draft resolution,[45] then t

[30] The three groups coalesced for the purpose of the hearing into the "Eritrean Popular Front."
[31] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.269.
[32] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 270.
[33] Israel had just been admitted to membership in the United Nations.
[34] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR. 270.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] U.N. doc. A.C.1/SR.271.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] U.N. doc. A/C.1/455. This particular Iraqi dr dealt only with Libya, for which it advocated indepe ence. Iraq had broken down its original draft res tion covering all three territories (U.N. doc. A/C.1/4 into three separate drafts dealing with each territ (U.N. doc. A/C.1/455, 456, 457).

.S.S.R. proposals, and thereafter to vote on e remaining draft resolutions in the order of eir submission.[46] The Iraqi draft resolution on ibya was rejected by a roll-call vote of 22 against, in favor, with 8 abstentions.[47]

The Soviet draft resolution[48] was next voted , paragraph by paragraph. The first paragraph as rejected with 30 votes against, 13 in favor, and abstentions.[49] The second paragraph (on ritrea) was rejected with 31 votes against, 12 in vor, and 11 abstentions.[50] The third paragraph n Somaliland) was rejected, with 33 votes ainst, 14 in favor, and 10 abstentions.[51] The urth paragraph, that providing for possible Serity Council administration of strategic points the territories was turned down by 33 votes to with 17 abstentions.[52] Since each paragraph of the Soviet draft was rejected, a vote on the resolution as a whole was not needed.

Voting next took place on the Indian draft resolution. The preamble was rejected by 26 votes to 19, with 12 abstentions.[53] Subparagraph (a) of the operative part, providing for direct United Nations trusteeship in Libya and Somaliland, lost by 29 votes to 19, with 9 abstentions.[54] Subparagraph (b), on a 10- to 20-year period to determine independence or union with adjacent territories for Libya and Somaliland, after plebiscites, was rejected by 33 votes to 4, with 20 abstentions.[55] Subparagraph (c), on Fourth and Fifth Committee planning for the transfer of administration of Libya and Somaliland to the Organization, was defeated by 34 votes to 13, with 9 abstentions.[56] Subparagraph (d) on a plebiscite or other means to

[46] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.272.

[47] In favor: Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, rkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, ghanistan, Burma, Byelorussia, China, Costa Rica, echoslovakia, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan. ainst: Peru, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, ited States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, lgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Greece, land, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nory, Panama, Paraguay. Abstaining: Siam, Sweden, lombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Israel, Liberia, Mexico. weden announced shortly before the voting began that would abstain throughout as it had neither taken part the war on the side of the Allies, nor in the drafting of Italian peace treaty.)

[48] U.N. doc. A/C.1/433/rev. 1.

[49] Providing for a 5-year U.N. trusteeship for Libya, lowed by independence. The vote on the first paraph was: In favor: U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, elorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Iraq, Lebon, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian .R. Against: Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, ited States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, lgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, nmark, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New aland, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, rkey. Abstaining: Afghanistan, Burma, China, India, n, Israel, Liberia, Philippines, Siam, Sweden.

[50] In favor: Byelorussian S.S.R. Czechoslovakia, Iraq, eria, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian .R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia. Against: Bolivia, azil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, ance, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Luxemrg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, rway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Union of South rica, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Ethiopia. Abining: Burma, China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, Lebon, Philippines, Siam, Sweden, Afghanistan.

[51] In favor: Lebanon, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, ria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, elorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, q. Against: Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New aland, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, rkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United ites, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belm, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa ca, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatela, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland. Abstaining: Liberia, ilippines, Siam, Sweden, Afghanistan, Burma, China, dia, Iran, Israel.

[52] In favor: Iraq, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., goslavia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia. ainst: France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, eland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador. Abstaining: India, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Egypt, Ethiopia.

[53] U.N. doc. A/C.1/448 and Corr. 1; A/C.1/SR.272. For: Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Costa Rica. Against: Ecuador, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark. Abstaining: Liberia, Poland, Siam, Sweden, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Australia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia.

[54] *Ibid.* For: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Against: Venezuela, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay. Abstaining: Australia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Costa Rica, Cuba, Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, Siam, Sweden.

[55] *Ibid.* For: Philippines, Burma, India, Iran. Against: Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico. Abstaining: Poland, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, Yemen, Afghanistan, Australia, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia.

[56] *Ibid.* For: India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Egypt. Against: Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France. Abstaining: Haiti, Israel, Liberia, Siam, Sweden, Australia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ethiopia.

determine the wishes of Eritrea's people, was rejected by 32 votes to 15, with 10 abstentions.[57] At that point, the Indian delegation disclaimed any need for voting on the remaining text.

The Iraqi draft on Italian Somaliland was then voted upon, by the roll-call method, as requested by Ethiopia. The preamble and paragraph (a) were rejected by 36 votes to 12, with 10 abstentions.[58] Paragraph (b) was turned down by 40 to 4, with 5 abstentions.[59] Next, the draft resolution of Iraq on Eritrea was defeated by 35 to 12, with 12 abstentions.[60]

At this point, several amendments to the Sub-Committee's draft resolution were successively put to the vote. An Egyptian amendment, designed to exclude any review by the Assembly of Libya's preparedness for independence after 10 years, was rejected by 20 votes to 17, with 21 abstentions.[61] Instead, a Norwegian amendment to the first paragraph of Sub-Committee 15's draft, providing that independence for Libya after 10 years would be granted "unless the General Assembly then decides that this step is not appropriate at that time," was adopted by 33 votes to 15, with 10 abstentions.[62]

An Egyptian amendment to subparagraph 1 (a) of the Sub-Committee's draft seeking establishment of a multiple trusteeship over a united Libya was then rejected by 32 votes to 10, with 17 abstentions.[63] Egypt then reminded the Committee that it could not serve on the proposed Advisory Council for Tripolitania which it was unwilling to see replaced "under the yoke of a European nation."[64] Another amendment, designed to have a four-power commission examine Egypt's claims to rectification of her frontiers with Libya was turned down (33 to 8, with 18 abstentions), as was Egypt's proposal for a five-power, collective trusteeship in Somaliland (42 to 9, with 8 abstentions).[65]

Consideration was next given to a Costa Rican amendment referring to independence as the ultimate goal for Italian Somaliland. This was adopted by 41 to 0, with 15 abstentions. A joint Costa Rican-Cuban-Dominican Republic amendment, providing that the western province of Eritrea be placed under Anglo-Egyptian trusteeship, was rejected by 22 to 15, with 19 abstentions.[66]

Finally, an Ethiopian amendment, designed to insure Ethiopian participation in the determination of any new boundaries by which that country

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[57] *Ibid.* For: Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iraq, Lebanon. Against: Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland. Abstaining:

[58] *Ibid.* For: Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon. Against: Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand. Abstaining: Siam, Sweden, Turkey, Australia, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, India, Israel, Liberia.

[59] *Ibid.* For: Iraq, Lebanon, Philippines, Egypt. Against: El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian U.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador. Abstaining: India, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, Yemen, Afghanistan, Australia, China, Cuba.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] U.N. doc. A/C.1/468 and A/C.1/SR.272. For: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria. Against: Venezuela, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Cuba, France, Greece, Honduras, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay. Abstaining: Australia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Iceland, Israel, Liberia, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

[62] U.N. doc. A/C.1/473 and A/C.1/SR.272.

[63] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.272. For: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, China, Egypt, Guatemala, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan. Against: Peru, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway. Abstaining: Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Siam, Sweden, Turkey, Afghanistan, Burma, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethopia, Haiti, India, Israel, Liberia.

[64] *Ibid.* Greece had already proposed the addition of Australia to the Advisory Council for Tripolitania, but that proposal was later withdrawn at Australia's request.

[65] *Ibid.* All of the Egyptian amendments to the Sub-Committee's draft were contained in U.N. doc. A/C.1/46 For: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, Guatemala, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan. Against: Poland, Turkey, Ukranian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay. Abstaining: Philippines, Siam, Sweden, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Haiti, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Mexico, Peru. For: Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq. Against: Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India. Abstaining: Israel, Philippines, Siam, Sweden, China, Ethiopia, Haiti, Iran.

[66] U.N. doc. A/C.1/471; and A/C.1/SR.272.

ıld be affected, was adopted by 30 votes to 4, h 21 abstentions.[67] At the suggestion of the tish delegation, the Committee agreed that key, another Islamic state, could replace ypt on the proposed Advisory Council for Tri-itania.[68] As amended, the draft resolution of -Committee 15 was then ready for the vote in nmittee I.

e on Amended Sub-Committee 15 Draft

The preamble and the first paragraph passed 38 to 15, with 4 abstentions, by a show of hands. paragraph 1 (a) was approved by 35 to 17, h 5 abstentions.[69] Subparagraph 1 (b) passed 32 to 16, with 9 abstentions, while subpara-ph 1 (c) was accepted by 32 to 17, with 8 ab-ntions.[70] The final subparagraph of para-ph 1 went through by 36 to 17, with 5 absten-ns.[71] Paragraph 2, as amended by Costa Rica, s adopted by 36 to 17, with 5 abstentions. Para-ph 3, up to and including the word "Massawa" sed by 36 to 6, with 15 abstentions.[72] The re-inder of that paragraph, providing for incor-ation of western Eritrea into the Sudan, was ected by 19 votes against, 16 in favor, with 21 tentions.[73] The fourth and final paragraph, as amended by Ethiopia, was then approved by 36 to 14, with 7 abstentions on a show of hands vote. Thereafter, the resolution as a whole obtained Committee endorsement by 34 votes to 16, with 7 abstentions, or barely over two-thirds.[74]

As its final act, Committee I then approved, by a vote of 34 to 0, with 15 abstentions, the Chilean resolution,[75] providing that the Economic and Social Council give appropriate attention to the "economic development and social progress" of the former Italian colonies. Over a month of intensive work on this subject by the Committee had reached an end.

VI. CONSIDERATION IN PLENARY MEETINGS

On May 17 the Assembly began consideration of the issue in its concluding plenary sessions. After Mr. Sarper (Turkey), rapporteur of the First Committee, had presented the Committee's report[76] with its accompanying resolutions, a considerable discussion took place with various delegations reasserting in the main the positions they had maintained in the Committee.

Mr. Drohojowski (Poland) led off by assailing the procedure of the Sub-Committee, the decision

U.N. doc. A/C.1/470. Where the Sub-Committee draft provided that the Trusteeship Council or the Interim mittee, as appropriate, work out necessary implemen-ve agreements "in cooperation with Italy, where Ital-interests are concerned," Ethiopia secured the addi-of the words, "and with the states involved where ndaries are concerned."

U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.272.

Ibid. For: Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, ted States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, gium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa a, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, iopia, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, embourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicara-, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Siam, Turkey. inst: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yemen, oslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, pt, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, nd, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S. S. R. Abstain-: China, El Salvador, India, Philippines, Sweden.

Ibid. Subparagraph 1 (c) provided for Italian Trus-hip in Tripolitania at the end of 1951. It will be noted it did not obtain the two-thirds needed to ensure tual passage in the plenary. For: Luxembourg, dco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, ama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa, United gdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, gium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa a, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, iopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland. inst: Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, nd, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., en, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czecho-akia, Egypt. Abstaining: Israel, Siam, Sweden, Tur-, Australia, China, El Salvador, Haiti, India. For: embourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicara-, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South ica, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Vene-a, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, mbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Re-lic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, nduras, Iceland. Against: Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, ippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia. Abstaining: Israel, Liberia, Sweden, Turkey, Australia, China, Haiti, India.

[71] U.N. doc. A/C.1/SR.272.

[72] *Ibid.* For: Iceland, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Siam, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras. Against: Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia. Abstaining: India, Iraq, Israel, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Uruguay, Yemen, Australia, Burma, China, Guatemala.

[73] *Ibid.* For: Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Iceland, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Belgium, Canada, Chile. Against: Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Israel, Mexico, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Argentina, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia. Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Honduras, India, Iraq, Liberia, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia.

[74] *Ibid.* For: Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay. Against: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Abstaining: China, Haiti, Israel, Liberia, Siam, Sweden, Turkey.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] U.N. doc. A/873, May 14, 1949.

of Committee I, and the so-called "Bevin-Sforza agreement" which had facilitated the development of the Sub-Committee's draft. Mr. Drohojowski's lengthy statement was sprinkled liberally with accusations of bad faith and hyprocritical behavior against the United Kingdom and the United States. He argued that the Bevin-Sforza formula could have no legal basis and that the Assembly should ignore it or any proposals of a similar nature.[77] Not content with that, Mr. Drohojowski then launched into an unrestrained denunciation of Britain's whole colonial record, of the supposed resurgence of Fascism in Italy, and of the allegedly suspicious interest of the United States in the Mediterranean. Poland, he said, wanted to be sure that the peoples of these territories would obtain independence and would "take a strong stand on behalf of peoples who are still under colonial or semi-colonial rule.[78]"

General Romulo (Philippines), making it clear that his delegation had no intention of making propaganda or whipping up hatreds, regarded the issue as one of "moral imperatives," since posterity would inexorably judge the decision affecting the destiny of human beings. Although his first preference would have been for the immediate independence of a unified Libya and his second preference for a direct United Nations trusteeship for that entire area, General Romulo said that his delegation was willing to see a single-power trusteeship for that whole territory under the United Kingdom "which had liberated India, Burma and Ceylon." The Philippines would also support a form of trusteeship agreeable to the inhabitants of Somaliland and would favor recognition of Ethiopia's claims to a part of Eritrea where ethnic and religious factors warranted.[79]

The delegate of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, applauded the Philippine statement and maintained that the First Committee's resolution ran counter to the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed before the Committee. He wondered what would be the role of British forces in Tripolitania if, at the time of transfer of administration to Italy, the inhabitants were prepared to resist the latter. He opposed anything which might leave the door open to eventual partition of Libya or Eritrea and said that the United Nations should try to settle problems, not start new ones. In conclusion Sir Zafrullah submitted a proposal amounting to an altered version of one made earlier by Australia. His suggestion was to defer a final decision until the September session when the Assembly could act on a report prepared by a special committee of investigation of seven members to be appointed by the President of the Assembly.[80]

The representatives of Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia took the floor at the 217th plenary meeting, May 17, to voice their opposition to the Committee proposals. Rafik Asha (Syria) feared that adoption of the Committee plan would "aggravate and widen the gulf," observing that on the colonial issue the delegations of Asia had ranged themselves on one side, the delegations of Western Europe and of the American continents on the other. He would support the Iraqi proposal.[81] Mr. Bakr (Iraq) said that it would run counter to the march of events "if a desperate return is now staged to the discarded methods of the unhappy past." If the United Nations "were directed towards a perilous course of daring the inevitable currents of history," which were bound up with the awakening of peoples everywhere to their rights, that would represent a grave lack of statesmanship.[82] Mr. Bakr said his delegation had already submitted to the Assembly its draft resolution for the immediate independence of a unified Libya.[83] Mr. Dajani (Saudi Arabia) expressed similar views[84] and said that his delegation believed that the Pakistan proposal for study by a special committee would pave the way for a correct solution. In a passing reference to Palestine he warned against any step by the General Assembly which might create "another area of strife in the Middle East."

The Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Ukrainian delegates also made statements at the 217th plenary meeting. In a very lengthy address, Mr. Malik (U.S.S.R.), like the delegate of Poland, charged that the First Committee's resolution had been "cooked up behind the backs of the Assembly." The Soviet delegate again heaped blame on the United States and the United Kingdom for lack of four-power agreement on the colonies and accused them of trying to "lay their hands" on the territories. The Soviet resolution, he said, would be put forward in the Assembly as it had been in the Committee. According to Mr. Malik, the Committee resolution represented an attempt by the "Anglo-American bloc" to impose its will on the Assembly.[85]

Mr. Houdek (Czechoslovakia), in less flamboyant language, argued along similar lines and declared against any "redistribution of the non-self-governing territories after the fashion of the settlement which had followed the First World War."[86] Mr. Tarasenko (Ukrainian S.S.R.) adhered to the same themes and extolled the alleged virtues of the Soviet proposals.

It should not be forgotten, said the Chilean delegate, that the Charter provides, under the trusteeship system, a period of preparation and guidance for peoples approaching but not ready for independence. Mr. Santa Cruz repudiated the suggestion that British and American pressure h

[77] No one, of course, had claimed that the Bevin-Sforza formula had any "legal basis" before the Assembly.
[78] U.N. doc. A/PV.216.
[79] U. N. doc A/PV.216.
[80] U. N. doc. A/PV.216 and A/889.

[81] U.N. doc. A/PV.217.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] U.N. doc. A/875.
[84] U.N. doc. A/PV.217.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*

n exerted on the Latin American delegations to n their acceptance of the Committee's draft olution. Although willing, between Assembly sions, to have a commission examine the matter he disposition of western Eritrea on which the nmittee draft was silent, he otherwise sup- ted that draft.[87] The Belgian delegate then nted out that the Committee draft admittedly resented a compromise involving concessions on part of all the interested parties and therefore ld not give full satisfaction to anyone. In osing between the Committee proposals and the longation of regimes of military occupation, ich was apparently the alternative, both the visions of the Charter and the interests of the abitants would be better served by adopting Committee draft. Mr. van Langenhove (Bel- m) also pointed out that trusteeship adminis- by a single state was just as correct under the arter as one by several states or by the ganization.[88]

n the name of the peoples of Africa, said Mr. oper (Liberia), his delegation appealed for rec- ition of the right to self-determination for the ulations concerned.[89] Although the idea of lian trusteeship in Tripolitania even for a few rs after 1951 was distasteful to his delegation. ould accept the Committee draft provided that years be set as a time limit on Italian trustee- p for Somaliland, "after which time the General embly will consider whether the inhabitants e made sufficient progress toward independ- e."[90]

n summing up the United States attitude, Mr. stin emphasized the need to assure the peoples he territories in question "a prompt transition m war-time to peace-time administration." The nmittee proposals sought to attain major Char- objectives, while reconciling as far as possible conflicting views expressed in the Assembly. is was not colonization or colonialism, overt or cealed. To those who had questioned the prob- lity of early Libyan independence, Mr. Austin nted out that the resolution required such in- endence in 10 years unless, at that time, the embly should decide otherwise by a two-thirds e. Thus, any state attempting to challenge h independence 10 years later would have a vy burden of proof placed upon it.

The references to unity, said Mr. Austin, were taken lightly by his delegation. The trustee- p agreements to be worked out would require approval of the Assembly which would surely isfy itself that the basic objectives of the trustee- p system and especially the interests of the in- itants would be properly served. Agreements mplement a decision transferring Eritrea minus western province to Ethiopia would be worked out by a United Nations body, the Interim Committee, and would be reviewed by the Assembly. Mr. Austin wondered how such action could be called "imperialism." He then stated that the United States would support an Egyptian amendment[91] which would provide unqualifiedly for the independence of Libya 10 years after the date of the adoption of the resolution. The United States also fully agreed with the spirit of the Liberian amendment but suggested that a period of about 25 years[92] would be needed before independence could be anticipated for Somaliland. Finally, Mr. Austin expressed support for the Egyptian amendment[93] which would restore the provision, originally contained in the Sub-Committee 15 draft but eliminated during Committee I voting, for the incorporation of the western province of Eritrea into the Sudan.[94]

China's summation included a comparative evaluation of the merits of single power, multipower, and direct United Nations trusteeship. Mr. Koo again stated his government's preference for the latter. China could not feel that the wishes of the inhabitants were reflected in the choice of the states for whom individual trusteeships were provided in the Committee proposals.[95]

Defending the Committee draft resolution, Mr. Chauvel (France) said that its main lines were in accord with the welfare of the population, the improvement of their conditions, and the maintenance of international peace and security. The territories all needed further preparation, he believed, for independence although Libya was more advanced than the others. Libyan unity, though not a fact historically, would nevertheless be promoted by adoption of the Committee proposals since coordination of the administration of its three parts would take place. Adoption of the Committee plan or postponement appeared the only alternatives and France believed postponement would bar early steps to place the territories on the road to sound development. France, said Mr. Chauvel, "would have taken a categorical stand against any resolution which proved unacceptable to the Italian people." However, a compromise had emerged which would serve the cause of peace and settle one of the most controversial questions of international politics.[96]

The last of the great power delegates to sum up his country's position was Sir Alexander Cadogan (United Kingdom). Like others, he admitted that the Committee plan was not perfect but thought that it represented the best solution on which agreement might possibly be reached. He repudiated the Soviet intimation that the Commit-

U.N. doc. A/PV.217.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.

[91] This was the first of a number of proposed Egyptian amendments to the Committee draft and appears in U.N. doc. A/885.
[92] Argentina, Brazil and Peru had also suggested approximately 25 years.
[93] Also contained in U.N. doc. A/885.
[94] U.N. doc. A/PV.217.
[95] U.N. doc. A/PV.217.
[96] *Ibid.*

tee proposals represented a maneuver or an attempt to impose a solution on the Assembly. He pointed out that examination of the record of the First Committee would show that many delegations had supported ideas now embodied in the Committee draft. Sir Alexander justified the development of a compromise between the original British draft and the Latin American proposals, pointing out that a suitable arrangement for Tripolitania had presented the greatest difficulty. Britain felt that Italy, by immediately showing her capacity and benevolence in Somaliland, could dissipate any apprehension among the Tripolitanians over her anticipated trust administration in their territory after 1951. In conclusion, the British delegate said that there was an imperative need to encourage the growth of a native administration in Tripolitania by placing native officials into a number of administrative posts. He was sure the proposed Advisory Council would concur. Britain had, hitherto, labored under restrictions imposed by the Hague Convention, but after the Assembly's decision, if British administration continued there, more constructive steps would be taken to provide for the well-being and political development of the territory.[97]

At the 218th meeting, May 17, the delegations of Egypt, Peru, Byelorussia, Cuba, and Turkey made statements before the voting began. Mr. Fawzi Bey (Egypt) spoke particularly in behalf of his delegation's amendments for a five-power collective trusteeship in Libya as a whole and for a similar trusteeship of 7 states in Somaliland.[98] Mr. Sarper (Turkey) explained that, after careful consideration, his government would not wish to serve on the Advisory Council for Tripolitania, as provided for in the Committee resolution.[99] Turkey had abstained in the Committee vote on that part of the resolution and felt that a state which had voted affirmatively would be better fitted to serve on the Advisory Council.[1] The Cuban delegate, Mr. Gutierrez, defended the Committee resolution but again raised the question of making clear provision for the western province of Eritrea.

Cuba joined with Uruguay and Costa Rica in proposing an amendment in the form of an addendum calling for Interim Committee study of the future of the western province, with that area to continue in the status quo, pending the Assembly's consideration of the Interim Committee report.[2] The Peruvian delegate, Mr. Belaunde, urged adoption of the Committee draft, maintaining that a collective trusteeship would excessively diffuse responsibility and that it would require "a world situation of the kind which we do not enjoy now."[3] On the other hand, the Byelorussian representative, Mr. Kisselev, indulged in a final denunciation of "colonialism" and of the Committee draft which, he declared, amounted to that.[4] The debate on the entire question was then closed, and the Assembly began to vote on the several draft resolutions and amendments before it.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] See U.N. doc. A/885. The amendment on Libya suggested Egypt, France, Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. For Somaliland Egypt suggested herself, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Pakistan, United Kingdom, and the United States.

[99] In par. 1 (c).

[1] U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

[2] U.N. doc. A/892. After the defeat of the emasculated Committee draft, Cuba, Costa Rica, and Uruguay expanded their proposal into a draft resolution calling for reference of the entire colonies problem to the Interim Committee (Little Assembly).

General Assembly Voting

Assembly President Evatt reminded the delegates that, as an "important question," indeed one of the most important ever to come before the Assembly, any resolution on the disposition of the former Italian colonies would require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. He then explained that he proposed to take the recommendations of Committee I as "the basic document for the purpose of reaching a decision." Suggested amendments to various parts of the Committee draft would be voted on before the particular paragraph or subparagraph in question, but other draft resolutions on the entire problem would be voted upon later.[5]

As it emerged from Committee I, the draft resolution under consideration read as follows:[6]

The General Assembly,

In accordance with Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy,

HAVING CONSIDERED the relevant provisions of the Charter,

HAVING STUDIED the question of the disposal of the former Italian Colonies,

HAVING TAKEN note in particular of the Report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation, and having heard organizations representing substantial sections of opinion in the territories concerned,

Recommends

1. That Libya be granted independence ten years from the date of the adoption of this Resolution, unless the General Assembly then decides that this step is not appropriate at this time.

(*a*) that Cyrenaica be placed under the International Trusteeship System, with the United Kingdom as the administering authority, without prejudice to its incorporation in a united Libya,

(*b*) that the Fezzan be placed under the International Trusteeship System, with France as the administering authority also without prejudice to its incorporation in a united Libya,

(*c*) that Tripolitania be placed under the International Trusteeship System by the end of 1951, with Ital

[3] U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* Dr. Evatt carefully outlined the intended procedure after the Soviet delegate had maintained that the Soviet draft resolution should be voted upon before the Committee I draft. In accordance with Assembly procedure, when more than one amendment to a particular portion of the draft resolution had been advanced, the amendment furthest removed in substance from the basic draft would be voted on first.

[6] U. N. doc. A/C.1/476.

the administering authority, also without prejudice ts incorporation in a united Libya. During the interim iod, the present British temporary administration shall tinue, with the assistance of an Advisory Council con- ing of representatives of Turkey, France, Italy, the ited Kingdom, the United States, and a representative the people of the territory. The Advisory Council uld determine its scope and duties in consultation with Administering Authority.

That the Powers charged with the administration of three territories take all necessary measures to pro- te the co-ordination of their activities in order that hing be done to prejudice the attainment of an inde- ndent Libyan State. The Trusteeship Council will be ponsible for supervising the execution of this provision.

. That former Italian Somaliland be placed under the ernational Trusteeship System with a view to its inde- ndence with Italy as the Administering Authority.

. That Eritrea, except for the Western Province, be orporated into Ethiopia, under terms and conditions forth below, to include the provision of appropriate arantees for the protection of minorities and, without judice to the sovereignty of Ethiopia, appropriate muni- al charters for the cities of Asmara and Massawa.

. That agreements and instruments designed to give ect to the foregoing recommendations in accordance with purposes and principles of the Charter and the provi- ns of the Treaty of Peace with Italy be submitted for subsequent approval of the Fourth Regular Session the General Assembly (except those for Tripolitania, ich shall be submitted to the Sixth Regular Session); t the Trusteeship Council, where trusteeship is con- ned, and otherwise the Interim Committee, be author- d to represent the General Assembly in working out h agreements, in cooperation with Italy, where Ital- interests are concerned and with the States involved ere boundaries are concerned, and that, in the case of ya, the trusteeship agreements so to be submitted vide for such adequate inter-territorial administration ationships as will promote the attainment of an inde- ndent, unified Libyan State.

In voting on the Committee draft, the General ssembly also had to vote on several written endments to portions of that draft, submitted spectively by Iraq, Egypt, and Liberia. Addi- nal amendments, advanced orally during the tual voting process, were also considered.

The Iraqi amendment sought entirely to change ragraph 1 of the Committee draft into a simple commendation that, "in view of the fact that bya has reached an adequate stage of develop- ent enabling her to become a sovereign State, it granted immediate independence."[7]

The document containing the Egyptian amend- ents[8] called for five distinct changes in language various paragraphs of the Committee draft. he first Egyptian amendment asked deletion om paragraph 1 of the phrase "unless the Gen- al Assembly then decides that this step is not propriate at this time." In effect, this amend- ent would have meant a categorical and unquali- d Assembly decision for the independence of ibya at the end of 10 years. Secondly, Egypt ught elimination of all the rest of paragraph 1 hich dealt with various arrangements for Cyr- aica, the Fezzan, and Tripolitania. She asked stead that a united Libya be placed under the international trusteeship system with Egypt, France, Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, and the United States as the administering authorities. A third Egyptian amendment sought to provide that a similar multipower trust administration for 10 years be applied to Italian Somaliland, with Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States as the administering authorities. By the fourth amendment, Egypt sought to restore, at the end of paragraph 3 of the Cimmittee draft, a phrase providing that the western province of Eritrea "be incorporated in the adjacent Sudan." The fifth Egyption amendment called for the deletion from paragraph 4 of the Committee draft of language reflecting the contemplated special treatment of Tripolitania and of other language providing that, in the working out of necessary agreements, the Trusteeship Council or the Interim Committee would do so "in cooperation with Italy where Italian interests are concerned."

The Liberian amendment[9] sought to revise the provisions on Italian Somaliland by a plan for 15 years of Italian trusteeship administration, after which the Assembly would "consider whether the inhabitants have made sufficient progress to warrant their independence."

These amendments were taken up in the proper order in connection with voting, paragraph by paragraph, on the text of the basic Committee draft resolution. The Iraqi amendment, for the immediate independence of Libya, was voted on first. It failed of adoption by a vote of 23 in favor, 27 against, and 9 abstentions.[10] Next, the first Egyptian amendment, providing for the unconditional independence of Libya after 10 years, without further review by the General Assembly, was put to the vote. It was adopted, having obtained 35 votes in favor, 16 against, with 8 abstentions.[11]

[7] U.N. doc. A/875/Corr.1.

[8] U.N. doc. A/885.

[9] U.N. doc. A/886.

[10] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Ukranian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., China, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan. Against: Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway. Abstaining: Siam, Sweden, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Israel.

[11] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United States, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic. Against: Ecuador, France, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada. Abstaining: El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile.

The second Egyptian amendment, providing for a 10-year trusteeship over a united Libya, with a five-power administration, was then voted upon. It obtained only limited support, failing of adoption by 10 in favor, 41 against, and 8 abstentions.[12] The Assembly then turned to the first operative paragraph of the First Committee resolution, as amended by Egypt. Since the first Egyptian amendment had already obtained Assembly approval, Dr. Evatt did not feel it necessary to take a roll-call vote on the same language now incorporated in the basic text. The revised paragraph 1 of the Committee draft therefore was voted on by a show of hands, and passed by 48 to 8, with 1 abstention.[13]

Voting then took place on paragraphs 1 (a) and 1 (b) of the Committee draft, the former providing for a British trusteeship in Cyrenaica "without prejudice to its incorporation in a united Libya," the latter recommending a French trusteeship in the Fezzan, similarly without prejudice to the ultimate unity of Libya. Paragraph 1 (a) was adopted by 36 in favor, 17 against, with 6 abstentions.[14] Paragraph 1 (b) was approved by nearly the same vote, obtaining 36 in favor, 15 against, and 7 abstentions.[15]

Prior to voting on paragraph 1 (c),[16] there was some discussion as to the composition of the projected Advisory Council, in view of Turkey's statement of nonavailability. President Evatt suggested, and Argentina's Mr. Arce formally moved, that the proposed Council be reduced to five members, simply omitting Turkey.[17] This proposal was approved by 26 to 10, with 13 abstentions.[18]

The paragraph was then further amended, at the suggestion of Iran, so that the Advisory Council would consist of representatives of France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States and two representatives of the people of the territory. The latter suggestion was declared adopted by 20 to 12, with 22 abstentions, President Evatt ruling that a mere majority for such an amendment was sufficient, since the Assembly would still have to pass on the entire proposal with the amendment added.[19]

As amended, paragraph 1 (c), dealing with Tripolitania, was then put to the vote. The vote was 33 in favor, 17 against, with 8 abstentions.[20] It thus failed of adoption because the necessary two-thirds was lacking.

A problem then arose of how to treat the last subparagraph of paragraph 1 which spoke of coordination of activities among the powers which would administer the three parts of Libya so as not to prejudice ultimate unity. Since the Assembly had rejected the subparagraph on Tripolitania, several delegations maintained that it would be improper to speak of coordination among the powers administering the three parts of Libya when the Assembly was actually designating administering powers for only Cyrenaica and the Fezzan.[21]

Mr. Austin (United States) reasoned that the intended coordination would still apply to all three areas since the temporary British administration in Tripolitania would have to continue un-

[12] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon. Against: Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua. Abstaining: Siam, Sweden, Turkey, China, Ethiopia, Haiti, Israel, Liberia.

[13] U.N. doc. A/PV.218.

[14] *Ibid.* For: Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Siam, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile. Against: Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R. Abstaining: China, India, Iran, Philippines, Sweden, Afghanistan.

[15] *Ibid.* For: United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa. Against: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Abstaining: China, India, Iran, Israel, Siam, Sweden, Turkey.

[16] Dealing with a proposed Italian trusteeship in Tripolitania after 1951 and providing a six-member Advisory Council to assist the Italian administration in that territory.

[17] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. In that connection, there was a rather acid exchange between Mr. Drohojowski (Poland) and Mr. Sarper (Turkey). The former claimed that Turkey's withdrawal from candidacy for membership on the Advisory Council caused the whole plan to fall to the ground; Mr. Drohojowski sought to read into Mr. Sarper's statement of his country's nonavailability a distaste for what he called "the dirty work." Mr. Sarper sharply reminded the Polish delegate that he received instructions from the Turkish Government and needed no one to interpret for him his earlier statement on the matter.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom. Against: Yemen, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Haiti, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Abstaining: China, Ethiopia, Iran, Israel, Liberia, Siam, Sweden, Turkey.

[21] This meant that the British administration in Tripolitania would continue until some later Assembly decision but solely under peace treaty authorization and not as a definitive settlement by the General Assembly.

the Assembly found a suitable solution.[22] Tech-al objections, however, were still raised by Gua-nala and Iran, while the Soviet delegation as-ted that the controversial paragraph could not voted upon at all because it no longer corres-nded with the preceding parts of paragraph 1.[23] e problem was met by an amendment proposed the Mexican representative, Padilla Nervo, king it plain that, although the Assembly was granting the United Kingdom the administra-n of Tripolitania, it would recognize the actual ponsibility of Britain in that territory and uld require coordination of Tripolitanian af-rs with those of Cyrenaica and the Fezzan.[24] e Mexican amendment was approved by a vote 21 in favor, 8 against, and 29 abstentions.[25] The ragraph on coordination, as amended, was then to the vote and was adopted by practically an ntical vote of 21 to 9, with 28 abstentions.[26]

The Assembly now approached paragraph 2 of Committee draft providing for Italian trustee-p over Italian Somaliland. It first rejected, by how of hands, a vote of 11 in favor, 40 against, 6 abstentions, an Egyptian amendment calling a 7-power trust administration of that terri-y for a 10-year period.[27] Next, a joint amend-nt by Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, proposing 5-year period of trusteeship in Somaliland, in-ad of 15 years as suggested in the Liberian endment, was defeated by 3 in favor, 39 against, 16 abstentions.[28] The Liberian amendment, specifying a 15-year time limit on trusteeship, obtained greater support but failed by a vote of 19 in favor, 23 against, with 9 abstentions.[29] The text of paragraph 2 as contained in the original Committee I draft was then put to the vote. As had been the case with the paragraph on Tripolitania, the paragraph on Italian Somaliland failed rather narrowly to obtain two-thirds approval by a vote of 35 in favor, 19 against, with 4 abstentions.[30]

The third paragraph of the First Committee's draft was next to be voted upon. It provided for incorporation of all of Eritrea except the "western" province into Ethiopia, with guaranties for the protection of minorities and municipal charters for Asmara and Massawa. Paragraph 3 was adopted with 37 affirmative votes, 11 against, and 10 abstentions.[31] By a vote of 22 in favor, 28 against, and 8 abstentions, the Assembly rejected the Egyptian amendment which sought to provide for incorporation of the western province into the "adjacent Sudan."[32]

There remained for consideration paragraph 4 of the basic draft resolution, providing for Trusteeship Council or Interim Committee negotiation, as appropriate, of the agreements and instruments designed to give effect to the Assembly's recommendations on the several territories. One of three amendments proposed by Egypt to this paragraph was withdrawn by that country's delega-

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U.N. doc. A/PV.218.

Ibid.

U.N. doc. A/PV.218. The Mexican amendment cast the l subparagraph of paragraph 1 in the following lan-ge: "That the powers charged with the administration Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, and the power administering politania take all necessary measures to promote the rdination of their activities in order that nothing be e to prejudice the attainment of an independent Libyan e. The Trusteeship Council will be responsible for ervising the execution of this provision."

U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Turkey, Union of South Af-, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Australia, gium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ethiopia, Greece, temala, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, ico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway. Against: ainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Ar-tina, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland. taining: Sweden, Syria, Yemen, Bolivia, Brazil, ma, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Repub-Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Haiti, India, n, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, aguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Siam.

This time Ecuador changed from an abstention to a ative vote.

U.N. doc. A/PV.218.

U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Peru, Argentina, Brazil. inst: Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, China, Colombia, ta Rica, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, El vador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Iceland, India, Iraq, Israel, anon, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nor-, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, di Arabia, Siam, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., S.R., United Kingdom, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, tralia, Burma. Abstaining: Chile, Dominican Re-lic, Ecuador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United States, Uruguay, Belgium, Bolivia.

[29] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. The vote was by show of hands.

[30] *Ibid.* For: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Siam, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela. Against: Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia.

[31] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. For: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Siam, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States. Against: Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia. Abstaining: China, Ecuador, Guatemala, India, Israel, Sweden, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen.

[32] *Ibid.* For: Iceland, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece. Against: Honduras, Israel, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala. Abstaining: India, Iran, Norway, Siam, Sweden, Chile, Denmark, Haiti.

tion.[33] Two additional Egyptian amendments [34] were rejected by a counting of hands, by votes of 7 in favor, 20 opposed, and 21 abstentions, and 7 in favor, 19 against, with 21 abstentions, respectively.[35] President Evatt then put the original paragraph 4 to the vote; it obtained the required two-thirds with 29 in favor, 9 opposed, and 14 abstentions.[36] A brief discussion ensued in which several Latin American delegations, France, and the Union of South Africa announced their intention of voting against the resolution as a whole, because of its loss of balance with the absence of the original plan for Italian trusteeship of Tripolitania as an integral part of the solution for Libya.[37] The draft resolution, minus portions referring to Tripolitania or Italian Somaliland, was then voted upon. It was decisively defeated by a vote of only 14 in favor, 37 opposed, with 7 abstentions.[38] In the vote, 18 Latin American states which had supported the Committee draft more or less consistently at every stage now opposed the emasculated resolution. In contrast, Haiti felt able to vote for the revised Committee draft, having opposed the deleted sections consistently.

Thereafter, the Assembly overwhelmingly approved resolution B (based on a Chilean draft approved by Committee I), calling for due attention by the Economic and Social Council to problems of "economic development and social progress" in the former Italian colonies. The vote was 44 in favor, 0 opposed, and 7 abstentions.[39] With the defeat of the now incomplete Committee draft resolution, the Assembly turned to other proposals, some old and some new, designed to achieve some kind of a solution—or means of solution—for the entire problem.

The Soviet draft resolution, which had earlier been rejected in a paragraph by paragraph vote in Committee I, was still formally before the Assembly.[40] At the request of Mr. Malik (U.S.S.R.), the Assembly voted separately on the first paragraph which dealt with Libya. This was rejected by a show-of-hands vote of 14 in favor, 33 opposed, and 6 abstentions.[41] The remaining portions of the Soviet plan were then voted upon together, also by a show of hands. They were also rejected with 12 in favor, 33 against, and 5 abstentions.[42] Though at first inclining to insist on a vote on his delegation's draft resolution as a whole, despite the negative vote on its parts, Mr. Malik did not press the point when Dr. Evatt explained that Assembly rules of procedure did not warrant such a course.[43]

Two additional draft resolutions remained for consideration, that of Pakistan and that presented jointly by 18 Latin American delegations. The Pakistan proposal [44] suggested means of preparing a basis for Assembly action at its next regular session. It called for establishment of a 7-member Special Committee to examine and investigate the entire problem and to report such proposals as it felt appropriate to the Secretary-General by September 1, 1949. The Latin American proposal, formally submitted by the Argentine delegation on behalf of its other co-sponsors, was the same as the Latin American draft presented during the First Committee deliberations but not voted upon at that stage.[45] It provided for separate, five-power study groups to develop proposals, for consideration by the Fourth Assembly on suitable trusteeship administration of the three territories for varying periods of time. In the case of Libya, the Latin American draft specified independence after 10 years, subject to review by the Assembly. In the case of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, the Latin American draft cited independence as the ultimate goal, with the implication that Eritrea might attain such status somewhat earlier than Somaliland. The draft also laid down the condition that, in developing proposals for the application of international trusteeship in Eritrea, the "just claims" of Ethiopi

[33] The amendment withdrawn sought deletion of the phrase "(except for Tripolitania, which shall be submitted to the sixth regular session)" from paragraph 4 on the ground that the earlier parts of the resolution were now silent on Tripolitania.

[34] These were designed to remove any special reference to "Italian interests" and to eliminate the words "interterritorial" and "relationships" in the last part of paragraph 4 which related to projected trusteeship agreements for Libya.

[35] U.N. doc. A/PV.218.

[36] By show of hands.

[37] U.N. doc. A/PV.218. The South African delegation also explained that it had earlier accepted union for most of Eritrea with Ethiopia reluctantly and on the supposition that the rest of the original resolution would remain intact.

[38] *Ibid.* For: Iceland, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Ethiopia, Greece, Haiti. Against: India, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Honduras. Abstaining: Iran, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Siam, Sweden, Belgium, China.

[39] U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

[40] U.N. doc. A/881. The Soviet draft, it will b recalled, provided for direct United Nations trusteeship for all three of the former colonies, for 5 years in Liby and Eritrea, and for 10 years in Italian Somaliland. I each territory, there was to be an Advisory Council o 9 members, consisting of representatives of 6 states an 1 European and 2 indigenous residents of the particula territory. The Soviet plan called for the United King dom, U.S.S.R., France, Italy, United States, and Egypt t serve on the Advisory Council for Libya; it would hav placed the same states, with the substitution of Ethiopi for Egypt, on Advisory Councils for Eritrea and Italia Somaliland. The plan envisaged an Ethiopian outlet t the sea through Assab and provided for Security Counc administration of such strategic points in the territorie as the Council might so designate.

[41] U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

[44] U.N. doc. A/889.

[45] U.N. doc. A/C.1/499 and A/893.

uld be taken into consideration.[46] When Mr. ce (Argentina) maintained that this Latin nerican draft had never been withdrawn, even ugh not voted on in Committee I, President att pointed out that it would have to be circu- ed as an Assembly document and considered next day.[47]

There followed a brief discussion of the Pakistan posal for the Assembly's own investigating mmission. Poland, Turkey, Iran, and Argen- a called attention to difficulties in accepting a posal for such a commission without knowing at countries would be represented and how they e to be chosen. As the 218th plenary meeting ved toward adjournment, the Pakistan draft s finally put to a roll-call vote. It failed of ac- tance by 21 votes in favor, 28 against, and 9 tentions.[48] At 2:30 in the morning, the meeting ourned, with the Latin American draft sched- d for consideration the next afternoon.

Early in the 219th plenary meeting, the dele- ions of Cuba, Uruguay, and Costa Rica pre- ted a revised proposal for submission of the ire problem of the disposition of the colonies the Interim Committee which could then ap- nt an investigating committee and which would ort with recommendations to the next regular neral Assembly session.[49] This proposal oc- ioned a harsh attack on the Interim Committee, such, by the Soviet and Polish delegations. Mr. lik (U.S.S.R.) launched into yet another ha- gue, professing to believe that the reason for Assembly's inability to reach a final decision l been the unwillingness of the United States l the United Kingdom to accept the Soviet pro- als. Once more the Soviet spokesman flamboy- ly accused the two Western powers of peace aty violations, of sabotaging great-power agree- nt on this and other problems, of conspiring promote expansionist schemes, and of planning the "looting and exploitation" of the colonies.[50]

The Soviet delegate concluded by advocating postponement of further discussion until the Fourth Assembly session. Further study of the issue by a particular body, he said, was useless and inappropriate.

On the other hand, the delegation of Haiti, which had consistently opposed both the Committee I draft and the principal Latin American proposal, stated its readiness to support reference of the problem to the Interim Committee.[51] Meanwhile, Poland had formally presented a draft according to which the Assembly would decide to postpone further consideration of the problem until its fourth session.[52]

It remained for the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution of Cuba, Uruguay, and Costa Rica, on the draft Polish resolution, and—if necessary, the 19-nation Latin American draft. The first of these, providing for Interim Committee study, was voted upon by roll call. It was rejected with 21 in favor, 27 against, and 11 abstentions.[53] Immediately thereafter the Polish proposal, for postponement of further consideration until the next Assembly, was adopted without opposition. There were 51 votes in favor, 0 against, and 6 abstentions.[54] In view of this decision, there was no need of considering any other proposals such as the Latin American draft. Somewhat later in the afternoon of May 18, the second part of the Third Assembly session adjourned.

VII. Conclusion

The Assembly had devoted a month and a half of solid and intensive work to consideration of this complicated question. The record unquestionably showed a considerable range of varying opinions on both major and minor facets of the problem. Nevertheless, the discussion served to bring out additional information and to suggest ways in which a greater adjustment of views might take place when consideration of the problem is resumed this fall. Member states previously without much contact with, or knowledge of, the former Italian colonies are now considerably better informed and better able to form balanced judgments on the issue. Member states more intimately connected with the problem and which entered the Assembly with more or less well-defined positions are better able to make necessary adjustments of their views

Under the Latin American plan, the study and in- igating groups would be composed as follows: For ya—Egypt, France, Italy, United Kingdom, United tes; For Italian Somaliland—Ethiopia, France, Italy, ted Kingdom, and United States; For Eritrea—Ethi- a, France, Italy, United Kingdom, and the United tes.

U.N. doc. A/PV. 218.

U.N. doc. A/PV. 218. For: Yemen, Australia, Burma, mark, Egypt, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, eria, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, di Arabia, Siam, Syria, United Kingdom, United States. inst: Yugoslavia, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, lorussian S.S.R., Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czecho- akia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, nce, Guatemala, Honduras, Luxembourg, Mexico, herlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Ukrain- S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela. Abstaining: ada, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Greece, Iceland, Panama, den, Turkey, Union of South Africa.

U.N. doc. A/892. Since Cuba, Uruguay, and Costa a were listed among the original co-sponsors of the cipal Latin American draft resolution, they were, in ct, advocating two separate means of developing a tion.

U.N. doc. A/PV. 219. In making these charges, Mr. lik apparently felt in no way inconvenienced by the fact that the Assembly had rejected the Soviet Union's own proposals by very large majorities. Mr. Malik seemed chiefly interested in claiming some kind of Soviet success in blocking acceptance of the Western position, whereas developments at the Assembly showed that nonacceptance of that position was due predominately to other factors and the positions of other states.

[51] An argument stressed by the Haitian delegation was that the consultation by the Assembly of the views of the inhabitants of the former colonies had been incomplete and only of a preliminary nature.

[52] U.N. doc. A/PV.219.

[53] U.N. doc. A/PV.219.

[54] *Ibid.*

in the light of prevailing sentiment expressed in the Assembly on particular phases of the problem.

That the Assembly was unable to reach a settlement last spring should occasion less surprise when the proportions and implications of the problem are squarely faced. Since it is being asked, in effect, to legislate on the disposition of sizable and important areas, the Assembly's ultimate decision may well be the wiser for the additional time needed to reach agreement. That decision will require the harmonizing of three broad and vital principles as originally laid down in annex XI of the Italian peace treaty. These are: (a) that due regard be shown for the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of the territories; (b) that the settlement be in the interests of peace and security; and (c) that the views of interested governments be adequately considered. The Governments of the Big Four, during their efforts to reach agreement, were, therefore, under a treaty injunction to be guided by those principles. The General Assembly is bound only by the Charter, and in chapter XI of that instrument there is a far more comprehensive statement of principles by which the Organization and its members are to be guided in dealing with problems affecting the peoples of non-self-governing territories. Thus, the treaty language on these points is reinforced and amplified by the Charter's "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" to which every member has subscribed and with which the Assembly, in dealing with the former Italian colonies question, must make every effort to square its final decision.

The task is enormously difficult, especially in the uncertain atmosphere prevailing in the world today. But if, as may be hoped, the General Assembly is able to achieve a sound and wholesome balance between these vitally important principles, without unduly subordinating any one of them to the others, it will have taken an historic step forward on the path of better international dealings and toward a stronger and more effective world organization for peace and security.

United Nations Releases Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East

The United Nations released in June a publication entitled *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1948*. The survey contains chapters on characteristics of Asian economy, population trends, and salient changes since the war; food and agriculture, industry and mining, transport, and labor; currency, banking, public finance, inflation and price movements; international trade, and balance of payments.

Copies of this publication (290 pp.) may be purchased from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York, for $2.00.

The U. S. in the U.N.

This feature will not appear in this or the next issue of the BULLETIN, but will be resumed after the opening of the General Assembly on September 20.

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Cablegram dated 11 March 1949 from the Acting Mediat to the Secretary-General transmitting the Text of general Cease-Fire Agreement between Israel a Transjordan. S/1284, March 11, 1949. 2 pp. mim

Letter dated 14 March 1949 from the Secretary-General the United Nations to the President of the Secur Council transmitting the First Progress Report of t United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palesti [A/819.] S/1290, March 14, 1949. 1 p. mimeo.

Cablegram dated 22 March 1949 from the Acting Med tor to the Secretary-General transmitting a Supp mentary Report on the Situation in the Southe Negev. S/1295, March 23, 1949. 4 pp. mimeo.

Letter dated 19 April 1949 from the Secretary-General the United Nations to the President of the Secur Council transmitting the Second Progress Report the United Nations Conciliation Commission Palestine. [A/838.] S/1310, April 20, 1949. 1 mimeo.

Letter dated 3 May 1949 from the Representative of Isr addressed to the President of the Security Cou transmitting a Report on the assassination of Co Folke Bernadotte and Colonel Andre Serot. S/13 May 3, 1949. 5 pp. mimeo.

Letter dated 21 June 1949 from the Secretary-General the President of the Security Council transmitt the Third Progress Report of the United Nations C ciliation Commission for Palestine. S/1341, June 1949. 1 p. mimeo.

[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United Sta from the International Documents Service, Columbia U versity Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Ot materials (mimeographed or processed documents) n be consulted at certain designated libraries in the Uni States.

S. Delegations to International Conferences

rth Session of UNESCO

)n September 2 the Department of State an-nced that President Truman has nominated United States Representatives and two Con-ssional Advisers to the Fourth Session of the ıeral Conference of the United Nations Educa-ıal, Scientific and Cultural Organization NESCO), scheduled to be held at Paris, Septem-19–October 5, 1949.

'he United States Representatives are:

rge V. Allen (Chairman of the U.S. Delegation), As-sistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Department of State

on S. Eisenhower (Vice Chairman), President, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas

her H. Evans, Librarian of Congress

tha B. Lucas, President, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia

nhold Niebuhr, Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York

'he Congressional Advisers are:

en McMahon, United States Senate

e Mansfield, House of Representatives

)ther members of the delegation, named by the partment of State, are the following:

ecial Advisers

s Arnall, President, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers of America; Former Governor of Georgia

il M. Gross, Vice President, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; President of Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Science

ward Hanson, Composer, Director, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York

lliam Hastie, Governor, Virgin Islands

ar Hild, President, Cincinnati Musicians Association; Executive Officer, American Federation of Musicians, AFL

c Johnston, President, Motion Picture Association of America

Earl J. McGrath, Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education

Stanley Ruttenberg, Director of Education and Research, CIO

George Stoddard, President of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

Gladys Tillett (Mrs. Charles W.), Vice Chairman, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

Advisers

Herbert J. Abraham, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

Arthur Compton, American Embassy, Paris

Kenneth Holland, American Embassy, Paris, Counselor for UNESCO Affairs

Max McCullough, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

Otis Mulliken, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Constance Roach, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

Special Assistant to the Chairman

Alice T. Curran, Office of Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Department of State

The draft agenda for the Fourth Session of the General Conference was prepared in accordance with the UNESCO constitution by the Executive Board of UNESCO at its meeting at Paris in June. Among approximately 20 agenda items are included: (1) the Director-General's report on the activities of UNESCO during 1949; (2) study of the reports presented by member states for 1949; (3) consideration of the recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission of new members; (4) discussion of the duties of the state in regard to education, science, and culture for the purpose of insuring a better understanding between peoples and the practical steps the state should take to discharge these duties; (5) adoption of the program and budget for 1950; (6) consideration of official and external relations of the organization, including liaison with member states and National Commissions and activities of

UNESCO in occupied territories; and (7) election of six members of the Executive Board.

The First Session of the UNESCO Conference was held at Paris in 1946, the Second at Mexico City in 1947, and the Third at Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948. Forty-seven member countries are entitled to send representatives to the Fourth Session.

The UNESCO program in the United States is largely the responsibility of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, established by law to advise the Department of State on matters relating to UNESCO. Milton S. Eisenhower is chairman of the National Commission, which is composed of representatives of 60 national organizations and about 40 other members selected as leaders in the fields of education, science, and culture.

Twenty-sixth Session International Statistical Institute

The Department of State announced on August 26 that Stuart A. Rice, Assistant Director in Charge of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, has been named chairman of the United States delegation to the twenty-sixth session of the International Statistical Institute. This meeting is scheduled to be held at Bern, September 3–10, 1949. Named to serve as advisers of the United States delegation are the following:

James P. Cavin, Head, Division of Statistical and Historical Research, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture
W. Edwards Deming, Adviser in Sampling, Division of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget
M. Joseph Meehan, Director, Office of Business Economics, Department of Commerce
Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Assistant Chief, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce
Samuel Weiss, Chief, Division of Employment Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

The International Statistical Institute is a nongovernmental professional organization of statisticians, maintaining a permanent office at The Hague. The objectives of the Institute include: (1) more rapid progress in developing the various branches of the science of statistics, (2) greater efficiency and economy in professional statistical organizations, and (3) greater service to the United Nations and its constituent organs and agencies.

The last session of the Institute, the twenty-fifth, was held at Washington, D.C., in September 1947.

Fourth International Congress of Neurology

The Department of State announced on August 31 that the United States will be represented at the Fourth International Congress of Neurology, scheduled to be held at Paris, September 5–10, 1949, by the following delegation:

Chairman

John F. Fulton, Sterling Professor of Physiology, Y University

Delegates

Pearce Bailey, Assistant Chief, Psychiatry and Neurol Division, Department of Medicine and Surgery, V erans Administration
Derek E. Denny-Brown, Professor of Neurology, Harv Medical School, Harvard University
Hannibal Hamlin, Commander, MCS, USNR, Consult in Neurological Surgery, United States Naval H pital, Chelsea, Massachusetts
Webb E. Haymaker, Armed Forces Institute of Patholo Representing the Air Surgeon, Department of Air Force
Stephen W. Ranson, Lt. Colonel, MC, U.S.A., Office of Surgeon General, Department of the Army
Seymour D. Vestermark, Medical Director, Chief, Tra ing and Standards Branch, National Institute Mental Health, Public Health Service
Harold G. Wolff, Associate Professor of Medicine, Cor University Medical College, Cornell University

The Neurology Congress is designed to bri together the principal neurologists, neurosurge and psychiatrists of the world. The program w consist of discussions of the following topics: (the thalmus and its pathology; (2) electroen phalography and electromyography; (3) ult virus maladies of the nervous system; and (pain surgery.

Previous congresses were held at Bern in 19 at London in 1938, and at Copenhagen in 19 This is the first meeting of this series at which United States Government has been officia represented.

Interparliamentary Union

On September 2 the Department of State nounced that the Congress of the United Sta will be represented at the XXXVIIIth Regu Conference of the Interparliamentary Union Stockholm, beginning September 6 and clos September 12. The Union is composed of tional groups of 42 nations having representat forms of government. Each national gro limited to members of parliament, possesses own organization, with its bylaws, officers, committees. Vice President of the United Sta Alben W. Barkley is president of the Uni States group, and every member of the Congr of the United States is *ipso facto* a member of group.

The United States group will be represented this year's conference by a joint Senate and Ho delegation; the majority left September 3. Se tor Homer E. Ferguson of Michigan will serve chairman of the delegation. The party inclu Congressmen Harold D. Cooley of North Ca lina; Robert Poage of Texas; Hale Boggs of L isiana; Albert Gore of Tennessee; Henry O. T of Iowa; Clifford R. Hope of Kansas; and Fra lin Dunham, executive secretary of the Ameri group.

The Congressmen will be joined in Europe later Senators Homer E. Ferguson; Estes Kefauver Tennessee; Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming; Owen ewster of Maine; and Raymond E. Baldwin of nnecticut; Congressmen John D. Dingell of chigan, and Daniel A. Reed of New York.

The object of the Interparliamentary Union is study all questions of an international character table for settlement by parliamentary action. e last conference of the Union, the XXXVIIth, s held at Rome in September 1948.

uncil Established by rth Atlantic Treaty To Convene

leased to the press August 31]

The Department of State announced on August that it has been agreed that the first session the Council established by the North Atlantic eaty will convene in Washington on September 1949. It is expected that the Foreign Ministers all parties to the treaty will attend.

Article 9

he Parties hereby establish a council, on which each hem shall be represented, to consider matters concern- the implementation of this Treaty. The council shall o organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be essary; in particular it shall establish immediately efense committee which shall recommend measures the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

puties on Austrian Treaty Reconvene in New York

leased to the press September 2]

Among 22 treaty articles discussed at the Aus- an treaty talks in London, the deputies have ched agreement on 13. The 9 still in disagree- nt include some of the most important issues, luding those on which Soviet demands for eco- nic advantages to be derived at Austria's ex- ise exceed the principles which had been agreed the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers.

Nevertheless, the Western deputies have voiced ir willingness to reconvene in New York for the rpose of continuing the treaty talks, after a re- s of 3 weeks. The Soviet representative, G. Zarubin, had no proposal to make on the subject, nor would he agree to the United States proposal to reconvene the deputies. In the end, Zarubin merely agreed to refer the United States proposal to Moscow.

The Soviets pretend to have made concessions in London but actually these involved no reduction whatever in their excessive claims. They were for the most part made at the expense of the Yugoslavs, in direct consequence of their relinquishment of Yugoslav claims at the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers.

Among the remaining articles in disagreement is the one on German assets in Austria (article 35). Under this article the Soviets are seeking to reserve to themselves war booty which they had previously agreed to relinquish, as well as the greater share of Austria's oil refining capacity and oil exploration areas, of which they were to have received only some 60 percent under the treaty document.

New Truce Proposal for Jammu and Kashmir Submitted

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press August 31*]

Since January 1, 1949, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, of which the United States is a member has been attempting to negotiate a truce agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan. These efforts to date have not been successful and the Commission, within the past few days, has submitted a new proposal to both governments for the settlement of the truce in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In view of the great interest of this government in the peace and stability of the subcontinent, the President has addressed a message to Prime Minister Nehru of India and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan urging that they accept the Commission's recent proposal for settlement of the truce issue.

CORRECTION

The title of Annex III under "The Franco-Italian Customs Union" in the BULLETIN of August 22, 1949, page 244, should read: "Decision Taken by the Contracting Parties at the First Session, Havana, March 20, 1948."

International Economic Policy

Address by President Truman[1]

I find that there is a good deal of misunderstanding and misinformation about our international economic policy. Some of this is deliberately stirred up by certain newspapers and politicians for political reasons. Some of it is due to the fact that the economic problems of the world seem to be distant from our daily lives and hard to understand.

World economic problems are undoubtedly complex. But their importance to us is very clear. World prosperity is necessary to world peace. Furthermore, world prosperity is necessary to our own prosperity in the United States. If these facts are kept in mind, it will be easier to understand what this country is trying to do.

In working for prosperity in the postwar world, the nations of the world face new problems—and greater ones than they have ever faced before. They are suffering from the terrible aftereffects of the war, which caused an almost complete breakdown of European industry and of world trade. There is also the rising demand of men all over the world for independence, and for a greater share of the good things of life which only a restored and expanding economic system can bring. Added to these two problems there is a third. That is the attempt of organized Communism to achieve economic and political domination of the world through the misuse of the desires and aspirations of mankind.

These problems require the combined efforts of the free nations. Together, we must repair the damage of war, complete the restoration of the economy of Europe, and revive world trade. We must go forward to establish an expanding worl economy in which men everywhere can work t satisfy their desire for freedom and a better lif We must demonstrate that the economic system c the free nations is better than the system of Com munism.

Mistakes After First World War

The free nations are determined to avoid th mistakes of the past. The roots of the preser economic problems go back to the First Worl War. After that war, the nations of the worl made the mistake of following narrow and shor sighted policies of economic nationalism. Eac country, working for its own selfish interest, trie to get the best of the others. Each nation erecte trade barriers to keep out the products of othe nations. Each nation tried to dump its own proc ucts in foreign markets.

These policies were self-defeating. The achieved neither national nor international pro perity. Instead, they helped to bring on the wor depression the world has ever seen.

Factories closed down all over the world. Ship lay idle in harbors. Surplus crops rotted in th fields. Unemployment grew, and hunger becam widespread.

In every country, there were hundreds of thou sands of young men and women without jobs an without hope for the future. Many of these youn people became the prey of unscrupulous dema gogues. They joined the Black Shirts of Ital and the Storm Troopers of Germany. They wer the tools of the Japanese militarists. In the en they marched to war under the bloody banners c those dictatorships.

[1] Made at the Annual Convention of the American Legion in Philadelphia, on Aug. 29, 1949, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

ternational Action During World War II

Before the end of World War II, we resolved ıt the international economic chaos which had l to war should not occur again. We knew that rmanent peace could not exist if the nations of ɜ world resumed the policy of dog-eat-dog.

Consequently, the United States joined with ıer nations to prepare for a peaceful economic rld. The International Monetary Fund was up to deal with exchange and monetary prob- ıs among nations. The International Bank was ablished to provide investment capital for re- ıstruction and development. In our proposals r a world trade organization, the United States tlined a method for breaking down the trade rriers which had strangled world commerce in ɜ period between the wars. As the war ended, made billions of dollars available to relieve fering and repair the damage of war.

These were good beginnings. Never before in tory had nations made such careful, long-range ıns for a better economic future.

Shortly after the war ended, however, it became parent that the economic life of the world was re badly disrupted than any one had expected.

stility of the Soviet Union

Still further difficulties were created when it ame clear that the Soviet Union would not join working for world economic recovery. The viet Union was hostile to European economic peration. It refused to join in the European covery Program, and prevented its satellites m joining. Its aggressive foreign policy cre- d alarms and fears that hampered recovery. every hand, there was evidence that the policy the Soviet Union was aimed at prolonging the tress and suffering of the free nations.

If we had been discouraged by these difficulties d had abandoned our efforts, the results would ve been disastrous. Once again the streets of rope would have been filled with crowds of ngry and hopeless men and women. Once ıin, unscrupulous agitators would have used se angry millions to create tyranny and very.

But the free nations did not let this happen. ɜ went ahead with our recovery programs. As esult, production has risen greatly in Europe. n and women there have jobs and food and a ief in the future. They know that the demo- tic way is the way of hope.

panding World Economy Needed

The free nations have overcome the danger of mediate postwar collapse, but we have not yet ıieved the sound and expanding world economy that is necessary for lasting prosperity and peace.

This larger task is the one that now confronts us.

The free nations have the resources and the means to accomplish that task.

Together, they have most of the industrial capacity of the world. They have vast supplies of raw materials. They have industrious and skillful populations. The free nations together have all the elements necessary to provide a better way of life for mankind. What is needed is to draw these elements together into a continually expanding and productive international economy.

Such a world economy is vital, not only to the cause of world peace, but also to our own national prosperity and security. We in the United States depend upon foreign countries for many vital minerals and other raw materials. Without foreign trade, many of our industries would suffer. Without foreign trade, for example, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for us to develop atomic energy. Moreover, we need to sell many things abroad. Our cotton, our wheat, and our tobacco, for example, must have foreign markets. Our prosperity would be seriously damaged if the export of our products were cut off.

We cannot, therefore, fall back into economic isolationism. Instead, we must take every action we can to bring about more trade, expanding markets, and growth and development in other countries as well as our own.

Difficulties Faced

One of the most serious difficulties we face is the fact that, at present, foreign nations need to buy more things from us than we need to buy from them. They have called upon us for food and raw materials in unprecedented amounts. Furthermore, many countries need equipment and machinery, which only we can supply, if they are to develop their own resources and raise their own standards of living.

The urgent demand which foreign countries have for these things far exceeds their present capacity to pay for them. As a result, world trade is now seriously out of balance.

We have both short-range and long-range plans for meeting these difficulties. We will continue the European Recovery Program as our principal means of meeting emergency needs for the next 3 years. At the same time, we are moving ahead with long-range measures.

We are encouraging American business to make productive investments abroad in increasing volume. Through such investments, foreign countries—particularly underdeveloped areas—will be able to obtain the equipment they so desperately need.

We are also planning to help the people in underdeveloped areas learn modern industrial and agricultural methods. By this means, they will be able to double and redouble their production. By

this means, they will be able to make an increased contribution to an expanding world economy and a balanced world trade.

In addition, we must continue our well-established policy of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements in order to reduce barriers to international trade. These agreements enable us to buy more from other nations at the same time that they help to maintain new markets abroad for our products. We must increase our buying abroad if we are to achieve a balanced world trade.

Furthermore, we are encouraging closer regional ties among nations in order to lower trade barriers and increase production.

The nations of Europe, under the stimulus of our aid, are working toward closer ties of economic union. Already, through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, they have begun to make joint decisions that affect their basic economic policies. In the Council of Europe, now meeting at Strasbourg, more far-reaching measures of European union are being considered.

Closer economic union means a difficult period of transition for the countries that enter into it, but it is essential for a better world. The United States will do what it can to aid the European nations to achieve greater unity.

As we go ahead with these long-range measures for a stable and growing world economy, we shall have to adjust our actions to changing conditions. We shall need to be alert to new developments, and turn to advantage every possible resource.

Discussions of Economic Problems With U.K. and Canada

We shall be concerned in the months immediately ahead with certain special and urgent problems arising out of the present unbalanced state of world trade. Representatives of the United Kingdom and Canada will soon be here to discuss some of these problems. We look upon these talks as discussions among friends about problems which affect all of us, and in the solution of which we all have a common interest. The people of this country are well aware of what the war meant to Great Britain and of the stresses and strains which have been laid upon the British people in recent years. The representatives of the United Kingdom will find here a warm personal welcome and may be assured that these mutual problems will be examined by us in a spirit of friendliness and helpfulness.

Principles for an Economic Policy of Free Nations

In our discussions with the representatives of the United Kingdom and Canada, as in our approach to problems with other nations, we must ke clearly in mind the basic underlying princip upon which the economic policy of the free n tions must be based.

The first principle which we should clear understand is that a sound and expanding wor economy is essential to world peace. Intern tional economic discussions revolve around su prosaic things as tobacco and rubber and rates interest and the value of currencies. But, behi all these, lie the great objectives of satisfying t material and spiritual needs of mankind and p serving democratic freedom.

The second principle which should be clear understood is that we are trying to expand t exchange of goods and services among natio Sound and prosperous relations among natio rest upon the exchange of goods and services a business basis. We are not engaged in a cha table enterprise. We are not looking for tr solutions to deep-seated problems.

The third principle is that we cannot succeed creating a sound and expanding world econo unless we keep everlastingly at it. There are tim no doubt, when we shall become impatient or a noyed by delays and obstacles. But we can throw in our hand and walk out of the game. N can any other nation afford to do so. The pa of mutual adjustment and combined economic fort is not an easy one. The economic interests nations are not easily reconciled. No group c get all it wants. But there is no other way to t solution of our difficulties than the way of mut concession and cooperation.

The fourth principle is that the democratic n tions are not proposing to interfere with c another's internal politics. We know very w how we would feel if some foreign nation tried tell us how to vote. We recognize that each nati has its own political problems and that it uses d ferent political labels and different slogans fr those we use at home. In the same way, natio have different business practices and differe governmental devices for achieving the same e nomic ends.

A community of democratic nations cannot ex on uniformity in matters of politics or busine The only uniformity on which they can insis and this is what binds them together as free n tions—is a firm adherence to democracy, coup with a common desire to improve the standard living of all their citizens.

On the basis of these four principles, the f nations of the world can solve the difficulties wh confront them. On the basis of these princip they can achieve their goal of a sound and expa ing world economy.

There is one more thing for us, as Americans, remember. Our country is the most import economic unit in the world today. The future the world depends upon the continuation of c own economic growth and development. If

continue to increase our national income, and ise our standards of living, the solution of in- ational economic problems will be far less ult.

very one of us has a responsibility in building aceful world. We can contribute to that cause ur daily lives, in our jobs, in our thinking. contribute to peace when we work for the pros- y and growth of the United States. We con- ute to peace when we reject the claims of those h interests, here and abroad, that would turn gainst the cause of international cooperation. contribute to peace when we ask for Divine ance and help for the efforts of mankind to olish understanding and good will among the ons of the world.

A Gets Powerful New dium-Wave Relay in Munich

ased to the press August 31]

oice of America broadcasts in Europe will be gthened, beginning September 1, with the ad- n to its relay facilities of a new high-powered um-wave relay station, located in Munich.

e new station is designed to provide a power- edium wave relay outlet for Voice of America rams into all parts of Europe including pean Russia and the satellite regions. It will augment the present coverage of these areas e short-wave relays of the "Voice."

e new transmitter will start its schedule by ing "Voice" programs for 12½ hours daily ng the peak listening hours in Europe. In r hours, it will be used to supplement the dcasts of the Armed Forces Network in pe which has a large local audience in addi- to its GI listeners.

e new station has a power of 150 kilowatts, h is considerably increased in terms of effec- radiated power through use of special anten- and other technical improvements. It has running tests for some weeks, with reports of y good" reception from many points in pe.

uring these tests, reports indicate that Russian dcasting stations have attempted to "jam" the transmitter, but these efforts have proved only ially successful.

arles W. Thayer, head of the Department's rnational Broadcasting Division, said the new smitter is not intended and cannot be consid- the answer to the Russian jamming campaign. e majority of the Soviet audience, he pointed is accustomed to short-wave listening. Distances are so great in Russia, and the population so dispersed, that the Russians themselves use short wave, with its greater range, to reach most areas of the Soviet Union. Thus, to keep their own people from hearing our programs, they must jam our short-wave transmissions. The Soviet jamming campaign, which began on a large scale on April 24 and which now uses over 250 "sky wave" and several hundred "ground wave" transmitters, is still extremely effective, and further counterjamming measures by the Voice of America are planned.

Construction of the new transmitter was part of the normal expansion program of the International Broadcasting Division and would have entered into operation even if the Soviet Government had not seen fit to try to blanket all VOA and BBC broadcasts to Russia.

Until the new station was completed, Voice of America programs originating in this country were relayed full or part time by more than 20 transmitters in various parts of Europe, a great majority of them short wave. The new Munich transmitter was intended to provide a strong, medium-wave signal and thus to expand the listening audience beyond owners of short-wave sets.

The new Munich transmitter will operate on 1195 kilocycles, 251 meters. It will relay Voice of America broadcasts each day from 3:30 p. m. G. m. t. (11:30 a. m., e. d. t.) to 4:00 a. m. G. m. t. (midnight e. d. t.). These are considered the best listening hours in Europe. During this period it will broadcast 15 minutes each in Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak and German (to Austria); 30 minutes each in Slovene, Hungarian, Rumanian, Polish and Spanish; 45 minutes in English, 1 hour in Italian and 6 hours Russian, much of the last being recorded repeats to counteract jamming.

Italy Presents Bronze Equestrian Sculptural Group

The Department of State and the Department of the Interior announced in a joint statement on August 26 that final completion of the equestrian sculptural groups for the Arlington Memorial Bridge Plaza, Washington, D.C., the design for which was approved in 1931, may be made possible as the result of the offer of the Italian Government to cast the groups in bronze in Italy and present them to the United States as a gesture of good will and as a token of the gratitude of the people of Italy to the American people.

The offer, made in a communication to the Secretary of State by the Chargé d'Affaires of the Italian Embassy in Washington, has been transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior and is in process of being accepted.

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Contributors

David W. Wainhouse and *Philip A. Mangano*, authors of the article on the former Italian oclonies, are officers in the Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State. Mr. Wainhouse is Associate Chief of the Division; Mr. Mangano is a specialist on international security affairs.

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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EECE AND THE UNITED NATIONS, 1946-49

MMARY ACCOUNT

arry N. Howard

neral

ce 1946–47, the United States has been con-
l with the problem of threats to the political
endence and territorial integrity of Greece.
ıgh the United Nations it has sought to pre-
the integrity of Greece against the actions
' northern neighbors and to find some solu-
f the problems therein involved. Through
l missions, American Aid to Greece and the
mic Cooperation Administration, it has
t to help Greece to regain the capacity to
with the Communist attempt to overthrow
nstitutional system in Greece, and to assist
country along the road toward social and
nic reconstruction.

ıe Greek Problem
Security Council, 1946–47

ERATION OF THE GREEK PROBLEM IN THE
TY COUNCIL

Security Council first considered the prob-
Greece as a result of a letter of the repre-
ive of the U.S.S.R. on January 21, 1946 under
35 of the Charter which charged that the
ce of British troops in Greece was a threat
ernational peace and security.[1] Since no
ition was made on the part of the Security
il, however, to agree with the Soviet thesis,
ırge was not sustained. The Greek question
efore the Security Council for a second time
gust 1947 as a result of a cable from the
ıian Minister of Foreign Affairs on August
46, under article 34 of the Charter which
charged this time that the policy of the Greek Government had produced a situation in the Balkans endangering international peace and security. The question was discussed between August 28 and September 30, 1946, but once more the Security Council declined to accept the Soviet thesis.

Since December 1946, the United Nations has been especially concerned with the problems of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece. The problem of Greece was brought to the attention of the Security Council for the third time when, on December 3, 1946, the representative of Greece, under articles 34 and 35 (1) of the Charter, requested that the Security Council give early consideration to a situation which, it was charged, was leading to friction between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other. The Greek Government declared that the guerrilla movement in Greece was receiving support from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, that groups of men were trained for guerrilla activities in Greece, and that foreign assistance had been given to the guerrillas.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION

On December 19 the Security Council unanimously approved a resolution establishing a Commission of Investigation [2] on which the 11 members of that body were represented and to which liaison representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia were attached. This Commission which was to make an on-the-spot investigation in order to ascertain the facts as to the disturbed situation along the northern frontiers of Greece,

details see *The United Nations and the Problem of* Department of State publication 2909, pp. 1–3.

[2] For the work of this Commission see particularly U.N. doc. S/360: *Report by the Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents to the Security Council*, May 23, 1947, vs. I–III; and *The United Nations and the Problem of Greece*, cited, pp. 3–26.

signed its report in Geneva on May 23, 1947. Among other things, it found that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia had, in fact, been assisting the Greek guerrilla movement, as charged, and it proposed that the Security Council recommend that the four parties concerned do their best to establish normal and good neighborly relations, abstain from any action likely to maintain or increase the tension in the frontier region, and refrain from any support of elements in neighboring countries aiming at the overthrow of the lawful governments of those countries. Secondly, the Commission proposed that the four parties enter into new frontier conventions along the lines of the Greek-Bulgarian convention of 1931. It was also suggested that a body be established to investigate frontier violations or complaints, use its good offices, make studies and investigations, and report to the Security Council. Finally it was suggested that the proposed commission study the question of international refugees and the practicability of the voluntary transfer of minorities.

The representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Poland, who held the Government of Greece solely responsible for the troubled situation along the northern frontiers, subscribed neither to the conclusions of the Commission nor to its recommendations.

III. The General Assembly and the Problem of Greece, 1947–49

THE QUESTION OF THE "THREAT TO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF GREECE," SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 1947

The Security Council discussed the Greek problem during June, July, and August 1947, but because of five Soviet vetoes, it was unable to reach any decision. The question was taken off the agenda of the Security Council on September 15 on the motion of the United States representative, and on September 23 the General Assembly decided to place the question of "threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece" on its agenda.[3] On October 21, 1947, the General Assembly, by a vote of 40 to 6, with 11 abstentions, approved a resolution establishing the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, with representatives of 11 nations, although the U.S.S.R. and Poland refused to serve, and endowed it with powers of observation and conciliation, in general accord with the recommendations of original Commission of Investigation. Alba Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia were called upon fo with to cease giving assistance to the Greek g rilla movement and Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia were called upon to cooperate in settlement of their disputes by peaceful me To that end it was recommended that the parties concerned:

(1) Establish normal diplomatic and g neighborly relations among themselves as as possible;

(2) Establish frontier conventions provi for effective machinery for the regulation and trol of their common frontiers and the pa settlement of frontier incidents and disputes;

(3) Cooperate in the settlement of the prob arising out of the presence of refugees in the states concerned;

(4) Study the practicability for conclu agreements for the voluntary transfer of norities.[4]

THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS, 1947–48

The United Nations Special Committee o Balkans, composed of the active representati Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom the United States, began its work in Gree November 1947, and has continued to sit in country, either in Salonika (December 1947– 1948) or in Athens (July 1948–49).

In its first report to the General Asse signed at Geneva on June 30, 1948, the S

[3] For convenient reference see *The General Assembly and the Problem of Greece*, The Department of State *Bulletin Supplement*, Dec. 7, 1947.

[4] For text see *Ibid.*, pp. 1121–1122, and resoluti (II).

[5] See U.N. doc. A/574: *Report of the United N Special Committee on the Balkans*, p. 36. The Committee had previously submitted two interim to the Secretary-General, on Dec. 31, 1947 (U.N A/521) and Jan. 10, 1948 (U.N. doc. A/522). F venience these reports, together with that of Ju 1948, may be found in *Documents and State Paper* tember 1948, pp. 373–375, and 376–412. It may noted that a supplementary report of the Specia mittee on the Balkans was signed on Sept. 10, 194 doc. A/644) and an interim report was signed on 1948 (U.N. doc. A/692). The supplementary rep the third interim report which gave further deta confirmed the conclusions reached on June 30, 194 be found respectively in *Documents and State* September 1948, pp. 413–423, and January 1949, p 608.

mittee unanimously reached a number of usions. Although it had consistently endeav- to establish normal diplomatic and good ıborly relations between Greece and its north- eighbors, only the Government of Greece co- ıted with it in any way. Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia not only refused to cooperate with t also refused to recognize it as a legitimate of the United Nations. The Special Com- e was therefore unable substantially to assist our governments concerning (1) the establish- of normal relations, (2) frontier conventions, olitical refugees, and (4) voluntary transfer inorities. It was evident to the Committee good neighborly relations did not exist be- ı Greece and her northern neighbors. More- it appeared to the Special Committee that the k guerrillas were receiving assistance from nia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. Because of haracter and scale of the support, it was the of the Special Committee that it had been "with the knowledge of the Governments of nia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia." The Com- e was convinced that as long as the situation the northern frontiers indicated such sup- a threat to the political independence and orial integrity of Greece would exist and in- tional peace and security in the Balkans l be endangered. Despite the refusal of the ern neighbors of Greece to cooperate with e Special Committee was also convinced that uld be possible to assist the four governments rned toward a peaceful settlement in the est of all if Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugo- ı, like Greece, were prepared to act in accord- with the resolution of October 21, 1947, and e spirit of the United Nations Charter.

e Special Committee made a number of mendations in its report of June 30, 1948. irst of these stated that as long as the dis- d conditions continued it was essential that ency of the United Nations be entrusted with unctions of "exercising vigilance" along the ern frontiers of Greece and of endeavoring to about a peaceful settlement. It also rec- ended that the General Assembly consider s and means of obtaining the cooperation of nia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with the Spe- Committee."

r a summary of the discussion see "The Problem ece in the General Assembly," *Documents and State* , January 1949.

THE THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE GREEK PROBLEM, 1948

The General Assembly again considered the Greek question at its third session in Paris in the autumn of 1948.[6] After a long discussion, by a vote of 47 to 6, with no abstentions, on November 27, 1948, the General Assembly adopted a resolution continuing the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans with clarified terms of reference concerning its work of observation and conciliation. The General Assembly took note of the conclusions of the Special Committee as to the assistance of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia to the Greek guerrillas and that a continuation of this situation constituted a threat to the independence and integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans and that the conduct of these countries had been "inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations." A second resolution, unanimously approved, also recommended resumption of diplomatic relations between Greece and her northern neighbors, the drafting or renewal of frontier conventions, and the settlement of the refugee problem. Finally, the General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution concerning the repatriation of some 25 thousand Greek children who had been removed primarily to the territories of the northern neighbors of Greece.

It should also be noted that the First Committee (Political and Security) of the General Assembly, on November 10, 1948, established a "Conciliation Committee" under the chairmanship of Dr. H. V. Evatt, President of the General Assembly, to explore methods and procedure with the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia, looking toward a settlement of their difficulties. By the close of the session in December, draft agreements had been prepared and Dr. Evatt had reported some progress, especially as to the possible establishment of mixed frontier commissions and the drafting of frontier conventions, although the Albanian Government refused to sign any agreement unless Greece gave a formal renunciation to her long-standing claim to northern Epirus, and the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments refused to sign unless the Albanian Government signed. Subsequently, during the second part of the third session at New York, the Greek Government, on May 11, 1949, substantially accepted Dr. Evatt's proposals, but no reply was received from the other governments concerned.

Meanwhile the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans continued its work although it suspended its conciliation role until the "Conciliation Committee" headed by Dr. Evatt had terminated its work and submitted a report. In its unanimous report to the fourth session of the General Assembly [7] signed on August 2, 1949, in Athens, the Special Committee notes that "Albania is the principal source of material assistance" to the Greek guerrillas. The report declares that Albanian support has been "vital to the continuance of the Greek guerrilla movement since all the main guerrilla concentrations are found on the Albanian frontier." [8] It also points out that Bulgaria has continued to assist the Greek guerrillas, moral assistance to whom has been openly proclaimed by the Bulgarian Government.[9]

On the other hand, it is indicated that Yugoslav assistance has recently declined if it has not ceased, following the Yugoslav-Cominform rift in 1948, and note is made of Marshal Tito's speech of July 10, 1949, concerning closure of the Greek–Yugoslav frontier.[10] The report stresses the very important assistance of Rumania to the Greek guerrillas, including the fact that the "Free Greece" radio has been moved from the neighborhood of Belgrade to the vicinity of Bucharest, and states that this assistance—together with that of the other Soviet satellites, points toward "the existence of a highly coordinated system of support" to the Greek guerrilla movement.[11] As the report declares, on a number of occasions the Greek guerrillas have openly acknowledged their foreign support, as stated by the Greek Communist Party itself on January 30–31, 1949, when it proclaimed "in the Popular Democracies we found great and wholehearted support without which we could not have made progress." [12]

Among other things, the report calls attention to the fact that none of the approximately 25 thousand Greek children removed from Greece to the territories of her northern neighbors during 1948 have been returned to Greece in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly on November 27, 1948. Nevertheless, thousands Greek children, contrary to the spirit of that re lution, have been transferred from one Sov satellite state to another.[13] Moreover "in vio tion of fundamental humanitarian princip some of these children, both boys and girls adolescent age, have been sent back to Greece fight in the ranks of the guerrillas." [14] The port outlines the conciliatory efforts of the Spe Committee, noting that its conciliatory role suspended for 5 months during 1949 to avoid du cating the efforts of the Conciliation Commit of which Dr. H. V. Evatt was chairman.[15] Special Committee, however, immediately resu this role after the termination of Dr. Evatt's tivities. Although the Soviet Union and Pol refused to cooperate in the work of the Spe Committee and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugosl refused to cooperate or even to recognize it, d ments of the Committee were sent regularl these governments, and the Committee remai available to assist Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia in the solution of their difficultie

The report concludes that "the continuanc the present situation 'constitutes a threat to political independence and territorial integ of Greece and to peace in the Balkans' ", reaff ing conclusions which the Special Committee reached in 1948. The report contains no re mendations which are to be the subject of a sup mentary report before the General Assembly t up the Greek problem in the autumn of 1949.

TEXT OF REPORT OF U. N. SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS

General Assembly Official Records:
Fourth Session
Supplement No. 8 (A/935)

Chapter I. Creation, Function and Organizatio of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans

A. THE GREEK QUESTION BEFORE THE THIRD REGUL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The six annexes that appe Supplement No. 8 (A/935) are not printed here; an 3, 4, and 5 will, however, appear in a separate pr Dr. Howard's article and the report. The separat will include a complete chronology of the Greek case 1946 to the present.]

[7] See U.N. doc. A/935: *Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans*, pp. 1–25, with four maps.

[8] *Ibid.*, par. 56.

[9] *Ibid.*, pars. 88–139.

[10] *Ibid.*, pars. 41, 52, and 152.

[11] *Ibid.*, par. 145.

[12] *Ibid.*, par. 67.

[13] *Ibid.*, par. 136.

[14] *Ibid.*, par. 144.

[15] *Ibid.*, pars. 27, 31, 33, and annex 5.

1. The problem of Greece has been one of the nost persistent confronting the United Nations. When it came before the Security Council for the hird time in the year 1946, a Commission of Inestigation was established to ascertain the causes nd the nature of the border violations and disurbances reported along the northern frontiers of Greece. The Security Council was unable, howver, to reach any decision[1] and finally, on 15 September 1947, removed the question from its genda. The problem was immediately submitted y the United States of America to the General Assembly at its second regular session under the itle "Threats to the political independence and erritorial integrity of Greece". On 21 October 947, after prolonged debate, the General Assemly adopted, by 40 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions, esolution 109 (II),[2] the terms of which were imilar in many respects to the proposals conained in the report of the Security Council's Comission of Investigation.[3] This resolution estabshed the United Nations Special Committee on e Balkans to assist Greece on the one hand, and lbania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other, to chieve a peaceful solution of their disputes and to bserve their compliance with the recommendaons of the General Assembly.

2. In accordance with its mandate the Special Committee reported[4] to the General Assembly hich, at the first part of its third regular session eld in Paris, again debated the question of Greece great length. On 27 November 1948, by 47 otes to 6, with no abstentions, the General Asembly adopted resolution 193 (III) A,[5] which aintained the Special Committee in being with s functions of conciliation and observation, conrming in more explicit terms the substance of the solution of 1947 and supplementing it by the troduction of new elements.

3. In 1947 the General Assembly had limited self, in the preface of its resolution, to noting that e Commission of Investigation had found "by a ajority vote" that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoavia had given assistance and support to the errillas fighting against the Greek Government.[6] 1948, however, the General Assembly was more explicit. It noted the unanimous conclusions of the Special Committee that the Greek guerrillas had "continued to receive aid and assistance on a large scale from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, with the knowledge of the Governments of those countries"; that the guerrillas in the frontier zones had "been largely dependent on external supply", had "frequently moved at will in territory across the frontier for tactical reasons" and had "frequently retired safely into the territory of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia when the Greek Army exerted great pressure".[7] The General Assembly noted further the Special Committee's conclusion that the continued aid given by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia "endangers peace in the Balkans and is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".[8]

4. Similarly, while in 1947 the General Assembly had simply called upon "Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to do nothing which would furnish aid and assistance to the said guerrillas"[9] the injunction was made more positive in November 1948 when Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were called upon "to cease forthwith rendering any assistance or support in any form to the guerrillas in fighting against the Greek Government, including the use of their territories as a base for the preparation or launching of armed action".[10]

5. In 1948, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were called upon "to co-operate with Greece in the settlement of their dispute by peaceful means" in accordance with the original recommendations of 1947. These recommendations were:

"(1) That they establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations among themselves as soon as possible;

"(2) That they establish frontier conventions providing for effective machinery for the regulation and control of their common frontiers and for the pacific settlement of frontier incidents and disputes,

"(3) That they co-operate in the settlement of the problems arising out of the presence of refugees in the four States concerned through voluntary repatriation wherever possible and that they take effective measures to prevent the participation of such refugees in political or military activity;

"(4) That they study the practicability of concluding agreements for the voluntary transfer of minorities."[11]

6. In addition to calling upon the three Governments concerned to cease rendering aid to the guerrillas, the General Assembly recommended

[1] For report of the Commission of Investigation, see S/-0; for summary of Security Council proceedings, see /366, pp. 24–32.

[2] For the texts of resolutions adopted during the second d third regular sessions of the General Assembly on 21 tober 1947, 10 November 1948 and 27 November 1948, e annex 1 to the present report. [EDITOR'S NOTE: r references to annex 1, see the following: resolution 109 I), adopted Oct. 21, 1947, see BULLETIN of Oct. 26, 1947, 823; Resolution Establishing a Conciliation Committee, opted on Nov. 10, 1948, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1948, 698; resolution 193 (III) parts A, B, and C, adopted Nov. 27, 1948, see BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1948, p. 697, and LLETIN of Dec. 12, 1948, p. 722.]

[3] See S/360, pp. 248–251.

[4] A/574, A/644, A/692.

[5] Annex 1, res. 193 (III) A.

[6] *Ibid.*, res. 109 (II), par. 3.

[7] Annex 1, res. 193 (III) A, par. 2.

[8] *Ibid.*, par. 5.

[9] *Ibid.*, res. 109 (II), par. 4.

[10] *Ibid.*, res. 193 (III) A, par. 6.

[11] *Ibid.*, res. 109 (II), par. 5.

"to all Members of the United Nations and to all other States that their Governments refrain from any action designed to assist directly or through any other Government any armed group fighting against the Greek Government".[12]

7. The Special Committee was not only maintained in being with the functions of conciliation and observation conferred upon it by the resolution of 1947, but express authorization was also given to continue to utilize the observation groups[13] which had been established by the Special Committee early in 1948 to enable it to carry out its task of observing and reporting on the response of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the injunction of the General Assembly not to furnish aid to the Greek guerrillas.[14]

8. Furthermore, the Special Committee was authorized, in assisting the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to implement the two resolutions,[15] to appoint at its discretion and "utilize the services and good offices of one or more persons whether or not members of the Special Committee".[16]

9. The General Assembly, on 27 November 1948, adopted unanimously two further resolutions concerning the Greek question but these did not mention the Special Committee. The first not only recommended to Albania and Bulgaria on the one hand 'and Greece on the other' the resumption of diplomatic relations and to all four Governments concerned the renewal or drafting of frontier conventions and the settlement of the refugee problem, but also requested that they inform the Secretary-General at the end of six months on the fulfilment of these recommendations.[17]

10. The second resolution recommended the repatriation, through the medium of national and international Red Cross organizations, "of Greek children at present away from their homes, when the children, their father or mother, or in his or her absence, their closest relative, express a wish to that effect".[18] This resolution originated from the anxiety expressed by the Special Committee in its report concerning the removal of a large number of Greek children from Greece to other countries, a fact which is considered a serious obstacle to the re-establishment of good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours.[19]

[12] *Ibid.*, res. 193 (III) A, par. 9.

[13] See annex 3 for a brief survey of the Special Committee's organization of the observation group system.

[14] Annex 1, res. 109 (II) and 193 (III) A, par. 10.

[15] *Ibid.*, res. 109 (II) and 193 (III) A.

[16] *Ibid.*, res. 193 (III) A, par. 10.

[17] *Ibid.*, B; see also A/C.1/358/Corr. 1. The reports submitted by the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to the Secretary-General have been reproduced as A/AC.16/737, A/AC.16/780, A/AC.16/741 and A/AC.16/758 respectively.

[18] Annex 1, res. 193 (III) C.

[19] A/574, pars. 121–122.

B. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

11. The Special Committee's work has now continued without interruption since November 1947. During that period the Special Committee has consisted of representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

12. The Special Committee regrets that the Governments of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have not, as yet, appointed representatives to the seats held open for them. On 11 January 1949, the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General to invite the attention of those Governments to the fact that, since the Special Committee had been continued in being with the functions conferred on it by resolution 109 (II), seats were still held open for their representatives, and expressed its hope that those Governments would see fit to participate in the work of the Special Committee.[20]

13. On 2 February 1949, the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that the attitude of his Government on this question had already been stated by its representative to the General Assembly.[21] No response from the Government of Poland was received. At the first part of the third regular session of the General Assembly in Paris, both Governments had repeated their point of view of the previous year that the Special Committee was "illegal".[22] However, copies of all Special Committee documents have been transmitted regularly to the two Governments.[23]

14. In order to fulfil its two functions of conciliation and observation, the Special Committee established two Sub-Committees, the first to deal with the work of the observation groups,[24] the second to handle political questions.[25]

15. Before drafting the present report, the Special Committee decided to make a detailed inspection of the frontier areas.[26] Accordingly, in May 1949, three *ad hoc* committees, each composed of three delegations, toured the frontier areas of Greece facing Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria respectively, and presented preliminary survey at a meeting of the Special Committee held on 2 May 1949 in Salonika, the headquarters of the

[20] A/AC.16/W.78; A/AC.16/SR.133, pp. 5–6; see par. 9 of res. 109 (II).

[21] A/AC.16/597; see A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.43.

[22] See *Official Records of the third session of the General Assembly, Part I, Plenary Meetings*, pp. 94–9 and p. 121.

[23] In addition, the Special Committee has provided the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia with all unrestricted documents.

[24] For details of the observation group system, see annex 3.

[25] A/AC.16/555; A/AC.16/SR.134.

[26] A/AC.16/SC.1/62; A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.62.

ecial Committee's observation group system.[27] addition, individual members of various delegations have made frequent visits to Salonika and servation group bases.

16. On 13 April 1949, the Special Committee formed the Secretary-General that it had decided, for political and conciliatory reasons and in cordance with established precedent, to draft its port outside the territory of any interested party. e Special Committee considered that under ragraph 11 of its terms of reference it had auority to decide where best it could perform its sk and accordingly, under paragraph 13, reested the Secretary-General to provide the necesry facilities.[28] On 3 May 1949, the Secretaryeneral replied regretting that he could not accede the Committee's wishes and citing the mandary language of resolution 231 (III) of the Genl Assembly which made it impossible except for e most compelling reasons to authorize travel any United Nations organ away from its regular adquarters.[29]

17. Consequently, the Special Committee reined in Athens, while making all reservations regards the reasons for and the consequences the attitude taken by the Secretary-General.[30]

apter II. Conciliatory Role of the United tions Special Committee on the Balkans

ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALBANIA, LGARIA, GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA WARDS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Introduction

18. The Special Committee has always recogzed the primary importance of its function of nciliation.

19. Although the failure of the Governments of bania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to recognize the ecial Committee in 1948 [31] prevented its assistg these countries to co-operate with Greece in tling their dispute by peaceful means [32], the eneral Assembly resolution of 27 November 48, adopted by 47 votes to 6, again called upon bania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate, d upon Greece to continue to co-operate, with e Committee in carrying out its functions.[33]

2. Efforts of the Special Committee to obtain the co-operation of the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia

20. On 20 December 1948, at its first public meeting after the adjournment of the General Assembly in Paris, the Special Committee received an assurance from the Greek liaison representative of his Government's continued wholehearted co-operation.[34] The Greek Liaison Service has made a representative continuously available to the Special Committee and has provided liaison officers for its observation groups. The Greek Government's co-operative spirit has been generally manifest.

21. Aware of the urgent need of similar co-operation from the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to enable it to fulfil its task, the Special Committee, on 17 January 1949, earnestly requested the co-operation of those Governments and expressed the hope that they would attach representatives to the Special Committee in the capacity of liaison officers.[35]

22. No co-operation was received by the Special Committee from Albania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. No liaison officers were made available. Only the Government of Bulgaria replied.[36]

3. The Special Committee's efforts to obtain co-operation regarding specific incidents

23. In spite of the refusal of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to recognize the Special Committee as a legitimate organ of the United Nations, the Special Committee hoped to find an opportunity for conciliation in a narrower field in connexion with some of the many complaints received by the Secretary-General from those countries of border violations alleged to have been committed by Greek Government forces.[37]

24. All such allegations were immediately forwarded to the appropriate observation group for investigation. On one occasion, for example, United Nations observers examined, so far as they were able within Greek territory, a typical series of Bulgarian allegations that Greek troops had fired into, and mortar bombs had fallen on, Bul-

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[27] A/AC.16/SR.157; A/AC.16/711.

[28] Annex 1, res. 193 (III) A; A/AC.16/649; A/AC.16/650; AC.16/SR.149; A/AC.16/SR.150.

[29] A/AC.16/681.

[30] A/AC.16/SR.154.

[31] The same attitude was maintained in the General Asmbly debates leading up to the adoption of the resoluns of 27 November 1948. See especially *Official Records the third session of the General Assembly, Part I, rst Committee*, pp. 294–301 and 329–337; *Plenary Meetgs*, pp. 104 and 318–325, for the attitudes of Bulgaria, bania and Yugoslavia respectively.

[32] See A/574, pars. 28–39 and 63; A/644, par. 67.

[33] Annex 1, res. 193 (III) A, par. 8.

[34] A/AC.16/SR.131, p. 2.

[35] A/AC.16/556/rev. 1; A/AC.16/SR.134. The desirability of this had become still more apparent to the Special Committee as a result of criticism leveled at its work during the debates of the third session of the General Assembly in Paris, much of which might have been avoided if all the Governments concerned had attached liaison officers to the Special Committee.

[36] In a letter to the Secretary-General dated 26 February 1949 (A/AC.16/612). A clear expression of the non-cooperative attitude of the Governments of Albania and Yugoslavia may, however, be found in their reports to the Secretary-General regarding res. 193 (III) B, A/AC.16/737 and A/AC.16/758 respectively. See also A/AC.16/566 for another expression of Yugoslav views.

[37] For a complete list and brief analysis of alleged border violations of Greek territory by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and of Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav territories by Greece, brought to the attention of the Special Committee between October 1948 and June 1949, see A/AC.16/W.91 and ch. III, pars. 57–58 below.

garian territory and that a Bulgarian frontier guard had been wounded by fire from Greek territory.[38] Two of these incidents had been the subjects of unsuccessful meetings between Bulgarian and Greek officers which had produced recrimination on both sides.

25. The Special Committee accepted the observers' recommendation that a meeting be held, in the presence of observers, between Bulgarian and Greek frontier authorities in order to clarify the facts. However, its proposal to the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs for such a meeting brought no result.[39] On numerous other occasions observation groups attempted in vain to attend meetings held between Greek and Bulgarian and between Greek and Yugoslav frontier authorities concerning alleged frontier violations. Nevertheless, the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia continued to submit to the Secretary-General complaints of violations of their borders by Greece.

B. EFFORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO ASSIST THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The problem of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other

(*a*) Effect of the Conciliation Committee on the work of the Special Committee

26. During the first part of the third regular session of the General Assembly the First Committee attempted to establish direct contact between the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia. To this end the First Committee, on 10 November 1948, unanimously approved a resolution asking the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General and the Chairman and Rapporteur of the First Committee to act in the capacity of conciliators jointly and "to explore", at meetings in Paris with the representatives of the four Governments concerned, "the possibilities of reaching agreement amongst themselves as to the methods and procedure to be adopted with a view to resolving present differences between them".[40] The Conciliation Committee[41] continued its efforts during the second par of the session of the General Assembly at Lak Success in April 1949.

27. In order to avoid prejudicing the efforts o the Conciliation Committee, the Special Commit tee suspended its conciliatory role.[42] For simila reasons, the Special Committee did not exercise it discretion under paragraph 10 (*c*) of resolutio 193 (III) A[43] of the General Assembly to appoir and utilize the good offices of one or more ind viduals since, in its view, the Conciliation Com mittee was in fact exercising such functions.

28. On 19 May 1949, when the close of the thir regular session of the General Assembly had te minated the Conciliation Committee, the Chai man announced that, subject to one point only, fu accord had been reached at Paris in December 194 on a draft agreement establishing procedures fo resolving the differences between Greece and h three northern neighbours:

"Full accord was reached for the renewal o diplomatic relations, for the revision or making o frontier conventions in order to prevent fronti incidents and for the establishment of joint fro tier commissions to act as conciliatory bodies in th event of disputes arising from incidents at th border."[44]

29. The one point of disagreement had bee "the demand by Albania that Greece should fo mally (*de jure*) recognize the existing boundari between the two countries as definitive. Th specific demand[45] was not acceded to by the Gree Government". Consequently, the draft agreeme had been amended at New York to make it "re sonably plain that there would be an acceptance b both Albania and Greece of the existing boun aries".[46]

30. The President of the General Assemb pointed out that, although the Greek Governme

[38] See A/AC.16/483; A/AC.16/484; A/AC.16/510; A/AC.16/530; A/AC.16/543; A/AC.16/562 and A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/15, OG.4/7, annex B, and OG.4/17/S-1; OG.4/18.

[39] A/AC.16/557; A/AC.16/SR.135; A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.88, p. 7. See also A/574, pars. 40–51; A/644, pars. 7–10; A/692, pars. 4 and 10, for examples of similar unsuccessful efforts by the Special Committee to secure cooperation from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in 1948.

[40] A/C.1/380.

[41] The Conciliation Committee consisted of its chairma Mr. Evatt (Australia), President of the General Asse bly; Trygve Lie, Secretary-General; Paul-Henri Spaak (Paris); Fernand van Langenhove (in New York) bo of Belgium and Chairman of the First Committee at t first and second parts of the session respectively and Sel Sarper (Turkey), rapporteur of that Committee.

[42] For Special Committee consideration of its conciliato role in connexion with the work of the Conciliatory Co mittee, see the following: A/AC.16/SR.129, p. 1; A/AC.1 SR.130, pp. 1–4; A/AC.16/SR.131, pp. 1–2; A/AC.1 SR.136, p. 1; also A/AC.16/SC.2/Min. 39, pp. 2–3; M 44, pp. 6–7; A/AC.16/SC.2/PV.44, pp. 4–8; A/AC.16/SC PV.45, pp. 2–4. The Special Committee requested inform tion concerning the work of the Conciliation Committee 13 May 1949; see A/AC.16/SR.156, p. 5; A/AC.16/6 See also A/AC.16/SR.137, A/AC.16/SC.2/Min. 40, AC.16/563, A/AC.16/565.

[43] See annex 1.

[44] See annex 5 for texts of the chairman's statement a the draft agreement.

[45] Involving for Greece, renunciation of her claim Northern Epirus. For fuller discussion of the North Epirus problem, see pars. 39 and 47 below.

[46] See annex 5.

d accepted the new formula in substance,[47] there d been, in spite of ample time, no reply from lbania, upon whose acceptance depended, in his inion, that of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. He ncluded by declaring that having regard to "the ry close approximation to full agreement which s already been reached, an early attempt to comete its (the Conciliation Committee's) work ght well be successful".[48]

31. The Special Committee, resuming its active nciliatory role, on 27 May 1949 addressed comnications to the Governments of Albania, Bulria and Yugoslavia, as well as Greece, calling eir attention in particular to "the recommendans contained in the General Assembly's resoln of 21 October 1947, which were renewed in o of the resolutions adopted by the General sembly on 27 November 1948, for the establishnt of normal diplomatic relations and the reval of conventions for the settlement of frontier estions or the conclusion of new ones between Government of Greece and the Governments of bania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as well as the tlement of the question of refugees".[49] The lets also referred to the statement of the President the General Assembly, dated 19 May 1949, that Governments of those countries had under coneration the draft agreement prepared by the nciliation Committee. The Special Committee inded them that its good offices continued to available to assist in the implementation of the olutions of the General Assembly. Copies of letters were sent to the Governments of Pod and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. The Government of Greece has replied, reing to its report to the Secretary-General cerning resolution 193 (III) B for an explanan of its point of view.[50] While the Governments Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have not lied directly, their reports to the Secretaryneral in June and July 1949 do constitute, in ct, indirect replies to the Special Committee.[51]

3. Since the Government of Albania had not made any statement on the draft agreement mitted by the Conciliation Committee, the Spe Committee on 19 July 1949 requested the retary-General to inquire by any means he conered appropriate what reply the Government Albania intended to make.[52]

Some general factors in the problem

4. Although the Special Committee appreed that the function of the Conciliation Committee had been confined to studying "possibilities for an agreement between the four Governments concerned on the methods and the procedure to be pursued for solving their present differences",[53] it studied with care the draft agreement and official statements of the Governments in the hope of finding indications that some of the basic obstacles to good neighbourly relations had been removed in the course of the numerous meetings of the Conciliation Committee.[54]

35. In its report of 30 June 1948 to the General Assembly, the Special Committee noted certain basic issues between Greece and her three northern neighbours, many of which have been of long duration.[55] More recently, it has taken note of certain recent developments in the Macedonian question. Radio broadcasts, newspapers and statements of public officials in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have continued to support conflicting claims for the detachment of "Greek" or "Aegean" Macedonia from Greece and for the establishment of a unified Macedonia in some form or another.[56] The Special Committee also noted the statement of the Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF) of 3 February 1949, favouring the "union of Macedonia" as an "independent and equal Macedonian State" within "the confederation of democratic Balkan peoples".[57]

36. The radio, Press and public statements of officials of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have remained generally hostile towards the Government of Greece. If the Greek Press has not in return been as restrained as genuine goodwill would have indicated, the assistance from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, especially Albania and Bulgaria, to the guerrillas in fighting against the Greek Government has hardly been calculated to foster goodwill.[58] The mutually unfriendly Press constitutes one of the factors militating against the resumption of good neighbourly relations.

(*c*) Attitude of the Government of Greece

37. On several occasions during 1949 the Gov-

See annex 5 for text of statement and draft agreet. See also par. 39 below.

See annex 5.

A/AC.16/716 and annexes A–E; A/AC.16/SR. 158, 1–2; A/AC.16/712.

A/AC.16/741. See reports of the Government of ce to the Secretary-General, A/AC.16/618 and A/ 6/722.

See A/AC.16/737; A/AC.16/758 and A/AC.16/780 ectively.

A/AC.16/SR. 165; see also par. 30 above.

[53] A/C.1/380.

[54] The Special Committee, in its 1948 reports, called attention to the gravity of the situation: A/574, pars. 63–65; A/644, pars. 7–8.

[55] For a brief survey, see A/574, pars. 66–68, 80–81.

[56] The United Nations Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents was unable to clarify the attitude of the Governments of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as to the problem of a "unified Macedonia" during March–April 1947. See S/AC.4/PV.70, pp. 1–10; S/AC.4/-146, S/AC.4/174, S/AC.4/175, S/AC.4/192, S/AC.4/194. For recent statements see that of Premier Dimitrov, 18 December 1948, IV, *Free Bulgaria*, 1 (1 January 1949), pp. 3–11, part VI, and *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, No. 28 (1 January 1949); Vice-Premier Moshe Pijade, *Borba*, 6 March 1949; Premier Lazar Kulishevsky, 10 April 1949, A/AC.16/662, annex 1, pp. 1–4; V. Poptomov, "Political Provocateurs," *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, No. 12 (39), 15 June 1949.

[57] On 28 March 1949, the Second NOF Congress reaffirmed the "right" of the "Slavo-Macedonian" people of Greek Macedonia to decide as to their state existence.

[58] See A/AC.16/W.90; A/AC.16/W.92.

ernment of Greece has stated its willingness to resume diplomatic relations with Albania and Bulgaria and its "readiness for the re-establishment of normal relations with its northern neighbours".[59] It has also said that "Greece has . . . attempted to settle all differences with her neighbours in the spirit of the Charter and of the resolution of the General Assembly, asking only that they (the northern neighbours) make a similar effort and display a similar goodwill".[60]

38. The essential condition, in the Greek Government's opinion, for resumption of normal relations with Albania still remains the cessation of aid to Greek guerrillas from Albania,[61] and observance of the obligation under international law to disarm guerrillas seeking refuge in Albania and to take the necessary measures to prevent such refugees from resuming guerrilla activities in Greece.[62]

39. The Greek Government also maintains its claim to Northern Epirus. However, it has stated that the settlement of the claim rests with the Council of Foreign Ministers and that Greece does not seek to alter her frontiers "contrary to the principles and aims of the United Nations Charter". The Greek Foreign Minister, in December 1948, declared that "Greece's lawful claims to her rights do not prevent the restoration of peaceful neighbourly relations with Albania, as this claim had not prevented such relations in the past".[63] Acceptance by the Greek Government of the final draft agreement with only one slight change[64] appeared to the Chairman of the Conciliation Committee to show a conciliatory spirit and offer prospects of settling the boundary dispute.[65]

40. The Special Committee's earlier reports have recorded the willingness of the Government of Greece, officially expressed in 1948, to resume diplomatic relations with the Government of Bulgaria.[66] The Government of Greece, however, has demanded that the Government of Bulgaria should:

(i) "Ensure that the Greek guerrillas receive *no assistance* from Bulgarian territory;

(ii) "Undertake to carry out the peace treaty of 10 February 1947;

(iii) "Simultaneously undertake" with the Greek Government "to respect the frontiers established by the peace treaty".[67]

It also demands assurances from the Government of Bulgaria that the Greek children in Bulgaria will be repatriated.[68]

41. The Government of Greece considers that there is no question outstanding between Yugoslavia and Greece that could not be settled amicably.

(*d*) Attitude of the Government of Albania

42. In August 1948, the Government of Albania stated its willingness to resume diplomatic relations with the Government of Greece on the following conditions:[69]

(i) The renunciation by Greece of the claim to Northern Epirus;[70]

(ii) The cessation of Greece's "provocative and aggressive attitude and criminal and lawless acts against the People's Republic of Albania".[71]

43. From the time of the first part of the third regular session of the General Assembly in Paris up to 8 May 1949, the Government of Albania has reported "160 acts of armed provocation at the frontier by air, land and sea".[72] The lack of contact between the Albanian and Greek authorities along the whole length of the frontier has rendered any joint investigation impossible. In addition the Special Committee, in the absence of any co-operation from Albania, has not been able itself or through its observation groups to investigate these allegations on Albanian territory. Operations by the Greek Army against guerrillas fighting on the frontier and escaping into Albania have in fact occasioned frequent border incidents a

[59] A/AC.16/722; A/AC.16/618. Similar declarations had been made in 1948 (A/574, par. 70), but in September 1948, the Special Committee had found no evidence of real progress toward better relations. (For a survey of the position up to 22 October 1948, see A/574, pars. 64–81; A/644, pars. 12–19; A/692, pars. 7–10). In fact, it became convinced that the continuation of large-scale assistance to the guerrillas constituted "an insurmountable obstacle to the establishment of good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours" (A/644, pars. 62–64).

[60] Letter dated 11 May 1949 to the Conciliation Committee, A/AC.16/712.

[61] A/644, par. 12. For a general survey of relations between Albania and Greece up to 22 October 1948 see A/574, pars. 64, 67, 79–81; A/644, pars. 12–13; and A/692, pars. 7–8.

[62] See pars. 44–49 below and compare A/692, par. 30.

[63] Press communiqué of the Foreign Minister of Greece, 16 December 1948, *Greek Government Secretariat of State for Press and Information, Daily News Bulletin*, Third Year, No. 743, p. 2.

[64] See annex 5, text of the draft agreement, par. 4, for this change.

[65] See also A/AC.16/712. Among concessions made by the Greek Government to find common ground was the elimination of the original draft proposal for neutral chairmen of the proposed mixed frontier commissions.

[66] For a general survey of the relations between Gre and Bulgaria up to 22 October 1948, see A/574, p 69–77; A/644, pars. 15–18; A/692, par. 9. Similar st ments have been made in 1949 (see A/AC.16/722). Ne tiations in 1948 brought no positive result. For the fail of the last *démarche* of the Greek Government before establishment of the Conciliation Committee, see A/ par. 9; A/574, par. 72; A/644, par. 17.

[67] A/644, par. 18.

[68] See ch. IV, pars. 131–136 below and ch. III, p 120–123.

[69] This statement to the Secretary-General is the la available to the Special Committee (A/644, par. 13).

[70] For further discussion of Northern Epirus prob see pars. 29 and 39 above and 47 below.

[71] A/644, par. 13. Cf. the Government of Albania's c munication to the Secretary-General concerning res. (III) B, A/AC.16/737.

[72] A/AC.16/737; see A/AC.16/W.91 for a list of all border violations of the Albanian-Greek frontier bro to the attention of the Special Committee.

inor violations of Albanian territory by Greek rces, thus tending to exacerbate frontier relaons.

44. In order to minimise such friction, the Spe-al Committee, on 12 August 1948, recommended the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and ugoslavia the disarmament and internment of reek guerrillas entering their territories.[73] The presentative of Albania told the First Commit-e of the General Assembly on 29 October 1948 at his Government had "never permitted nor ould ever permit refugees of Greek nationality return to Greece with the knowledge of the Al-nian Government for the purpose of taking part the civil war in Greece".[74] The evidence ob-ined by the Special Committee has indicated, wever, that large numbers of guerrillas have en allowed to return to fight in Greece.[75]

45. The Special Committee cannot accept the ew of the Government of Albania, expressed in report of 7 June 1949 to the Secretary-General ncerning resolution 193 (III) B of the General ssembly, "that it has always carefully observed e fulfilment of international obligations" and at the responsibility for the abnormal situation s with the Government of Greece.[76] If Albania ntinues to aid the Greek guerrillas[77] and to fuse co-operation with it, the Special Committee s little hope of assisting in the establishment of rmal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations tween the Governments of Albania and Greece.

) Attitude of the Government of Bulgaria

46. In its earlier reports the Special Committee s described the conditions upon which the Gov-nment of Bulgaria has stated that it would be lling to resume diplomatic relations with the vernment of Greece. These conditions are that e Government of Greece should:

(i) Renounce its territorial aims against Bul-ria;

(ii) End the "violations of the Bulgarian fron-r and the war-mongering campaign carried on Greece against the Bulgarian people".[78]

47. In the first place, certain frontier rectifica-ns demanded by the Government of Greece at e close of the Second World War were not made the Treaty of Peace of 1947 with Bulgaria. nce then, both Bulgaria and Greece have insisted the necessity of recognizing the frontier exist-g between them as established by the Treaty, but ch Government has disputed the other's willing-ness to do so.[79] In addition, the Government of Bulgaria, in its report to the Secretary-General of 28 June 1949 concerning resolution 193 (III) B, introduced a new factor when it ascribed the failure of the Conciliation Committee to the refusal of Greece to recognize the existing Albanian-Greek frontier as final.[80] The Draft Agreement prepared by the Conciliation Committee and "accepted in substance"[81] by Greece was intended to resolve both boundary questions by providing for simultaneous recognition of existing frontiers. The Special Committee has also noted that propaganda in Bulgaria has continued to support that country's old claim to Western Thrace with its outlet to the Aegean Sea.[82]

48. Constant friction along parts of the Bulgarian-Greek frontier has resulted in frequent complaints to the Secretary-General by both Bulgaria and Greece of violations of their territory. A sharp increase in Bulgarian complaints coincided with the operations of the Greek Army in April and May 1949 against guerrilla positions in the Angistron-Krasokhori and Ali Butus frontier areas.[83] Strong attacks against those positions, near or astride the border, from which escape routes into Bulgaria were open, led to frontier incidents when Greek Army fire fell on Bulgarian territory.[84]

49. The evidence obtained by the Special Committee has in no way supported the statement made by the Bulgarian representative to the First Committee of the General Assembly on 28 October 1948 that the Bulgarian authorities had always disarmed and interned guerrillas entering Bulgarian territory and prevented them from taking political or military action, in the manner recommended by the Special Committee in its resolution of 12 August 1948.[85] Nor has it indicated any disposition to cease rendering assistance to the guerrillas fighting against the Greek Government.[86]

50. In short, the evidence[87] does not sustain the Bulgarian Government's view that Greece is "alone responsible for the abnormal situation in the Balkans".[88] On account of the lack of co-op-

A/644, par. 7.

Official Records of the Third Session of the General sembly, Part I, First Committee, p. 335.

Ch. III, par. 84 below. Cf. A/692, par. 30.

A/AC.16/737.

See General Assembly res. 109 (II) and 193 (III); orts of the Special Committee, A/574, A/644, A/692; l ch. III below.

A/574, par. 72; A/644, par. 17.

[79] See A/AC.16/612; A/AC.16/619; A/AC.16/712; A/AC.16/722; A/AC.16/780.

[80] A/AC.16/780.

[81] See annex 5.

[82] See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/18, witnesses 6/W/129, 130, 131, 133; OG.6/32, 6/W/243, concerning the existence in Bulgaria of a Government sponsored "Thrace Organization," composed of Bulgarians who emigrated from Greek or Turkish Thrace, whose purpose is to unite all Thrace under the Bulgarian flag. Also see A/574, par. 67.

[83] See A/AC.16/W.91.

[84] See ch. III, par. 92 below. The one instance in which an observation group saw Greek Army units move 1,000 metres into Bulgaria in pursuit of fighting guerrillas was, curiously, not the subject of a Bulgarian complaint.

[85] A/C.1/SR.175, p. 11. For a similar recent assertion by the Bulgarian Government, see its communication to the Secretary-General of 13 July 1949, A/AC.16/787.

[86] See ch. III, par. 102 below.

[87] See also ch. III, pars. 91–102 below.

[88] A/AC.16/612.

eration by Bulgaria, the Special Committee has not been able to assist Bulgaria and Greece to re-establish diplomatic relations. It considers that their resumption would not be sufficient to normalize existing relations so long as Bulgaria continues to aid the Greek guerrillas.

(*f*) Attitude of the Government of Yugoslavia

51. The Special Committee has been unable so far to assist in developing the official diplomatic relations between Greece and Yugoslavia into "good neighbourly" relations.[89] There have been recently, however, some signs of possible improvement in the relations between the two countries.

52. Although hostile statements by public officials of Yugoslavia have continued up to this date, as well as mutual charges of frontier provocations by Greece and Yugoslavia, the Special Committee has received during 1949 less evidence of assistance by Yugoslavia to the Greek guerrillas. Since a close connexion has existed between aid to the Greek guerrillas and the incidents of alleged frontier violations resulting from Greek Army operations against guerrillas close to the border, the Special Committee looks forward to a diminution, or possibly the cessation, of frontier incidents, especially in view of the announced closing of the Greek-Yugoslav border on 10 July 1949.[90] Again, the transfer of the "Free Greece" radio station from Yugoslavia to Romania has removed a serious ground for complaint and offers further hope for improved relations between Greece and Yugoslavia.[91]

2. Problem of Frontier Conventions [92]

53. Previously operative frontier conventions regulating border incidents between Greece and her three northern neighbours [93] in the inter-war period have been rendered ineffective by the present disturbed conditions.[94] Nevertheless, meetings concerning frontier incidents have been held on occasion in 1948 and 1949 between the frontier authorities of Greece and those of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. There has been, however, a complete absence of frontier relations between Albania and Greece.

[89] For the Special Committee's opinion on those relations in 1948, see A/574, par. 78; see also par. 66.

[90] See A/AC.16/771, extract from speech of Marshal Tito at Pola on 10 July 1949.

[91] In its first report to the General Assembly, the Special Committee found that the "Free Greece" radio was located in Yugoslavia (A/574, par. 116). For report on present location in Romania, see A/AC.16/772 and ch. III, par. 105 below.

[92] See annex 1, res. 109 (II), par. 5 (2) for Special Committee's mandate concerning frontier conventions.

[93] Greek-Bulgarian Frontier Convention of 1931 (A/AC.16/114, annex A), Greek-Yugoslav Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1927, annex containing Agreement of Frontier Traffic (A/AC.16/114, annex B) and Greek-Albanian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1926, Additional Protocol concerning frontier traffic.

[94] See A/574, pars. 82–86, A/644, pars. 20–22, for views expressed by the Special Committee in previous reports on the problem of frontier conventions.

54. The meeting between Bulgarian and Greek frontier authorities have taken place in spite o disagreement as to whether the Frontier Con vention of 1931 is in force.[95] The Bulgarian frontier authorities have always refused permis sion to the United Nations observation groups t attend such meetings.[96]

55. Although diplomatic relations exist betwee Greece and Yugoslavia, meetings have not reg ularly taken place even concerning serious frontie incidents.[97] Sometimes strong charges have bee made by both sides without any joint investigatio or meeting taking place on the spot.[98] The mor usual practice has been to employ diplomati channels. However, at four points along th Greek-Yugoslav frontier, posts located opposit each other are permanently occupied by bot Greek and Yugoslav authorities [99] and offer oppo tunities for contact.

Chapter III. External Support of the Greek Guerrilla Movement[1]

A. GENERAL

56. All the information obtained by the Speci Committee since the date of its last report and i experience during the past eighteen months ind cate that Albania and Bulgaria have continued

[95] The Greek Government considers the convention force; the Bulgarian Government does not. The latt also considers the convention no longer answers existi needs but has stated its willingness to negotiate a new c (A/574, par. 83 and A/692, par. 11; A/AC.16/246, A AC.16/722; see also terms of Conciliation Committe draft agreement, annex 5).

[96] Meetings have been frequently difficult to arrange cause at only one point on the border are there mann Greek and Bulgarian frontier posts opposite each oth See for example A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/26, incident of February 1949, and OG.4/22, OG.4/23 and OG.4/24 c cerning vain effort to make contact at Frontier Post 128. For example of meetings, see OG.6/24, OG.6/ OG.6/26, OG.6/27, OG.6/28, OG.6/32. For observati group comment on effectiveness of meetings, see OG.4/3 S–2. For examples of meetings, see OG.6/30 (6/W/1 and A/AC.16/721; OG.3/31 (3/W/252,253) and A/AC.1 698, A/AC.16/717, A/AC.16/720; OG.4/31.

[97] For examples of meetings, see the important Kouts bei incident. A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/15/S–1/Concl. OG.3/16/Concl. and the minor incident of Niki on April 1949 of straying animals, OG.5/14, 5/W/158. occasions when Greek requests for meetings were refus see case of alleged border violations at Frontier Post 60, A/AC.16/695 and OG.5/10, and at Koula, OG.5/14.

[98] See incident of Skocivir on 30 May 1949 involv alleged killing of three Yugoslavs by Greek planes (AC.16/726, A/AC.16/728, A/AC.16/740 and A/AC.16/7 and contradictory Greek and Yugoslav charges concern 28 June 1949 Skra incident involving killing of a Gr soldier near the frontier (A/AC.16/753, A/AC.16/ A/AC.16/776, A/AC.16/777 and OG.3/33). These i dents were referred to in the Yugoslav Government's port to the Secretary-General concerning resolution (III) B (A/AC.16/758).

[99] Niki, Paraskevi, Evzonoi, Doiran.

[1] Attention is called to the maps in annex 6 which sh the terrain and all the localities and routes mentione this chapter.

sist the Greek guerrilla movement; and, further, at the support given by Albania is vital to the ntinuance of the Greek guerrilla movement since the main guerrilla concentrations are found on e Albanian frontier. From the evidence availle to it, the Special Committee believes that aid om Yugoslavia has diminished.

Charges by Greece against Albania, Bulgaria d Yugoslavia and Charges by Albania, Bulgaria d Yugoslavia against Greece

57. The main charge made by the Government Greece against Albania, Bulgaria and Yugovia was that they, particularly Albania and lgaria, were increasing their systematic aid to Greek guerrillas.[2] Moreover the Greek liaison resentative has continued to submit to the Spe- Committee communications alleging frontier lations by those countries.

58. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and goslavia, although still refusing to co-operate any way with the Special Committee, have conued to submit to the Secretary-General comnications alleging violations of the frontier by Greek armed forces. The Secretary-General nsmitted these communications to the Special nmittee for information.[3] They had been en publicity through United Nations channels ore the Special Committee itself had had the portunity to investigate the charges or consider ir merits.

Vature of the evidence

59. The Special Committee has been seriously dicapped in its task by the refusal of the vernments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugovia to permit it or its observers to enter their itories to investigate charges, and by the fact t the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav aurities have not availed themselves of the oppority to present witnesses for interrogation. The lt has been to circumscribe the information ilable to the Special Committee.

60. The Special Committee has obtained inforion from a variety of sources, especially:

(a) Direct observation carried out by the obation groups and members of the Special mittee;[4]

(b) The testimony of witnesses interrogated he observation groups or by the Special Comee;

(c) Various objects, such as captured war mal, examined by the observation groups and Special Committee;

(d) The text of numerous official statements, monitored radio broadcasts and newspaper articles.[5]

61. The testimony of 1,105 witnesses is recorded in 101 reports submitted by the observation groups and covering the period 15 October 1948 to 30 June 1949. In the present report, owing to the very large number of witnesses, reference has been made only to representative or especially significant witnesses.

62. Most witnesses have been Greek nationals, but testimony has also been taken from refugees and nationals of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Witnesses have usually been presented by the Greek Liaison Service and many have been previously interrogated by Greek authorities. Of the captured or surrendered guerrillas examined by the Special Committee's observation groups, a number have been under detention pending further investigation by Greek authorities, but very many have been at liberty.

63. In view of the importance of information from witnesses, the Special Committee established a standardized procedure for their interrogation.[6]

64. The Special Committee has taken into account all the circumstances under which the testimony of witnesses has been obtained and is firmly of the opinion that the statements recorded in observation group reports in accordance with the standardized procedure faithfully reproduce the facts as described by the witnesses. Nevertheless, no single statement has been used by the Special Committee as a conclusive basis for any of its findings. The Special Committee has subjected the evidence of witnesses to close analysis and has carefully cross-checked statements made on the same subject by witnesses examined independently of each other. From consideration of the cumulative evidence in the statements of witnesses, from direct observation which corroborates this evidence and from the other types of information referred to in paragraph 60, the Special Committee has been able to reach its conclusions.[6a]

3. Acknowledgment by the Greek Guerrillas of Foreign Support

65. It is significant that the leaders of the Greek guerrillas themselves have publicly acknowledged that assistance from outside Greece has been essential to the continuance of their struggle. On 15 November 1948, Mr. Porphyrogennis, "Minister of Justice" in the "Provisional Democratic Government of Greece", wrote in the *Cominform Journal* that "Greek guerrillas were supported by the freedom-loving peoples of the world headed by our great friend and defender, by the land of socialism, the Soviet Union".[7]

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ee especially A/AC.16/746; A/AC.16/763; A/-6/770.

'or full details of the communications relating to tier violations, all of which were referred to the apriate observation groups by the Special Committee, A/AC.16/W.91.

ee A/AC.16/711 for reports of the *ad hoc* committees blished to conduct surveys of conditions on the northrontiers of Greece.

[5] See A/AC.16/W.90; A/AC.16/W.92.

[6] For the text of this procedure, see annex 4.

[6a] See A/AC.16/SC.1/53/rev.1.

[7] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Bucharest. No. 22 (25) 15 November 1948; see A/AC.16/W.90, p. 17, par. VI.

66. At a meeting of the "National Movement for Aid to the Greek people" held on 23 December 1948 in Bucharest to celebrate the first anniversary of the "Provisional Democratic Government of Greece", at which members of the Romanian Government were present, Mr. Grozos, member of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, stated: "The aid given by the democratic peoples to the fight of the Greek people will never be forgotten".[8]

67. The report of the Fifth Plenum of the Greek Communist Party (30 to 31 January 1949), stated:

"All democratic forces of the world whose solidarity is an important factor for our struggle stand at our side . . . In the popular democracies we found great and wholehearted support without which we could not have made progress."[9]

68. Mr. Zachariades, Secretary-General of the Greek Communist Party, told the second congress of the Slav-Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF), held in "Free Greece" from 25 to 28 March 1949: "All the democratic powers are with us and their moral and material support in our struggle is plain".[10]

B. NATURE OF THE SUPPORT

Albania

1. Moral support

69. There have been continuous broadcasts and articles in the Albanian Press in support of the Greek guerrilla movement. The Special Committee has also received information concerning visits by Albanian officials to camps for Greek guerrillas in Albania[11] and the continued activities of the "Aid Committees" on behalf of the Greek guerrillas, which have included the compulsory collection of money, food and clothing.[12]

2. Material assistance

(a) *Introduction*

70. Since the spring of 1949 more than half the guerrilla strength in Greece has been based on the Albanian border in the Vitsi, Grammos and Pogoniani areas. These mountainous regions are not self-sufficient and on the Greek side of the border are devoid of roads from north to south. An important road in Albania, however, runs from Korce to Leskovik, roughly parallel and close to the border, and affords excellent north-south lateral communication. Minor roads and mule tracks branching from this road make access to these areas from Albania comparatively easy. All the evidence obtained by the Special Committee indicates that the whole strategy of the guerrillas in the Albanian-Greek border area has been based on the unrestricted use of this main lateral road through Albania;[13] and that, with the use of Albanian trucks and drivers, the guerrillas have been able to bring up supplies from Albania and to bypass Greek Army units.[14] In particular, evidence indicates that, in January 1949, Albania permitted the guerrillas to reconstruct a bridge on the main route from Bilishte into the Vitsi area;[15] and that on 1 April 1949, sixteen large guns were towed from Albania into Greece along this route.[16] On 13 May 1949, the guerrillas bombarded Florina from Vitsi with more and bigger guns than they had previously used.[17]

(b) *Tactical use of territory*

71. On 1 April 1949, the guerrillas launched a major attack in the Grammos area. Three main groups, all of which came from the Vitsi area, took part. One of the groups did not leave Greek territory. The other two groups, however, estimated at a total of over two thousand strong, entered Albanian territory in the Bilishte area and proceeded southward, for the most part by truck. One group re-entered Greece near Slimnitsa and the other further south at points between Khionadhes and Mt. Kamenik. These two groups, by this use of Albanian territory, were able to attack the flanks of the Greek Army. The movement of the large forces was assisted by Albanian border personnel and, in the opinion of the Special Committee, could have been carried out only with the consent of the Albanian Government.[18]

72. United Nations observers and witnesses have repeatedly seen Greek guerillas passing back and forth across the border with complete freedom and making use of Albanian territory for tactical purposes. In the Mt. Alevitsa area, where gue

[8] A/AC.16/W.90, p. 10.
[9] A/AC.16/W.90, p. 18; A/AC.16/573.
[10] A/AC.16/645.
[11] For a description of a visit to Sukth camp, Albania, during the latter part of December 1948 see A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/34, 1/W/391; OG.2/34, 2/W/420.
[12] A/574, pars. 105, 112 and 113. See especially A/AC.16/654; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/25, 1/W/314 and 317; OG.1/27, 1/W/326 and 327.

[13] See map, annex 6. The principal routes betw Albania and Greece used by the guerrillas are: A, main road Korce-Leskovik; B, the main road fr Korce via Cerje, thence between Lakes Prespa a Mikra Prespa-Laimos-Kariai-Trigonon, or alternativ across Lake Mikra Prespa to Mikrolimni; C, the m road from Korce via Bilishte to Kroustalopiyi-Katokh and Pishodherion, and the branch road from Bilishte Ayios Dhimitrios and Ieropiyi; D, the main link road fr Korce via Dardha-Bozhigrad and Bilishte; E, a ne constructed road from Bozhigrad via Qyteze to Videh and thence across the frontier; F, three mule paths o the Kazahit Pass, the Fushes Pass and the Badra Pa G, a track over Kruqit Pass-Slimnitsa-Monopilon; H, road from Argyrokastron leading to the Pogoniani ares
[14] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/31/S–1 and OG.1/32.
[15] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/32, 2/W/407.
[16] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/32, 2/W/404.
[17] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/15.
[18] For evidence regarding this whole operation see AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/31/S–1; OG.1/32, and Special C mittee's conclusions thereon.

illa positions straddle the border,[19] United Nations observers saw, on various occasions, an nti-tank gun, mortars, and machine guns firing rom Albania into Greece.[20] On 6 July 1949, Jnited Nations observers flying over Greek territory in an observation aircraft bearing United Nations markings were fired on from gun positions clearly located in Albania.[21]

(c) *Supplies*

73. The areas occupied by the guerrilla forces long the Albanian-Greek frontier are for the most art uncultivated and deserted.[22] Yet large numers of guerrillas have been maintained in these reas. The inference that their supplies must have ome from Albania is sustained not only by ample vidence from witnesses [23] but also by the results f direct observation by United Nations observers f certain routes leading into Greece. All the routes eferred to in paragraph 70 above have been freely nd continuously used. The heaviest traffic was on outes leading into the Vitsi area and was, in the pinion of the Special Committee, far in excess of hat required to supply the local population on the lbanian side of the border.

74. Observation from the ground of the exact oints of crossing the border was impossible beause of the terrain. However, on the nights of 13 nd 14 April 1949, United Nations observers saw, rom Mt. Alevitsa, lights of motor vehicles moving the Bilishte area of Albania towards Greece.[24] n 30 April 1949, the observers saw lights of otor vehicles moving from Albania towards reece on the Bilishte-Kapestice-Ayios Dhimitrios oute.[25] Again, on five occasions during the first alf of June 1949, the observers saw, from Mt. latsata, vehicle lights moving on the Albanian oads leading from Bilishte to Bozhigrad and from ilishte towards Kroustalopiyi.[26] On numerous casions between 15 and 30 June 1949, obseration of similar traffic was made from the round.[27] Finally, on the nights of 26 and 30 une and 6 July 1949, United Nations observers w, from the air, the lights of truck convoys crossg from Albania into Greece on the Bilishteroustalopiyi road, and established beyond queston that guerrillas in the Vitsi area were being aintained from Albania.[28]

75. Witnesses have described the transfer of pplies to guerrilla units in the border regions nd the kind of supplies received by the guerrillas from Albania, including food, clothing, timber, tools, field and anti-aircraft artillery, mortars, machine guns, rifles, mines and ammunition.[29]

(d) *Return of Greek guerrillas after hospitalization*

76. The Special Committee has received abundant evidence that Albania has maintained a highly organized system for the return to Greece of guerrillas after hospitalization.[30] A large number of the guerrillas who were captured or who surrendered on Greek territory had been hospitalized in Albania and gave evidence of their experience there.[31] From that evidence it is clear that the main hospital centre for seriously wounded cases is Korce. Here, in February 1949, a medical board was in operation which certified the fitness of guerrillas for further field service.[32] Other hospitals are located at Elbasan [33] and Moskhopolis.[34] Special surgery, eye tests and X-ray examinations are provided at Tirana.[35]

77. Wounded guerrillas evacuated from Greece were usually met and guided away from the frontier zone by Albanian soldiers. They were then transferred to trucks, often driven by uniformed Albanian soldiers, and taken to hospitals. The internal security of these centres was maintained by guerrillas, the external security usually by Albanian soldiers. Guerrillas when recovered were generally sent to the main convalescent depot and rest camp at Sukth. From Sukth the guerrillas, again transported and escorted by Albanian soldiers, were sent back to fight in Greece.[36]

(e) *Camps for guerrillas*

78. In addition to hospital and convalescent facilities, Albania maintained large camps for Greeks at Skodra, Sukth and Burrelli, and smaller

[19] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/37/S-2.
[20] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31, OG.2/33 and OG.2/35.
[21] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/37/S-1.
[22] A/AC.16/711, part I.
[23] For evidence relating to 1 to 2 July 1949, see A/.16/SC.1/OG.2/37, 2/W/439.
[24] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31.
[25] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/33.
[26] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/35.
[27] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/36.
[28] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/36; OG.2/37; OG.2/37/S-1.

[29] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/26, 1/W/319; OG.1/28, 1/W/328; OG.1/32, 1/W/372; OG.1/33, 1/W/379, 382; OG.1/34, 1/W/394; OG.1/35, 1/W/398, 400; OG.2/24, 2/W/345; OG.2/26, 2/W/361; OG.2/29, 2/W/372; OG.2/30, 2/W/383; OG.2/31, 2/W/393, 400; OG.5/17, 5/W/175 and 176. On 26 May 1949, in the Grammos area, the Greek Army ambushed a guerrilla column, capturing 104 muleloads of military stores. With these stores was a receipt for food which had evidently been made out in Albania. Two witnesses captured at the same time stated that the supplies had been loaded in Albania. (A/AC.16/SC.1/-OG.2/34, 2/W/425, 426).
[30] Most of the evidence on which the Special Committee has based its views on this matter has been given by guerrillas who, after treatment outside Greece, have been captured or have surrendered on Greek soil.
[31] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/36, 2/W/433, 436, 437; OG.5/17, 5/W/172, 175; OG.1/33, 1/W/380.
[32] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/32, 1/W/373; OG.5/17, 5/W/172; OG.1/33, exhibit 1.
[33] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/35, 1/W/401; OG.2/22, 2/W/315; OG.2/24, 2/W/330; OG.2/33, 2/W/414.
[34] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/7, 5/W/46; OG.5/10, 5/W/84.
[35] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/23, 2/W/328; OG.2/33, 2/W/417; OG.5/8, 5/W/49.
[36] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/22, 2/W318; OG.2/30, 2/W/381 and 383; OG.2/33, 2/W/417; OG.2/36, 2/W/433; OG.5/9, 5/W/64.

camps at Prens, Elbasan and Fier. The camps, guarded by Albanian gendarmes, were used as transit and training centres for guerrillas, as permanent centres for non-combatants who had been evacuated from Greece, as clearing centres for children en route to other countries, and sometimes as detention camps for Greeks forcibly evacuated from Greece and hostile to the guerrilla cause. The following examples have been taken from the very large number of statements of witnesses giving detailed evidence of this system.

79. The camp at Skodra, a former Italian barracks, was a centre for women, children and civilians and also a military camp for guerrillas. Estimates by witnesses as to the number of people there ran as high as 3,500.[37]

80. Military training courses were established at the camp at Sukth, beginning with fifty students in November 1948 and increasing to more than 600 by February 1949. One witness stated that this training was given both by Albanian and by guerrilla officers.[38]

81. At the beginning of March 1949, there were about 1,000 persons at the camp of Burrelli. Mr. Stringos, a member of the "Provisional Democratic Government of Greece" visited this camp at the end of February 1949.[39]

82. At the camp at Prens there were Greek families, forcibly removed by the guerrillas from the Grammos area, living in a former barracks. Two witnesses who had been in the camp stated that in it there were some 3,000 civilians and wounded guerrillas.[40] The camp at Elbasan, in a former Italian barracks, is a collecting centre and reinforcement depot.[41] One witness testified that at the camp at Fier, in December 1948, he had seen some 400 Greek children who were being taken in a 30-truck convoy to Czechoslovakia.[42]

83. It is particularly noteworthy that the numbers in the various Albanian camps decrease just before any major military operation by the Greek guerrillas. For instance, in March 1949, according to testimony, large numbers of guerrillas were transported from various Albanian camps, particularly from Skodra, to the Greek frontier to take part in spring operations.[43]

(f) *Recruitment of guerrillas*

84. Evidence was given by a number of witnesses that the Albanian authorities actively assisted the guerrillas to recruit Greeks in Albania. In March 1949 the Albanian police had lists of those who were to be conscripted, and enforced compliance with the order for their recruitment. Recruiting meetings were held, particularly in March and April 1949, in several Albanian towns by guerrilla and Albanian officers. Albanian newspapers carried an order for all Greek refugees, including the Chams, to enroll and fight with the guerrillas. In the region of Delvine the recruiting order applied to men between 15 and 40 years of age and women between 15 and 25 years of age. One witness, a Cham who attempted to avoid conscription, was arrested by the Albanian police, turned over to the guerrillas and taken to Greece where he was trained and armed to fight.[44]

(g) *Summary*

85. To recapitulate, the Special Committee obtained evidence that Albania has furnished the guerrillas with war materials of great quantity and diversity, has returned guerrillas to fight after hospitalization, has assisted in recruiting Greeks in Albania to swell the guerrilla ranks; has permitted the guerrillas to build in Albania and within sight of Albanian guard posts, positions from which they have fired on Greek troops; has allowed them to use her territory for tactical purposes and, on one occasion, for strategic purposes in a large-scale operation against the Greek Army.[45]

Bulgaria

1. Moral support

86. Bulgaria also has openly proclaimed its encouragement of the guerrilla movement. For instance, on 14 February 1949, *Trud*, the organ of the Bulgarian Workers (communist) Party, wished the Greek guerrillas "still greater success in the struggle for democratic Greece", declaring that "their cause is the cause of all Balkan peoples".[46]

87. At the beginning of March 1949, Mrs. Zigouleka, member of the Bulgarian Parliament at the Congress of the Panhellenic Democratic Union of Women, held "somewhere in Free Greece", speaking in the name of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, stated:

"I wish to tell you that we support you and shall continue to support you morally and politically".[47]

88. Again, on 16 March 1949, Mr. Kolarov, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, publicly declared:

"We must admit the truth of one accusation, namely, that the Bulgarian people desire to see the

[37] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/32, 1/W/370; OG.2/25, 2/W/354; OG.2/32, 2/W/405; OG.2/36, 2/W/436; OG.5/14, 5/W/140, 152.

[38] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/32, 1/W/363; OG.1/33, 1/W/380; OG.1/35, 1/W/402; OG.5/12, 5/W/110; OG.5/16, 5/W/168.

[39] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/34, 1/W/394; OG.2/32, 2/W/403; OG.5/14, 5/W/151.

[40] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/12, 5/W/98; OG.5/14, 5/W/127; OG.1/30, 1/W/344.

[41] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/17, 5/W/172, 179; OG.2/34, 2/W/420, 424.

[42] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/33, 2/W/416; ch. IV, par. 135, footnote 54.

[43] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/14, 5/W/121, 137, 138, 140, 145.

[44] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/29, 1/W/331; OG.1/33, 1/W/37 383, 385; OG.1/34, 1/W/394, 396; OG.5/14, 5/W/14 OG.5/16, 5/W/166; OG.5/17, 5/W/174, 176, 177; A/AC.1 W89; A/AM.16/715, annex 1.

[45] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/31/S-1; OG.1/32.

[46] A/AC.16/W.90, pp. 5–6.

[47] "Free Greece" Radio, 8 March 1949; Budapest Rad 9 March 1949, and Bulgarian broadcast, 28 April 19

reek people free and independent. The Bulgar-n people are extending moral support to the reek people for the realization of this goal. . . . this wish of ours is a sin, we gladly plead ilty".[48]

89. Moreover, on 25 March 1949, according to a tness,[49] a member of the Bulgarian Government ted to Greeks in the camp at Berkovitsa:

"All the democratic countries are by your side d will sacrifice everything to help you and to d you back victoriously to your homes . . .".[50]

90. "Aid Committees" have continued to work Bulgaria on behalf of the Greek guerilla move-nt. There have been reports as to the sale of mps and coupons on which were printed pic-res of a Greek guerrilla, and such words as lelp for the Greek guerrillas". Propaganda sters were also displayed. Shops were required give one day's profit and to collect sales taxes, vel taxes were levied on journeys between vil-ges, and collections were made at schools and m house to house. In some cases the collections re alleged to be for Greek refugees. Often the yors of Bulgarian villages and towns served as airmen of the "Aid Committees".[51]

MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

(a) *Introduction*

91. A large part of the Bulgarian-Greek border ns along the top of mountain ranges which slope adually into Bulgaria but steeply into Greece. mmunications on the Bulgarian side of the ntier are easy, whereas those on the Greek side e difficult. This difference in terrain has been ploited by the guerrillas with the permission and sistance of Bulgaria. The guerrillas have con-ucted positions on the border and have used lgarian territory for passing from one area thin Greece to another.

(b) *Tactical use of territory*

92. In early May 1949, the Greek Army launched attack against the guerrillas in the Ali Butus ea. United Nations observers saw the course of e attack at close range. The Greek Army, as it vanced along the frontier, was pinned down by fire coming from guerrilla positions within Bulgaria. After suffering casualties, the Greek Army made a flanking move of about 1,000 metres into Bulgaria and neutralized the guerrilla positions. Observers found that the guerrilla positions ran astride the border and then turned into Bulgaria to a depth of 500 meters; that the guerrillas had living quarters within Bulgaria; that they had been supplied with ample munitions including grenades with Bulgarian markings; and that telephone wires ran from the guerrilla positions into Bulgaria.[52]

93. The testimony of witnesses showed that later in May 1949, a force of some 700 guerrillas crossed and re-crossed the frontier during a march eastwards from the Haidu area to attack Metaxadhes and after the failure of the attack, withdrew into Bulgarian territory.[53] Guerrillas have constantly marched through Bulgarian territory when moving between the Evros and the Belles areas and have often spoken to the Bulgarian frontier guards.[54] Guerrilla forces have several times withdrawn into Bulgaria under pressure from the Greek Army, with the knowledge of the local Bulgarian authorities.[55] United Nations observers reported that, on 15 June 1949, they had watched a party of guerrillas withdraw into Bulgaria near a manned Bulgarian frontier post when pressed by the Greek Army.[56]

(c) *Supplies*

94. All the evidence indicates that large quantities of military stores have been supplied to the guerrillas by Bulgaria and that the forwarding of supplies has been highly organized. Supplies were brought to central depots in the frontier zone within Bulgaria by train and truck. One large depot north of Ali Butus was operated by guerrilla personnel, comprised of one section dealing with small arms and ammunition, a second with food, and a third with artillery and shells.[57] Another depot supplied the headquarters of a large guerrilla force north of Drama.[58]

95. From such depots, supplies were taken to the border, usually in the charge of Bulgarian soldiers, and turned over to the guerrillas. An effort was made to check the stores in order to prevent those with Bulgarian markings from entering Greece.[59] The main points of delivery into Greece have been at Krasokhori, in the east Belles region, in Haidu and in the vicinity of Sarpidho-

[48] IV, *Free Bulgaria*, 7—1 April 1949, pp. 101, 102, AC.16/W.90, p. 6. See also A/AC.16/545.

[49] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/26, annex A, 4/W/294.

[50] For visits of other Bulgarian officials to camps and for paganda in support of guerrilla movement, see wit-sses 3/W/189, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/28; 4/W/241, .4/23; 4/W/271, OG.4/24; 4/W/348, OG.4/28; 4/W/205, .4/19; 5/W/115, OG.5/13; 6/W/174, OG.6/30.

[51] A/AC.16/471; see 4/W/291, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/25; W/295, OG.4/26; 4/W/314, OG.4/27; 4/W/352, 353, .4/28; 6/W/174, OG.6/30; see also Bulgarian radio adcast 07.00 hours, 28 April 1949.

[52] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/27/S-1.

[53] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/31.

[54] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/221; OG.3/32, 3/W/261; OG.4/18, 4/W/186; OG.4/21, 4/W/-215; *cf.* OG.4/25, 4/W/289; OG.4/26, 4/W/297.

[55] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/29, 3/W/217; OG.6/29, 6/W/-170.

[56] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/30/S-1.

[57] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/24, 4/W/271.

[58] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/25, 3/W/160.

[59] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/19, 4/W/204.

nia. All along the frontier, however, supplies of food, arms and ammunition have been delivered to the guerrillas at convenient points.[60]

96. For many months the guerrillas maintained one of their main centres of resistance in the Angistron-Krasokhori area, until it was eliminated by operations of the Greek Army in March 1949. The village of Krasokhori is on the border, and there was constant communication between it and the Bulgarian village of Lehovo.[61] Supplies came by train to Marikostenovo, then by truck to Katuntsi, where there was a large storehouse. From here deliveries were made by night to the guerrillas in Krasokhori by convoys of mules with Bulgarian soldiers in charge.[62] When the guerrillas were firmly in possession of this area, Bulgarian trucks crossed the border into Greece to deliver supplies of arms, ammunition and food to Angistron.[63] United Nations observers, on the night of 4 March 1949, saw from Mt. Terbelar truck traffic approaching Angistron from Bulgaria.[64]

97. Members of the Special Committee who visited this area in May 1949 were convinced that supplies could have reached the guerrillas there only from Bulgaria, since the Greek side of the guerrilla perimeter was closely controlled by the Greek Army.[65]

(d) *Return of Greek guerrillas after hospitalization*

98. Many witnesses testified to the existence in Bulgaria of a highly organized system for returning guerrillas to fight after hospitalization. Wounded guerrillas were evacuated from Greece to first aid or clearing stations near the border.[66] They were then transferred by truck, train, and sometimes by plane, to large hospitals at Sofia[67] and at Bankia.[68] Many of them were sent on to hospitals at Sinaia and Bucharest in Romania.

99. Convalescent guerrillas were sent to Berkovitsa,[69] which was used as a staging camp for returning guerrillas to fight in Greece.[70] Especially noteworthy was the large number of guerrillas who were returned from hospitals in Bulgaria or Romania through Yugoslavia to the Korona salient.[71] Evidence of the participation of the Government of Bulgaria in the movement of guerrillas is found in the highly co-ordinated use of trucks and trains for their transportation.[72]

(e) *Camps for guerrillas*

100. The Greek guerrillas continue to use the camp at Berkovitsa as the principal centre in Bulgaria for mustering, equipping and training their forces.[73] Evidence shows that, in March 1949, there were over 2,000 Greeks there, mostly of military age, as persons over fifty or otherwise unsuitable for military service had been segregated since June 1948 in a camp at Byelogradchick.[74] The Berkovitsa organization has steadily supplied very considerable reinforcements to the guerrillas in Greece, particularly in the Haidu, Krasokhori and Korona areas. For example, evidence indicates that between mid-March and mid-April 1949 at least 750 guerrillas were returned to Greece from this camp. There is also ample evidence to show that these military movements have been carried out with the knowledge and active assistance of the Bulgarian authorities.[75]

(f) *Recruitment of guerrillas*

101. There is evidence that the Bulgarian authorities have given every assistance in the recruitment of Greeks in Bulgaria for the guerrilla forces. Several groups of Greeks living in the Petritch-Svetivrats area in Bulgaria were compelled to join the guerrilla ranks between February and April 1949.[76] Furthermore, many children, some as young as fourteen, previously removed by the Greek guerrillas from Greece to Bulgaria, have been sent as recruits to the guerrilla forces in Greece.[77]

(g) *Summary*

102. To recapitulate, the Special Committee has obtained evidence that Bulgaria has furnished the guerrillas with great quantities of military supplies, allowed them use of its territory for tactical purposes, maintained camps for them and returned

[60] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/32, 3/W/261; OG.4/25, 4/W/286, 293; OG.4/28, 4/W/351; OG.4/29, 4/W/356; OG.6/31, 6/W/194; OG.6/32, 6/W/240.

[61] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/17; 4/W/175.

[62] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/20, 4/W/211.

[63] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/22, 4/W/222; OG.4/24, 4/W/275; OG.3/25, 3/W/160; OG.3/33, 3/W/264.

[64] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/23.

[65] A/AC.16/711.

[66] Nevrokop, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/224, 250; Marikostenovo, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/231; OG.3/31, 3/W/251; Ortakioi, OG.6/32, 6/W/241; Tchekalarova, OG.4/28, 4/W/350; Rodozem, OG.4/28, 4/W/351; Koli Bardjesme, OG.6/30, 6/W/175; Loftsa, OG.4/20, 4/W/211; Petritch, OG.3/30, 3/W/223, OG.3/32, 3/W/261.

[67] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/14, 5/W/135.

[68] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/224.

[69] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/35, 2/W/429; OG.3/25, 3/W/160; OG.3/30, 3/W/222.

[70] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/35, 2/W/429; OG.3/25, 3/W/160; OG.3/27, 3/W/169, 177; OG.3/30, 3/W/235; OG.3/32, 3/W/260; OG.4/22, 4/W/224; OG.4/23, 4/W/256, 266; OG.4/25, 4/W/287; OG.4/27, 4/W/309, 315, 316; OG.5/15, 5/W/159; OG.6/29, 6/W/167; OG.6/11, 6/W/188, 194, 220.

[71] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/27, 3/W/170, 17 182; OG.3/28, 3/W/209; and, for Romania, pars. 116–11 below.

[72] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/24, 4/W/270, 271; A/AC.16/SC.1/ OG.4/25, 4/W/290.

[73] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/27, 4/W/312, 327; OG.4/28, 4/W/ 348; OG.5/14, 5/W/135.

[74] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/227, 232; OG.3/32, 3/W/ 258; OG.4/25, 4/W/294; OG.6/30, 6/W/179; OG.6/3 6/W/221.

[75] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/28, 3/W/188; OG.3/30, 3/W/226 OG.4/25, 4/W/284; OG.4/27, 4/W/324, 327; OG.6/31, 6 W/180, 181, 182, 183, 223.

[76] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/28, 3/W/194; OG.3/29, 3/W/218 OG.4/25, 4/W/295; OG.4/27, 4/W/314, 322.

[77] See par. 122 below.

ıem to fight after hospitalization. It has also iven assistance in recruitment for the guerrilla orces.

ugoslavia

MORAL SUPPORT

103. There have been many statements in the ugoslav Press and in radio broadcasts from ugoslavia indicating moral support of the Greek uerrilla movement. For example, on 20 March 949, *Borba*, the official organ of the Yugoslav ommunist Party, in an article which was also roadcast during the "week of solidarity with the ghting Greek people", stated that "in this coun-y that week will pass in a spirit of solidarity on ıe part of our people with the struggle of the reek people who have revolted against the Athens gime and against the monarcho-fascists main-ining power with the aid of foreign intervention ıd terror".[78]

104. Mr. Kulishevsky, Premier of the People's epublic of Yugoslav Macedonia, stated on 10 pril 1949, during the third congress of the Yugo-av Popular Front:

"Our attitude as regards the fight of our people Aegean Macedonia and the struggle of the reek people in general has not been changed by ıe Cominform's decision. Our greatest sympa-ıies are with the heroic Greek people and with ıe Macedonian people who are still engaged in ıeir fight and they will continue to have our moral ıpport as they have had it until now."[79]

105. The Special Committee has noted, how-er, a recent change in the situation. On 6 July 949, the "Free Greece" radio, which had some me before July 1949 been transferred from the cinity of Belgrade to that of Bucharest,[80] ac-ısed Yugoslavia of permitting tactical use of ugoslav territory in the Kaimakchalan area by ıe Greek Army in operations against the Greek uerrillas and, on 7 July 1949 declared that Yugo-avia had ambitions to annex "Aegean" Mace-onia to Yugoslavia. On 10 July 1949, Marshal ito, in an address at Pola, stated that "Demo-atic Greece" had fallen "into a trap" in making ıese accusations, and that this "treachery" might ave "fatal consequences for the Greek liberation ovement". Marshal Tito, at the same time, de-ared that Yugoslavia must close the Greek-ugoslav frontier.[81]

106. The Special Committee has received little evidence concerning the continued activities after January 1949 of the "Aid Committees" in Yugoslavia mentioned in the Special Committee's report of 1948.[82]

2. MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

(a) *Introduction*

107. Although the Greek guerrillas have maintained concentrations on the Greek-Yugoslav frontier, the evidence available to the Special Committee indicates that material assistance from Yugoslavia to the Greek guerrillas has diminished.

(b) *Tactical use of territory*

108. There is no evidence that Greek guerrillas have used Yugoslav territory for tactical purposes during important military operations. There is, however, some evidence that, in the course of minor operations in the Florina area, Greek guerrillas made use of Yugoslav territory. On 16 February 1949, a small guerrilla group made a surprise attack from Yugoslav territory against a Greek frontier post.[83] Furthermore, on 17 February 1949, United Nations observers saw guerrillas, when hard pressed by the Greek Army, retreat into Yugoslavia.[84]

109. More important, however, was the movement of guerrilla transport and personnel from Bulgaria through southern Yugoslavia into the Vitsi area[85] and the Korona salient.[86] Members of the Special Committee who visited the Yugoslav border on 18 May 1949 formed the opinion that the configuration of the land and the disposition of the Greek Army made it impossible for supplies to have reached this salient except through Yugoslavia.[87]

(c) *Supplies*

110. The evidence indicates that three routes have been used for the transport of supplies from Yugoslavia to the guerrillas fighting in Greece. One has been along the east shore of Lake Prespa to Laimos and thence to the Vitsi area, Ayios Germanos and Plati.[88] Along this route, in the region where the frontiers of Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia meet, supplies coming from Albania, and to a lesser degree from Yugoslavia, have maintained

[78] A/AC.16/621.

[79] A/AC.16/662, annex A, pp. 1–4; for other statements support, see Vice-Premier Moshe Pijade in *Borba*, 6 arch 1949, and A/AC.16/596 (Radio Belgrade), 627 *Borba*) and 724 (*Nova Makedonia*—Yugoslav news-ıper) and Radio Belgrade, 29 April 1949, broadcasting the Romanian language that Yugoslavia "had always fended the just cause of the Greek people and had fully ıpported it".

[80] A/AC.16/772, and par. 117 below.

[81] A/AC.16/771; see also A/AC.16/773 and A/AC.16/-C.1/OG.3/34/S–1/rev. 1 and S–2.

[82] A/574, par. 110; see, however, witness 5/W/116, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/13, annex A, p. 3.

[83] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/10.

[84] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/10; see also witness evidence in OG.5/14 for incident of 22 April 1949, when a group of 12 or 14 guerrillas crossed the frontier into Yugoslavia, well within the visual range of three Yugoslav frontier posts: 5/W/153, 154, OG.5/14, annex B, pp. 28 to 30.

[85] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/26, 4/W/296; OG.5/16, 5/W/159, 167; OG.3/28, 3/W/209, 212; OG.3/27, 3/W/177.

[86] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, 3/W/221; OG.4/24, 4/W/270.

[87] A/AC.16/711.

[88] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/26, 2/W/359; OG.2/31, 2/W/385, 392, 395; OG.5/10, 5/W/78; OG.5/14, 5/W/129.

a considerable guerrilla force in the field in the Vitsi area.[89]

111. The second has been across Kaimakchalan, where mule paths have been used to supply small groups of guerrillas in the western part of the Ardhea plain around Loutraki.[90] Thirdly, supplies and personnel have moved from the Belles region, in an area where the Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav frontiers meet, to Lithoto and Kavalaris, and also round the north shore of Lake Doiran to the Korona salient.[91]

112. Before March 1949, supplies of a varied nature apparently sent through Yugoslavia were received by the guerrillas. They included motor vehicles, anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, rifles, mines, ammunition, food, clothing and timber.[92]

Evidence regarding supplies from Yugoslavia since March 1949 is scanty.[93]

(d) *Return of Greek guerrillas after hospitalization*

113. The principal hospital centre for Greek guerrillas in Yugoslavia was at Katlanska Banya, near Skoplje,[94] where the building of a spa furnished important hospital facilities.[95] During the latter part of 1948 and early in 1949, guerrillas treated at this centre were regularly returned to Greece to fight.[96] More recently, however, the majority of wounded guerrillas evacuated to Yugoslavia remained there only a short time before being sent to Bulgaria or Roumania.[97] Very few guerrillas were returned from Yugoslavia directly to Greece after February 1949, although some guerrillas were returned through Yugoslavia after treatment in other countries.[98]

(e) *Camps for guerrillas*

114. There is some evidence to show that up to March 1949 there were movements of guerrillas from Yugoslavia to Greece,[99] but that there has been a steady diminution during 1949 in the flow of replacements for the Greek guerrilla forces from camps in Yugoslavia, particularly from Bulkes.

(f) *Summary*

115. To recapitulate, the Special Committee has obtained evidence that aid from Bulgaria to the guerrillas in the Korona salient has passed through Yugoslav territory, along certain fixed routes. During the Special Committee's survey of northern Greece in late May 1949, members who visited the Yugoslav border formed the opinion that aid by Yugoslavia, particularly the use of her territory by Greek guerrillas, had been limited.[1] Evidence received early in July 1949 indicated that the Yugoslav frontier authorities had received instructions to close the frontier.[2] Since then, attacks on the Yugoslav régime over the "Free Greece" radio, public statements by Yugoslav officials, and in particular the statement by Marshal Tito on 10 July 1949 [3] that the Yugoslav frontier would be closed, have indicated a situation which the Special Committee is not at present in a position to evaluate.

C. SUPPORT OF THE GREEK GUERRILLA MOVEMENT BY ROMANIA

116. In the light of paragraph 9 on the resolution of the General Assembly of 27 November 1948 [4] which recommended that all Members of the United Nations and all other States "refrain from any action designed to assist directly or through any other government any armed group fighting against the Greek Government", the Special Committee has taken note of certain activities in countries other than the northern neighbours of Greece, particularly Romania, in support of the Greek guerrilla movement.

1. *Location of the "Free Greece" radio station*

117. In its first report to the General Assembly the Special Committee stated that the "Free Greece" radio station was located in Yugoslavia in the vicinity of Belgrade.[5] The radio direction finder tests carried out by the Special Committee in July 1949 [6] have conclusively established [7] that this station is now in Romania in the vicinity of Bucharest. This station continues to incite the Greek people to rebel against the Government of Greece.

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[89] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/22, 4/W/229; OG.5/13, 5/W/115, 119; OG.5/14, 5/W/136.

[90] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/33, 3/W/363.

[91] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/27, 3/W/174, 175, 184; OG.3/28, 3/W/191; OG.4/23, 4/W/252; OG.4/24, 4/W/269.

[92] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/24, 2/W/341; OG.2/26, 2/W/359; OG.2/27, 2/W/363; OG.2/28, 2/W/364, 365; OG.5/12, 5/W/104; OG.4/22, 4/W/229; OG.3/27, 3/W/171; OG.5/-13, 5/W/115; OG.5/14, 5/W/129.

[93] Except in the area of Korona where up to April 1949 food, clothing and ammunition are reported to have been received (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/16, 5/W/171).

[94] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/31,4/W/372.

[95] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31, 2/W/384, 393; OG.2/32, 2/W/-408; OG.2/35, 2/W/428; OG.3/29, 3/W/219; OG.5/14, 5/W/139.

[96] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/36, 1/W/403; OG.2/32, 2/W/408; OG.2/35, 2/W/428; OG.5/14, 5/W/136, 157.

[97] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/35, 2/W/428; OG.3/28, 3/W/213; OG.3/30, 3/W/222; OG.3/31, 3/W/242.

[98] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31, 2/W/395, 399; OG.2/35, 2/-W/428.

[99] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31, 2/W/393; OG.3/29, 3/W/219; OG.5/14, 5/W/139; OG.5/10, 5/W/78; OG.2/31, 2/W/385, 392.

[1] A/AC.16/711.

[2] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/34/S-2.

[3] A/AC.16/771.

[4] See annex 1, res. 193 (III) A.

[5] A/574, par. 116.

[6] A/AC.16/772.

[7] The radio direction finder tests were conducted under extremely favourable technical conditions which guarantee the accuracy of the results.

Other support

118. The evidence obtained by the Special Com-ittee indicates that during the period covered this report, Romania has supported the Greek ierrilla movement in other ways. Much pub-ity has been given in Romania to the activities the "National Committee for Aid to the Greek eople". Radio Bucharest has frequently an-unced details of collections "in aid of the Greek emocratic Army", and witnesses have given evi-nce of such activities.[8]

119. Furthermore, evidence obtained from many itnesses has indicated that, since November 1948, rge numbers of wounded Greek guerrillas have en sent to Romania for treatment in Bucharest, naia, Kasimovo and Moniassa.[9] These guer-llas have been systematically sent, after treat-ent, to Berkovitsa and thence back to the guer-lla ranks in Greece. There is also considerable idence that Greek children previously removed om Greece by the Greek guerrillas have been nt from Romania to Berkovitsa on their way ck to Greece, as recruits for the guerrilla rces.[10] A witness [11] spoke of supply dumps in omania and of one in particular located in a rest between Ploesti and Campian, from which eapons captured from the Germans were regu-rly despatched by rail to the guerrillas.

RECRUITMENT OF CHILDREN FIGHT WITH THE GREEK GUERRILLAS[12]

120. In March 1949, the Special Committee be-n to receive reports of the presence of Greek ildren in the combat units of the guerrillas. nese children, who for the most part had been moved from their homes in Greece by the guer-llas in 1948 and taken to Albania, Bulgaria and ugoslavia, allegedly for humanitarian reasons, ve been compelled by the guerrillas to return to ght.[13] Since March 1949, the Special Committee s received overwhelming evidence that the reek guerrilla movement is utilizing children own to fourteen years of age, both boys and girls, fighting groups. The following examples have been taken from the evidence on this subject obtained from witnesses.[14]

1. Albania

121. Greek children in Elbasan, in November 1948, received instruction in military drill before being sent to Greece on reaching the age of fifteen.[15] Here in January 1949, the older children of a group of 600, aged from five to seventeen, were being drafted to fighting units, five or ten to a company.[16] A Greek girl of sixteen, who surrendered on 17 April 1949, had been sent back from Albania on 15 March 1949 for military training to Plati in Greece.[17] At the end of March 1949, a general order was issued at Delvine for the conscription of all Greeks over fifteen.[18] On 18 April 1949, the Government of Albania stated that there were no Greek children in Albania.[19]

2. Bulgaria

122. Groups of children have repeatedly been assembled at Berkovitsa,[20] and sent back from Bulgaria to Greece to train for combat units.[21] Their arrival at guerrilla centres and at training camps in Greece, at Kallithea, Andartikon, Plati, Dhipotoma and Khloi, has been repeatedly mentioned by witnesses.[22] In particular, one boy of fifteen who was wounded and captured on 24 June 1949 described how, when he arrived at the training camp of Kallithea on 23 March 1949, he found about 200 Greek children between the ages of fourteen and fifteen. They spent six weeks doing military training before being sent to military units at Andartikon.[23] Another boy of fifteen who surrendered in April 1949 told how he had been taken from Berkovitsa on 16 April 1949, along with thirty other children, to Khloi for training.[24] Another boy of fourteen, forcibly recruited in Greece in February 1949, was taken to Berkovitsa, from where he was conducted in a convoy by Bulgarian soldiers to the Yugoslav border and thence to the Prespa area in Greece. He was wounded and captured on 15 May 1949.[25]

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[8] See in particular Radio Bucharest on 7, 18, 19 and 20 nuary and 14 June 1949; A/AC.16/551, A/AC.16/559; tnesses 5/W/51, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/8, annex A, p. 4; W/236, A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, annex C, p. 2; A/AC. /W.90.

[9] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/27, 3/W/181; G.3/28, 3/W/212, 214; OG.3/30, 3/W/225, 229, 230, 233; G.3/31, 3/W/247; OG.4/24, 4/W/269; OG.4/27, 4/W/-5.

[10] See especially A/AC.16/W.88; par. 122 below; A/AC.-/SC.1/OG.2/25, 2/W/431; OG.3/27, 3/W/172; OG.3/30, W/227, 230; OG.3/32, 3/W/259; OG.4/26, 4/W/294; G.5/17, 5/W/172.

[11] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/30, annex C, 3/W/236.

[12] See ch. IV, pars. 131–136.

[13] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/36, 2/W/434, 435; OG.4/27, 4/-/325; OG.5/12, 5/W/112.

[14] A/AC.16/W.88 gives a comprehensive summary of evidence up to 15 May 1949.

[15] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/22, 2/W/322; OG.2/30, 2/W/383.

[16] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/18, 5/W/192.

[17] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/14, 5/W/141.

[18] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/33, 1/W/385. Cf. OG.5/17, 5/-W/178.

[19] A/AC.16/678 and ch. IV, par. 135 below.

[20] See ch. III C for evidence regarding the return of Greek children to Berkovitsa from Romania.

[21] See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/35, 2/W/429; OG.3/31, 3/W/247; OG.4/26, 4/W/294; OG.4/27, 4/W/-342; OG.4/28, 4/W/347; OG.5/19, 5/W/199; OG.6/30, 6/W/179.

[22] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/31, 2/W/393; OG.2/35, 2/W/432; OG.4/25, 4/W/293; OG.4/26, 4/W/303; OG.5/17, 5/W/173, 174.

[23] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/36, 2/W/435.

[24] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/27, 4/W/325.

[25] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/16, 5/W/169.

3. Yugoslavia

123. One witness spoke of children sent to Yugoslavia in 1947 being returned to the Korona salient in October 1948,[26] but no other evidence has come to the Committee's attention concerning the return from Yugoslavia of children previously removed from Greece. Yugoslav territory, however, has been used for the passage of children between Albania, Bulgaria and Greece, the last reported instance being in April 1949, when 200 children on their way from Skodra to Berkovitsa crossed Yugoslavia by road.[27]

Chapter IV. Co-operation of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans With Other International Organizations

A. PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL REFUGEES

124. Because of the lack of co-operation of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the Special Committee has still been unable to assist those Governments to settle problems arising from the presence of refugees in those three States.[28] The Special Committee studied, however, the problem of the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav refugees in Greece and recommended that this problem be turned over to a competent agency of the United Nations. It has watched with interest the progress made by the International Refugee Organization in providing for these refugees.[29] Liaison has been maintained through the Athens office of IRO, which has kept the Special Committee informed of all important developments.[30]

125. The latest information makes the Special Committee hopeful that the international refugee problem in Greece is well on the road to solution.[31] It appears that 1,080 of the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav refugees in Greece at the time of the Special Committee's arrival in November 1947 have been transferred from Greece to re-settlement camps in Italy (320 Albanians, 283 Bulgarians and 477 Yugoslavs).[32] A further 159 cases of Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav refugees are awaiting final action in Greece.[33] Only eighty-eight of the original refugee applicants have been found ineligible for aid by IRO and remain in Greece. However, the international refugee problem in Greece is a continuing one and the International Refugee Organization has received new applicants for aid each month.

B. INTERNAL REFUGEES IN GREECE

126. While carrying out in Greece in 1948 and 1949 the task entrusted to them by the General Assembly, the members of the Special Committee have noted with anxiety the serious social and humanitarian problem created by the number of internal Greek refugees uprooted from their homes, which has increased from approximately 18,600 in January 1947 to nearly a million in January 1949, or approximately one-seventh of the population of Greece.[34]

127. Representatives in Greece of agencies of the United Nations charged with providing advisory services and material aid to the Greek Government.[35] warned the Prime Minister of Greece, in a joint letter in November 1948, of the gravity of the problem, which was of "such magnitude that it was far beyond the scope of programmes which had been planned and far beyond the resources which Greece had itself or had available to it from any other source".[36]

128. After receiving detailed current information from representatives of these agencies,[37] the Special Committee, on 3 March 1949, requested its Principal Secretary to draw the attention of the Secretary-General to the plight of these refugees and the humanitarian problem involved.[38] The Secretary-General informed the Principal Secretary, on 4 April 1949, that in his opinion no basis existed at that time for any formal action by the United Nations.[39]

129. Subsequently, on 13 May 1949, the Special Committee heard further statements on the gravity of the problem from representatives of the United Nations welfare mission and the Greek Red Cross.[40]

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[26] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/27, 3/W/175.

[27] A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/18, 5/W/182.

[28] See res. 109 (II), pars. 5 (3) and 6 for the Special Committee's mandate. For action of Special Committee in 1948, see A/574, pars. 87 to 97; A/692, par. 12; A/644, pars. 23–24.

[29] The IRO informed the Special Committee on 8 July 1948 that it had signed an agreement with the Greek Government to undertake this task (A/644, par. 24).

[30] See A/AC.16/W.72, A/AC.16/SR.124, A/AC.16/SR.138, pp. 1–5; A/AC.16/660, A/AC.16/747; A/AC.16/PV.162.

[31] Letter dated 20 June 1949 from local Athens representative of the IRO, A/AC.16/747 and A/AC.16/PV.162.

[32] At the time of its original study, 29 December 1947, the Special Committee had been informed there were 1,236 such refugees in Greece.

[33] The IRO has found 2,212 international refugees, other than the Albanians, Bulgarians and Yugoslavs referred to above, eligible for aid. They are being processed in a similar manner (A/AC.16/747).

[34] See A/AC.16/538, A/AC.16/601, annex; A/AC.16/691 and especially A/AC.16/PV.139, p. 2. The total number of persons who had proved their eligibility and were receiving state aid was, at the end of January 1949, 666,000; on 1 April 1949, 700,000; on 30 June 1949, 560,899 (see par. 130 above). This figure, however, did not represent the full total of refugees.

[35] World Health Organization, United Nations Welfare Mission, Food and Agriculture Organization, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

[36] A/AC.16/SR.139; A/AC.16/PV.139, p. 4.

[37] A/AC.16/SR.139; A/AC.16/PV.139.

[38] A/AC.16/601 and annexed memorandum concerning the internal refugee situation in Greece; also A/AC.16/SR.141, pp. 1–2.

[39] A/AC.16/665.

[40] A/AC.16/PV.156; see also A/AC.16/686, A/AC.16/691, A/AC.16/700.

In consequence, it requested the Principal Secretary to submit to the Secretary-General all recent information on the subject.[41] On the basis of this information, the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, on 15 June 1949, decided to send to Greece Mr. Carneiro, Brazilian member of the Board, to conduct an enquiry into the educational and cultural needs of children of refugees and to allocate funds voted by the Board to aid these children. Mr. Carneiro made a statement before the Special Committee on 19 July 1949.

130. On 28 June 1949, the Special Committee, in response to a request from the Secretary General for its advice, sent a telegram stating that "the plight of the refugees represents a humanitarian problem of such proportions that the Economic and Social Council might appropriately consider a resolution urging the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to extend all appropriate assistance within the scope of their responsibilities and the limits of their resources".[42] On 13 July 1949, the Greek Minister of Welfare announced that improved security conditions had permitted the re-settlement of 130,000 refugees. The problems of their physical re-settlement and economic rehabilitation are of serious concern to the Greek Government.

. GREEK CHILDREN REMOVED FROM GREECE

131. In the course of 1948, some 25,000 Greek children were removed from Greece and retained in the territories of the northern neighbours of Greece and other countries.[43] In its resolution 193 (III) C of 27 November 1948, the General Assembly recommended "the return to Greece of Greek children at present away from their homes when the children, their father or mother or, in his or her absence, their closest relative, express a wish to that effect.[44] All Members of the United Nations and other States, on the territories of which those children were to be found, were invited to take the necessary measures for the implementation of the recommendation. The Secretary-General was instructed to request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Crescent Societies to organize and ensure liaison with the national Red Cross organizations of the States concerned with a view to adopting measures in the respective countries for implementing the recommendation.

132. In view of this resolution the Special Committee has confined its work to gathering supplementary information from witnesses interrogated by its observation groups concerning the removal of the children and their subsequent living conditions.[45] At the same time, it has followed with interest the work of the various international and national Red Cross organizations [46] and has maintained liaison with the Secretary-General.[47]

133. The Special Committee has not yet received information from the International Red Cross indicating that any of the Greek children have been returned through the good offices of that organization.[48] Petitions, however, for the return of 5,748 children had been submitted by the Greek Red Cross by 5 July 1949.[49] The latest detailed information received concerning the problem is contained in a report of 3 June 1949 to the Secretary-General from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The report indicates that the Red Cross had not at that date been able to attain its preliminary objective before preparing actual measures for repatriation, namely, that of obtaining lists of the names of the Greek children in camps abroad. Through its representatives, the International Red Cross has investigated the living conditions in some of the camps for these children in Bulgaria,[50] Czechoslovakia,[51] and Yugoslavia. Conditions in these camps have been found to be satisfactory. The International Red Cross has not, however, received permission to visit all the countries taking care of Greek children away from their homes.[52]

134. The report also states *inter alia*, that at the end of April 1949, 11,845 Greek children were in eight Yugoslav Red Cross hostels, and that 3,347 were living with their parents or Greek refugee families in Yugoslavia. It added that, between April 1948 and March 1949, the approx-

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[41] A/AC.16/714.

[42] A/AC.16/SR.163.

[43] A/574, pars. 117–123; A/692, par. 14; A/AC.16/514.

[44] See ch. I, par. 10; see also annex 1 for full text of res. 193 (III) C.

[45] See, for example, A/AC.16/W.71; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/23/S–1; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/18 K, annex 3, and other reports *passim*. Also A/AC.16/SC.1/57, annex F, for Special Committee's instructions to its observation groups.

[46] See especially A/AC.16/SR.131, p. 6; A/AC.16/SR.133, p. 5; A/AC.16/SC.2/Min. 40, pp. 1–4; A/AC.16/606, A/AC.16/607, A/AC.16/686 and A/AC.16/696. See also A/AC.16/PV.156 for discussion with representatives of the Greek Red Cross Society and United Nations agencies in Greece concerning Greek children and Greek refugees.

[47] See in particular A/AC.16/625/rev. 1.

[48] A/836.

[49] See A/AC.16/623; A/AC.16/625/rev. 1, and information received from the Greek Red Cross, 22 July 1949.

[50] On 6 April 1949, in a report to the Secretary-General, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies stated that there were then 1,972 Greek children in Bulgaria (A/836, p. 3).

[51] The number of Greek children in Czechoslovakia is unknown to the Special Committee. The latest official figure is 2,235, given by the League of Red Cross Societies in a letter to the Special Committee dated 24 November 1948 (A/AC.16/514) but see par. 134 above.

[52] Among those countries is Romania. The latest official figures (24 November 1948) available to the Special Committee show a total of 3,801 Greek children in that country (A/AC.16/514). Since that time additional children have arrived from Albania (see footnote 54 following) and Yugoslavia (see par. 134) while other children have been transferred to Berkovitsa in Bulgaria (see ch. III, par. 122).

imate number of Greek children transferred from Yugoslavia was as follows: to Czechoslovakia, 3,550; to Hungary, 3,050; to Romania, 6,400; and to Poland, 500 [53]; the total being 13,500. The Yugoslav Red Cross has also informed the International Red Cross representatives that since it was in direct contact with the Greek Red Cross the intervention of the International Red Cross was not essential. "Greek parents could apply directly to the Yugoslav Red Cross for the repatriation of the children. The Yugoslav Red Cross was also ready to act upon requests for repatriation already received by the International Red Cross."

135. Moreover, the report notes that the Government of Albania informed the Secretary-General on 18 April 1949 that the question of the repatriation of Greek children no longer concerned Albania, owing to the fact that there were no Greek children in Albania at that time.[54]

136. The transfer of Greek children by Albania, Yugoslavia and Romania [55] to countries other than Greece appears contrary to the spirit of the resolution unanimously approved by the General Assembly. Implementation of that resolution implied that children would be retained where they were until the question of their return to Greece had been settled.

Chapter V. Conclusions

A. ALBANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

137. In compliance with the mandate conferred upon it by the General Assembly, the Special Committee has constantly endeavoured to promote the establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations between Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other. The Special Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of the interested Governments to the recommendations made by the General Assembly in its resolutions of 21 October 1947 and 27 November 1948. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have nevertheless continued to disregard them.

138. The Government of Greece has continued to extend its co-operation to the Special Committee. Despite renewed efforts on the part of the Special Committee to obtain the co-operation of the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, those Governments have continued to refuse to recognize it in any way.

B. ALBANIA AND BULGARIA

139. Albania and Bulgaria have continued to give moral and material assistance to the Greek guerrilla movement. Albania is the principal source of material assistance.

140. Albania and Bulgaria have directly encouraged and incited the Greek guerrillas in their attempts to overthrow the Greek Government by official declarations in the Press and in radio broadcasts from Government-controlled stations, by visits of officials to the camps for guerrillas and by the continued activities of "Aid Committees", which were established in 1947 and 1948 for the collection of money, food and clothing.

141. Of far greater moment, however, has been the material assistance which Albania and Bulgaria have given to the Greek guerrillas. These countries have provided large quantities of war material and other supplies, thus enabling them to continue fighting. Albania and Bulgaria have allowed them extensive use of their territories to escape from the Greek Army and for other tactical purposes. These countries have also actively assisted the guerrillas in the recruitment of Greeks in their territories. Furthermore, a system has been in operation in their territories for the return of guerrillas to fight in Greece after treatment in hospitals and convalescent centres. Although there can be no objection on humanitarian grounds to the care of sick and wounded guerrillas in those territories, such a system for their return to Greece after hospitalization constitutes a use of those territories "as a base for the preparation or launching of armed action", and is therefore in direct contravention of paragraph 6 of resolution 193 (III) A of the General Assembly.

C. YUGOSLAVIA

142. Yugoslavia continued to give moral and material aid to the guerrillas during the early part of the period covered by the present report. This country allowed the use of its territory for the passage of guerrillas to and from Greece, facilitated the return to Greece of guerrillas after hospitalization, and furnished some supplies of war materials. However, this aid has diminished and may have ceased.

D. GENERAL

143. The Governments which received Greek children removed from Greece have not complied with the General Assembly resolution of 27 November 1948 calling on them to co-operate in the return of the children to their families.

[53] On 9 June 1948, the Government of Poland informed the Government of Greece that there were no Greek children in Poland (A/AC.16/296).

[54] A/AC.16/678. Witnesses before Observation Group 1 on 18 May 1949 stated, however, that 40 children were concentrated at Delvine (southern Albania) on 1 May 1949 awaiting transfer to an unknown destination (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/34, p. 10, 1/W/394, 395). Witnesses have reported children being sent from Albania to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania as late as April 1949 (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.5/8, 5/W/182, 184, 185 and 2/W/416).

[55] See ch. III C for details on transfer of children from Romania. Ch. III also summarizes information received by the Special Committee that some children removed from Greece have been compelled to return to Greece to fight in the forces of the Greek guerrillas.

144. In violation of fundamental humanitarian rinciples, some of these children, both boys and irls, of adolescent age, have been sent back to reece to fight in the ranks of the guerrillas.

145. The Special Committee has noted during he period under review that, contrary to the reso- ution of the General Assembly of 27 November 948, there has been an increase in the support fforded to the guerrillas from certain States not ordering upon Greece, particularly Romania. he existence of a highly co-ordinated system of upport is apparent in, for example, the return of uerrillas to Greece after hospitalization in Ro- ania, the transfer from one State to another of reek children, and the fact that the guerrilla dio station now operates from Romania and not om Yugoslavia.

146. The Special Committee reaffirms the con- usions set forth in its previous reports to the eneral Assembly and, in particular, the conclu- on that the continuance of the present situation "constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans".

Done at 3 Marasli Street, Athens, in the English and French languages, this second day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty-nine.

Representative of:	(*Signed*)
Australia	SAM L. ATYEO
Brazil	RANGEL DE CASTRO
China	WEN YUAN-NINY
France	EMILE CHARVERIAT
Mexico	OMAR JOSEFÉ
Netherlands	J. J. A. KEUCHENIUS
Pakistan	ALI HAIDER ABBASI
Poland	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	
United Kingdom	HORACE SEYMOUR
United States of America	GERALD A. DREW
The Principal Secretary	RAOUL AGLION

The Conquering March of an Idea

by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup [1]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, has been much discussed. The proposed convention designed to supplement the declaration is also under debate. The columns of the American Bar Association *Journal* contain numerous contributions to the study of the question. I do not propose further to analyze the text or to defend or attack the drafting.

At this time the American Bar Association is faced with a larger question. The question is whether this association of leaders of the American legal profession will earnestly support or vigorously challenge this world-wide effort to consolidate and to spread our political and legal philosophy of the position of the individual in human society. I reject the possibility of a third alternation of neutrality, benevolent or otherwise. The American Bar can not be indifferent to the outcome of this campaign.

No one would be so utopian as to expect to find a text on any legal subject which would be incapable of improvement through revision by any competent group of lawyers. All legislation, every resolution, every treaty, represents a final compromise. Stylistic and substantive preferences are subordinated or blended in the agreed text. The process of accommodation of views is difficult in a resolutions committee of an association such as this, in the convention of a political party and in a state or federal legislature. It is infinitely more difficult when the process is international. Here differences of language are physical hurdles. Differences of ideas rooted in widely divergent cultures are mountain ranges which must be climbed before the plateau of agreement is reached.

Francis Wellman entitled his book published in 1903 *The Art of Cross-Examination.* He considered it a branch of the art of advocacy. The negotiation of international accommodation is equally an art. It involves tolerance and a degree of national modesty. We are not—and I hope never will be—engaged in the business of ruling the world. It is not true that the fiat of the United States is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. It is true that our system has demonstrated its success, and that success has brought us the opportunity and responsibility for leadership. International leadership is controlled by an innate antitrust law. The sanction of the law is the loss of the confidence of other nations upon which confidence true international leadership depends. Monopolistic practices defeat themselves as the Germans and Japanese have found in our own time, and as others may find to their cost. On the other hand, contributing professional, technical, and managerial skill to an international cooperation pays dividends.

A very large part of international affairs and thus of the process of international accommodation, concerns the relations between legal persons known as states. This is necessarily so. But it is no longer novel for the particular interest of the individual human being to break through the mass of interstate relationships. Jefferson could see the struggle between the colonies and the mother country in terms of individuals as well as of their political groupings. Wilson appealed to the Italian people over the heads of their government. Franklin Roosevelt is a symbol in many countries today because he felt and conveyed an interest in the living man and woman. The Com

[1] An address delivered before the 72d Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association in St. Louis, Mo., on Sept. 6, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

nunists pervert the process by seeking to subvert governments, alleging an interest in the common man whom they blatantly ignore when they succeed in imposing the power of their small elite governing class.

When the representatives of 51 states met at San Francisco in 1945 to frame a world constitution, they too had a declaration of independence from tyranny as the background for their work. This was the Atlantic Charter incorporated in the United Nations declaration of January 1, 1942. They could not have ignored, if they had wished to do so, the need to provide for a decent respect for the welfare of mankind. Thus the Charter begins with its declaration that "We, the Peoples of the United Nations," (have) "determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women . . ." It recites that the peoples have drawn the Charter through the agency of their representatives. These representatives selected the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as one of the purposes of the United Nations. They charged the General Assembly with the duty of assisting in the realization of these rights and freedoms. They devoted a chapter to international economic and social cooperation and therein made it mandatory that the United Nations shall promote: . . . universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms . . ." For the achievement of this specific purpose as well as others, all members pledged themselves "to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization . . ." They directed the Economic and Social Council to set up a commission on human rights. Thus, as John Foster Dulles has said, the United Nations was created "not merely to protect State against State, but to protect individuals."

Now in due course of international events we are confronted with the normal task of translating into more definite terms the general principles which the Charter enunciates. No constitutional document operates without the supplement of legislation. It was a pity that some regarded the United Nations Charter as an end and not a beginning, as a finished structure rather than the architectural blueprints. Line upon line, precept upon precept, the Charter is now building its practical reality. In the words of a great American lawyer, the process is "slow as measured by our lives but not slow as measured by the lives of nations."

The present effort to put content into the Charter provisions for human rights takes on a double aspect as we consider it here in the American Bar Association. There is first the aspect which confronts American lawyers who must ever be concerned to see that the international obligations of the United States are discharged in full good faith. The Charter is a treaty and as such, under the Constitution, part of the supreme law of the land. The provisions of this treaty with respect to human rights are not wholly self-operative. This fact provides us as a country not with an alibi but with an obligation. The obligation is to transform the promise and the hope into reality.

The second aspect which confronts the American lawyer is to contribute the skills of the legal profession to the effective discharge of the national obligation. There is no place in this task for factional interest or for arrogance. We have achieved much in this country in contributing to the philosophy and to the reality of human rights. We do not pretend to have attained perfection.

We recognize in our own legal development the importance of environmental factors. The law of water rights in the Southwest is not used or useful in New England. A zoning ordinance suited to New York City is not applicable to a small town in Iowa. The American system of political parties or even the jury system may have no reality for hundreds of millions of people in Asia.

Yet there is a unity of law. It is a unity which overrides divergencies of substance and procedure. The doctrine of consideration is not a universal nor is our concept of a trust. Yet there are great legal maxims which express general legal truths. We recognize their universality by naturalizing them without anglicizing their labels. So it is that the fundamental writ of habeas corpus itself retains its Latin name as do the equitable rule *sic utere tuo* and the *de minimis* doctrine. So it is that article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice—which forms an integral part of the Charter—can refer to "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations."

It is the opportunity of this and succeeding generations of lawyers to extend the range and volume of these general principles of law to the end envisaged by Cicero when:

> There will not be one law for Rome and another law for Athens, nor one law today and another tomorrow, but among all peoples and for all time one and the same law will apply.

The Declaration of Human Rights and the proposed convention are steps along this road. The declaration is a standard. By adding it to the Charter we repeat the process by which our Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution. Again we have not reached finality. The convention is the next step—a step which will transmute the general guiding principle into definite legal rule. When we have the rule we shall need machinery for its effective implementation. Neither the principle nor the rule nor the machinery will elim-

inate injustice or assure respect for rights. Our own history and the history of every country teaches us this. The machinery may be abused even as the men and women it is designed to protect may be abused.

We are attacked by the false prophets because individual cases of injustice exist even in this country and are reported in the press. The slurring propaganda seeks to conceal two important truths. The first of these is the fact that injustice in this country is headline news because it is the exception, because it is a striking departure from the general high level of our standards of conduct. The second important truth is that these exceptional cases can be reported because we have a free press which appeals to a highly developed social conscience.

On the other hand in countries shrouded by an iron curtain, or we may well say curtained by an iron shroud, it is not news that an individual is deprived of life or liberty, is imprisoned and tortured. This is not novel, it is normal to their unhappy way of life. In that way of life the individual is nothing; the state, embodied in a small ruling clique, is everything. Even if an atrocity were news in our sense of the term, it could not be printed in those countries because there is no free press. These denials of the inherent rights of the human being reach the press only when they pierce the veil and reach the free world outside.

If we had already attained a Ciceronian unity of law and a spiritual unity in our philosophical concept of the place of the individual in human society, it could be argued that respect for human rights is not a matter for international concern. The ordinary processes of law enforcement are indeed matters within the domestic jurisdiction. Yet even here international law has long recognized and our government and international tribunals have long asserted that there is a standard of civilized justice. Failure to live up to that standard resulting in injury to an alien individual has long been acknowledged to engage a state's international responsibility to pay damages.

The international society has come more slowly to recognize that what is involved is really a concern for the individual who has been the victim of barbarous treatment. In our traditional international system of interstate relationships we were impelled to confine ourselves largely to the legal fiction that the state was injured through the injury inflicted upon its citizen. But this was a procedural, not a substantive problem. The rule developed in the era of essentially bilateral relations between states and is still law. International law has not yet been fully modernized but it has progressed. We have progressed into a multilateral era. We have learned that international organization and international cooperation need not be confined to postage and statistics and weights and measures. The United States not only accepts this concept of international cooperation, it glories in it. We affirm and take pride in our leadership. I repeat it is not the leadership of monopoly or of domination but a participating and shared leadership.

I repeat also that in ratifying the Charter of the United Nations we have pledged ourselves to cooperate in promoting "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms." In 1945 we were free to choose. We could have chosen to go on down the isolationist path. Thank God we chose instead the upward path of cooperation.

That choice has in a new sense set us free. We are now free to act internationally upon our deep convictions that the welfare of the individual is something we care about not just when that individual is an American citizen but because he is a human being.

The law of the international society is catching up with the conscience of mankind. Four and five decades ago when American hearts were wrung and American sympathies went out to persecuted minorities in other lands, our government was hampered by the restrictive rules of the era. Jurists strove to grapple with the human problem and sought to develop the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. That doctrine failed to prosper not because it was humanitarian but because it was unilateral and unilateralism contained the germs of its own fatal malady.

It is not a new thing in American history that we care and care deeply what happens to human beings throughout the world. What is new is our acceptance, along with that of the great majority of other members of the family of nations, of the principles which give us a legal as well as a moral interest in human happiness.

There is not one shred of juridical support for the argument that we have no legal interest in human rights. There is no factual evidence that we have no concern about them. We as people here do care what happens to other people elsewhere.

Would this Association adopt a resolution reading:

> *Resolved:* That the American Bar Association find that the people of the United States have no interest in and are indifferent to the suffering of any individual deprived of basic human rights unless such individual is a citizen of the United States.

Would it adopt any resolution which in effect embodied such a false and obnoxious conclusion even though the meaning were cloaked instead of patent? Nor could this Association of lawyers find that there is no legal justification for our evincing our concern in the denial of the basic human rights of any individuals anywhere.

We start then with the premise that we have an ctual and a legal interest in the preservation of uman rights. Neither the law nor the fact be- ind that premise can be successfully challenged.

Our problem is then a problem of method. ome hearts may not be stout enough to face the ifficulties of international relations in the world s it exists today. I need not describe the basic ature of those difficulties or their source. We all now what they are. The difficulties are not con- ned to the consideration of a declaration and a venant of human rights. They beset us through- ut the social, economic and political fields. Some ay wish to surrender without a fight but that is ot the policy of the Government of the United tates. It is not the American tradition or the irit of the American Bar Association.

Some are discouraged by the prospect that eaties will be broken or ignored. Unfortu- tely they will be. Man is still so imperfect that oken treaties like broken contracts are part of e common phenomena of life. Life goes on be- use civilization has advanced far enough to ovide a legion of law-abiding, promise-respect- g states and individuals. We belong to that gion. We shall continue to make treaties and respect them because we believe in law and not anarchy. I see no reason to lapse into either rbarism or defeatism because there are still rbarians at large.

A heavy responsibility rests upon us and upon e like-minded peoples of the world. Openly and vertly the dignity and worth of the human rson is being assailed. We care about that and are not ashamed to admit or afraid to pro- im it.

We have an opportunity to participate, to lead participating in the long process of realizing aims and aspirations embodied in the Uni- rsal Declaration of Human Rights. Why ould we neglect this opportunity because this the beginning rather than the end? We are rking with an idea and ideas take time to ma- re and bear fruit. Is it not worth while to apture the spirit of a former president of the nerican Bar Association who said:

> The triumphant march of the conquering hero is ad- rable and to be greeted with huzzas, but the conquering rch of an idea which makes for humanity is more ad- rable and more to be applauded.

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[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

Ecuador Relief

by Edward G. Miller, Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs[1]

I shall never forget my trip to the stricken area of Ecuador. Like other Americans, when news of the earthquake first reached this country I was shocked. But, in spite of the eyewitness and other accounts of the disaster, the newsreels and the many pictures that our press published, it was impossible for me to visualize conditions as they actually are. I could not comprehend the extent and the completeness of the devastation and the untold misery that was visited in a few hours time on the people of that unfortunate country.

I went to Ecuador in an official capacity, to express personally the sympathy of our government to the government and to the people of our neighbor republic. I have returned to Washington appalled by what I saw and by the tremendous job of reconstruction and rehabilitation that must be done. But I returned inspired, at the same time, by the spirit and the determination of the survivors, the courage with which they are struggling out of the wreckage not only of their cities and towns, their homes, but of their family life as well.

I made an extended tour of the devastated area to survey conditions and bring back a report to our government. After a brief stay in Quito to confer with government officials, my tour began with Ambato, the capital of Tungurahua Province. This was an important industrial center with close to 40 thousand inhabitants. It is 80 percent destroyed. Fortunately, the quake occurred in the early afternoon and the loss of life, though considerable, was proportionately small. After two and a half weeks of toil, however, we saw rescue parties still digging corpses from the rubble of th beautiful stone cathedral, which was completel razed.

We walked over what once had been the tow of Pelileo, located in the center of the earthquak zone. This had been a town of 6 thousand peopl the thriving capital of a rich agricultural regio Today one lone wall remains partially standin there and an estimated 4 thousand bodies still la buried in the ruins. The death toll would hav been considerably larger had not a great numb of the inhabitants been at their work in the su rounding countryside.

In the area surrounding Pelileo sections the countryside, including settlements of vario sizes, completely disappeared from the face of t earth. As the angle of rest of the sloping la was disturbed by the quake, thousands of ac of the mountainside caved in and settled. He the loss of life was especially great as there w no escape.

Wherever I went—to the towns of Patate, P laro and Guano—the story was the same—deat destruction and desolation. Tales of individu horror and grief were repeated over and ov again. In one locality I saw a child still diggi in the ruins looking for his mother. In anoth a disconsolate father unwilling to accept the vious as true, hoping against hope to find his w and children still among the living.

But if the catastrophe was a horrible thing contemplate, it served at the same time to ren man's faith in his fellow men, in the princip of democratic government that are cherished the Americas and in the solidarity of the Weste Hemisphere.

For one thing, the government of Presid Galo Plaza, who was chosen only 14 months

[1] An address delivered over the National Broadcasting Company on Sept. 8, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

n election that represented the free will of people, responded in a most courageous man- to the emergency. With sureness and dis- h relief measures were taken and put into t, reducing considerably the sufferings of the ivors. Like their government, the survivors nselves rose to the occasion with great heart a display of spirit that is truly an inspira- The courage of the people and the self- nce of their government are, to me, striking ences of the real worth and dignity of the vidual human being and of the fundamental ngth of democracy.

nother fact that my survey brought forcefully e to me is the compassion that the disaster ed from Ecuador's sister republics. There an immediate and generous reaction among to help the victim nation. If there remain who question inter-American solidarity and concepts of interdependence and cooperation h are its rock-bed, let them take note of the tness with which response to the emergency .

ne facts are that within a few hours of the ter virtually every country in the Western isphere was taking measures to come to the ediate assistance of the stricken nation. n I arrived in Ambato we saw Ecuadoran and rican doctors and nurses working side by with a team of nurses from Colombia and a of doctors from Venezuela. Their joint ef- succeeded in eliminating fears of epidemic typhus and typhoid.

sponse from the family of American nations not been limited to sending emergency relief lies and personnel. Several substantial con- tions of funds have been made as well. The rnment of Venezuela showed the way with a tion of 1 million dollars. The Uruguayan gress has approved an allocation of 1 million , more than half a million dollars, from its gn-exchange fund as a gift to Ecuador. Sim- gifts have been made or are under considera- by other governments and agencies. Among atter, the International Children's Emergency d of the United Nations proposes to allocate thousand dollars for the specific purpose of g care of the needs of children. The Coun- f the Organization of American States has a gift of 250 thousand dollars to cover the of survey of reconstruction problems of the

ne amounts of contributions from sister re- ics do not at first glance reflect their magni- . If we consider that each of the nations to outh is facing domestic problems of its own devoting as much of its income as possible to omic development, we will get a more accur- appraisal of the sacrifices these nations are ing.

I was gratified to see the effects of United States aid to Ecuador. The American Red Cross alone has extended emergency relief amounting to 135 thousand dollars in the form of cash, medical supplies, sanitation equipment, blankets and large supplies of tents for temporary shelter against the rainy season which has already begun.

In addition, the Red Cross sent to Ecuador two of its most experienced disaster relief technicians, Maurice Reddy of Washington, D. C., and H. Edward Russell of St. Louis, who did able and creditable work in organizing and directing relief measures. On my trip to Ecuador I was accompanied by Frank T. Cleverly of Alexandria, Virginia, Administrator for Foreign Operations of the Red Cross.

The United States Department of National Defense, likewise, made an important contribution in the form of air transportation of the supplies it made available to the Red Cross and participation in emergency operations. For the 2 weeks after the quake, a veritable air lift was in operation between the Canal Zone, Quito and Ambato.

United States representatives of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs who were on the scene and other sanitary engineers of that organization sent from Peru and Bolivia contributed measurably to the success of antiepidemic activities and other work in the stricken area. Within 48 hours after the quake for example, a portable water supply system had been installed in Ambato and is in full operation.

Dr. C. Glenn Curtis, of Pasadena, California, chief of the Institute's mission to Ecuador, was designated by President Plaza to be in charge of all medical and antiepidemic activities, testifying to Ecuadoran confidence in Dr. Curtis and in the ability of his mission. Within a few hours of the news of the earthquake, Preston Blanks, formerly of Meridian, Mississippi, was sent to the disaster area by Dr. Curtis along with a group of assistants. They have been hard at work ever since. When I arrived at the town of Ambato I found Mr. Blanks to be the most popular man there.

I cannot let this occasion go by without a mention of the personal devotion of Mrs. Betty Bernbaum of Chicago, the wife of the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States Embassy in Quito, Maurice M. Bernbaum. For 6 days and 6 nights, without let-up, Mrs. Bernbaum operated a portable hand radio transmitting set, relaying to the Canal Zone information about relief supplies that were most urgently needed. Her performance was outstanding, but at the same time typical of the reaction of the entire United States mission to Ecuador.

All in all, immediate relief measures that were taken in Ecuador were spectacular and they have more than amply met the requirements of the situation. Present physical needs are adequately taken care of and other emergency measures to

prevent postdisaster epidemics have been effectively taken. Supplies of food and clothing appear ample.

The basic problem that now confronts the Ecuadoran nation is one of reconstruction, especially in housing. No more than a passing survey of the situation is sufficient to demonstrate that the extent of the disaster is far out of proportion to the capaciy of Ecuador to cope with it. Essentially, Ecuador is an agricultural country. It has some manufacturing capacity but much of that in the earthquake region is inoperative now.

In the disaster area more than 100 thousand people are homeless. In various localities from 80 to 100 percent of the housing, schools, churches, hospital facilities, transportation systems and sanitation installations were destroyed. This applies to the rural areas as well as to the cities and towns.

Consider the housing problem alone. In the destroyed area the homes had been handicrafted over hundreds of years. Compare a situation where 80 percent of the living quarters were almost instantly wiped out with our own housing problem in this country.

The Government of Ecuador estimated that on the basis of present national income it would take more than 25 years to bring about adequate restoration. While the emergency has passed, the present situation cannot be allowed to persist. Misery is the prevalent condition. The unemployment problem resulting from destruction of industrial establishments will become more and more serious. Coupled with other aftereffects of the earthquake it threatens to present a dangerous political situation, breeding unrest and discontent.

The Ecuadoran Government looks to us in this country for assistance. We as individuals, as groups, as a nation must do whatever is in our power to help. Our relations with Ecuador have always been close and friendly. When war came in 1941, Ecuador was prompt to join on our side and made an important contribution to the war effort by making available bases on its territory at Salinas and in the Galapagos Islands.

The Export-Import Bank is sending a technical mission to Ecuador to consider extending a loan for reconstruction purposes. Such a loan would be an important contribution to the problem, but we must remember, too, that the Ecuadoran Government is limited in its ability to service foreign loans.

I note with interest, too, that a bill has been introduced in Congress calling for assistance to Ecuador. I am sure that action along this line would be deeply appreciated in that country.

There has also been considerable interest shown in Ecuador by private United States citizens and groups. Some national organizations such as the American Legion have taken cognizance of the situation and passed resolutions urging help. Others like the National War Relief Service the National Catholic Welfare Conference, t Congress of Industrial Organization, the F Trade Union Committee of the Labor League Human Rights of the American Federation Labor have made substantial donations of fun

Some private industries have added contrib tions in the form of foodstuffs and sanitati equipment and services which were transport free of charge by public carriers. Several cit have taken the initiative and launched fund-ra ing campaigns. Among them are Miami, N Orleans, San Francisco, and New York. In ad tion numerous private contributions are bei made to the Ecuador Relief Fund of the I American Union.

I wish to extend to all private contributors thanks and the appreciation of the Department State.

I am confident that this report I have gi you tonight will spur you as individuals and organizations to a greater effort. The subsequ turn of events in Ecuador may well depend u United States generosity. A helping hand to stricken neighbor will serve the cause of hum ity, strengthen the bonds of Western Hemisph cooperation and help preserve the free insti tions that we cherish.

IIAA Program a Major Expression o the Good-Neighbor Policy in Action

[*Released to the press September 6*]

The United States Government's program of operation with other American Republics in fields of agriculture, education, and health sanitation through the Institute of Inter-Ameri Affairs is a major expression of the good-neigh policy in action, Secretary of State Acheson today.

The Secretary's remark was prompted by Pr dent Truman's signing of legislation which tends the active life of the Institute to June 1955. Under previous legislation the Insti would have gone into liquidation in August 1

"The achievements of this program since in improving the quality of elementary and v tional education, in raising the level of basic production, and in creating more healt environments for millions of people in L America," Secretary Acheson added, "have d onstrated its effectiveness as a means for attai the objectives of the good-neighbor policy. reassuring to know that this work will go forw not just for one more year but for five additi years."

The Institute of Inter-American Affairs is rently active in 16 Latin American countries

is conducting a total of 25 work programs in cooperation with the local governments. Four of these programs are in the field of agriculture, 7 in education, and 14 in health and sanitation.

Financial contributions of the United States to these activities, which ran as high as 90 and 95 percent of total project costs in the early days of the program, have recently been overshadowed by the steadily increasing contributions of the cooperating countries. In most cases the share of total project costs now being borne by the cooperating governments runs three and four times as great as the share borne by the United States.

Under previous legislation the Institute was authorized to receive appropriations up to a maximum of 5 million dollars in any one year for its total work. Under the new law signed by President Truman, aggregate expenditures up to a maximum of 35 million dollars are authorized for the 5-year period from July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1955.

This will permit, according to Institute President Dillon S. Myer, continuation of 25 work programs now under way, establishment of new programs in countries where only one or two types of activity are now being carried forward, and extension of the Institute's work to some of the Latin American countries where it is not now in operation.

Announcements on Negotiations for Reciprocal Tariff Concessions

[*Released to the press September 6*]

The following statements have been released to the press at Annecy, France, where delegations from the United States and 33 other countries have been engaged, since April 11, 1949, in negotiations for reciprocal tariff concessions and for accession of additional countries to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiated at Geneva in 1947.

COMPLETION OF DIRECT BILATERAL TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS

By August 27 the various negotiating teams had completed their direct negotiations at Annecy in accordance with the timetable which the participating countries had laid down in July. The results of these negotiations will now be distributed to the participating governments for evaluation in the light of accomplishments of the conference as a whole and will be collated and incorporated in the appropriate documents. It is expected that this process will be completed in time for the appropriate documents to be opened for signature at Lake Success in the early part of October. The results of the negotiations will also be made public at that time.

U.S.-COLOMBIAN NEGOTIATIONS UNCOMPLETED

The delegates of Colombia and the United States today issued the following statement at the close of the Annecy tariff negotiations:

The Colombian and United States delegations have jointly notified the Secretariat that, in view of the basic difficulties underlying their Annecy tariff negotiations, as well as their scope and complexity, it was not possible to conclude them and they will therefore remain as "uncompleted negotiations" which both delegations hope may be concluded at a later date. In the circumstances the delegation of Colombia is withdrawing its application to accede to the General Agreement at this time, on the understanding that the Government of Colombia may possibly wish to renew their application to accede at a future date. Tariff concessions agreed upon at Annecy between Colombia and other participating countries will probably remain in suspense. The countries involved are Brazil, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, India, Italy, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom and Uruguay.

Both delegations are pleased to report that the negotiations between the two countries were carried out at Annecy in a cordial and friendy manner and with a mutual desire to arrive at a satisfactory agreement and regret their inability to carry them to a conclusion.

In view of the special problems which arise from the application of the present commercial agreement between the two countries, in force since 1936, and entered into when economic, monetary, and fiscal conditions were completely different from today, the delegations of both countries have agreed to recommend to their respective countries that the agreement be jointly terminated through normal diplomatic channels.

The United States delegation recognized Colombia's need to make a revision of its customs tariff in order to adjust it to present day conditions, but found that the level of a number of proposed rates of the Colombian tariff was a major obstacle that could not be completely overcome.

The chiefs of the respective negotiating teams believe that the negotiations were fruitful since they afforded an opportunity for making a careful study of the commercial problems and customs duties involved.

U.S. Protests Siege of Consulate General at Shanghai

[*Released to the press September 8*]

The Department of State announced today that the following letter dated August 22 protesting the siege of the American consulate general at Shanghai by alien former employees of the United States Navy during the period July 29 to August 2 has been sent by Acting American Consul General Walter P. McConaughy in Shanghai to Chang Han-fu, Aliens Affairs Bureau, Shanghai Military Control Commission:

On Friday, July 29, at 7:30 a. m. a group of approximately 30 to 40 workers representing themselves as delegates of the former employees of the United States Navy forced their way into the premises of No. 2 Peking Road, which is owned by the Government of the United States, and announced their intention of remaining in occupancy of the building indefinitely until satisfactory settlement of their demands regarding separation pay and severance bonuses had been agreed upon. Since this action constituted an illegal invasion of United States Government property and was also in contravention of our understanding of point 8 of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proclamation regarding the protection of foreign property, we protested this action to the Alien Affairs Department of the Shanghai Military Control Commission. Furthermore, since the continued unauthorized presence of crowds varying from 20 to 80 within the premises of the building constituted a continuing threat to the maintenance of law and order, we also protested this potential violation of the peace to the local public safety officials.

Below is set forth a record of the attempts which were made to secure intervention by the proper authorities:

1. At 7:30 a. m., on July 29 the Bureau of Public Security of the Whangpoo police station was informed of the invasion of our premises and the officer on duty indicated that police would be sent over.

2. At 9:35 a. m., on July 29 Mr. Reuben R. Thomas called upon Mr. Feng of your office and informed him of the developments. He called attention to the fact that the dispute between the workers and the United States Navy, in which the representatives of this office were acting merely as go between, had been fully laid before the Alien Affairs Department in our letter of July 12 and that we had been requested to take no further steps pending advice from your office; and had been assured that no violence would be permitted pending the receipt of such advice. Mr. Feng defended the action of the workers by insisting that, as ex-employees of a former occupant of 2 Peking Road, they had a legitimate right within the premises. Mr. Feng's attention was also called to the fact that invasion of the premises of 2 Peking Road constituted a violation of the most elementary principles of international law and universal practice, since the premises in question were the property of the United States Government and used for official purposes.

3. At approximately 10 o'clock on July 29 a second call to the Whangpoo police station inquiring why police had not arrived was answered by the statement that the police could not intervene in what they termed a labor dispute.

4. At approximately 11 a. m., on July 29, 2 officers from the Whangpoo police station came to the premises and talked with the workers' delegates, but refused to discuss matters with personnel of this office.

5. At approximately 2 p. m., on July 29, the Whangpoo police station was again called and again refused to intervene in what they termed a labor dispute.

6. At approximately 2:30 p. m., the Alien Control Department of the Bureau of Public Security at the Foochow Road central police station was informed of the situation and likewise refused to intervene in what they termed a labor dispute.

7. At approximately 2:30 p. m., on Saturday July 30, a representative of this office delivered to an official of the Alien Affairs Department in its new offices at Broadway Mansions a communication which set forth the urgency and danger of this situation, and was informed that the communication was provisionally accepted although responsible officials were not available at the moment.

8. At approximately 8:30 p. m., on Saturday July 30, when the situation within the premises of 2 Peking Road had become critical due to threat

of violence by the workers, the Whangpoo police tation was again informed of this threat to law nd order and again refused to intervene.

9. At 11:30 a. m., on Sunday July 31, 2 repreentatives of this office discussed the matter peronally with an official of the Foochow Road police tation who contended that the police could not nterfere on the grounds that no violence had ocurred which he interpreted to mean no one had een subjected to bodily violence or had been hreatened with a gun. He finally agreed to send omeone to investigate, but reiterated that the poice could not interfere in a labor dispute and could nly take action in case of violence. To the best f our knowledge no investigator ever appeared.

The final withdrawal of the workers from our remises was not effected until 5:50 p. m., on Tuesay August 2, after they had occupied the buildng for more than 4½ days. They were apparntly persuaded to withdraw as a result of their aving at last been made to realize the fact that heir continued presence in the building, implying oercion and intimidation, made it impossible for s to refer to Washington, for the Navy Departient's consideration, the terms of settlement proosed by the Shanghai General Labor Union meiator at the meeting between representatives of he workers and our office held on the afternoon of ugust 1. This office has reason to believe that he final persuasion of the workers to withdraw attributable to the help of your office.

This office has recently also been given to understand that the workers had been cautioned from he beginning against violence; that your office as prepared at all times to have assistance rened to us had actual bodily violence been inicted by the workers upon officers of our staff; nd that your office took steps to keep informed regard to developments in the situation from at standpoint. I have welcomed these indicaons that your office took cognizance of the situaon and eventually undertook remedial action.

I must, however, place on record the following oints:

(1). As the above chronology of events makes bundantly clear, no effort was spared by this ffice to bring the developments noted to the atention of the proper authorities, despite which for ver 4 days no positive action was taken by the auorities to protect property or to remove the nauthorized occupants from our premises.

(2). As it hardly seems necessary for me to repeat, this office had at all times exercised its good offices within the limit of its role as a go-between to reach an amicable and mutually agreeable solution to the problem. On the other hand, this office had from the very beginning also made it clear that it would not negotiate or discuss such problems under threats of force and intimidation.

(3). In my view, the failure of the local authorities for over 4 days, to take effective action to terminate the illegal occupation of the premises at 2 Peking Road constitutes a serious repudiation of the minimum standards of international law and comity by condoning the invasion of the property of a sovereign state situated within territory purportedly controlled by those authorities.

(4). While prepared to recognize the authorities' reported readiness to stop any actual bodily violence which might be employed by the workers against members of our staff, I must point out that:

(*a*). Had actual violence been inflicted upon members of our staff by the workers (as easily could have happened in view of their large numbers and high pitch excitement), the harm would have been done before police could have reached the building:

(*b*). The treatment to which Mr. Thomas was subjected by the workers, involving, as it did, unremitting verbal pressure (including threats) and forcing him to go with very little food and sleep for over 24 hours, brought him to a point of nervous and physical exhaustion which was no less serious than bodily injury, and, in our opinion, is properly to be regarded as a form of violence.

The failure of the authorities to take timely positive steps to insure against violence which might easily have occurred and to rescue Mr. Thomas from the cruel and unusual treatment to which he was actually subject is a further serious breach, not only of international law and comity, but also of universally accepted humanitarian standards.

In reviewing these points for your attention, I must accordingly protest in the gravest terms the failure of the local authorities to fulfill, in the serious respects noted above, obligations towards protection of life and property which are universally recognized under international law and practice, and which, moreover, the authorities themselves have appeared clearly to recognize in publishing specific assurances by Chairman Mao Tze-tung and in other public pronouncements.

Two American Servicemen Missing in China

[*Released to the press August 31*]

On October 19, 1948, two American servicemen, William C. Smith, Chief Construction Electrician, USN, of Long Beach, California, and Elmer C. Bender, Master Sergeant, USMC, of Cincinnati, Ohio, failed to return from a routine training flight over territory in the Tsingtao area of Shantung Province, China. The two men were members of the United States Naval Headquarters which was established at Tsingtao at the request of the Government of the Republic of China.

Since receiving reports that the flyers were in territory controlled by the Chinese Communists, the Department of the Navy, through the United States Naval Headquarters at Tsingtao, and the Department of State, through its representatives at Nanking, Peiping, and Tsingtao, have made repeated attempts to obtain from the Chinese Communists information concerning the men and to secure their release. These initial approaches have been unsuccessful although Smith and Bender have been reported to be safe and well. The matter is again being brought to the attention of the highest Chinese Communist authorities at Peiping.

The Departments of State and Navy remain in contact with the relatives of the two servicemen and will convey to them any additional information which is received.

Consulate General in Hankow To Close

[*Released to the press September 9*]

The Department of State announced on September 9 that the American consulate general in Hankow has been instructed to close and withdraw all personnel and that the staffs of the American Embassy in Nanking and of the American consulate general in Shanghai are to be reduced by about one-half. These reductions will be carried out when arrangements have been completed for the transportation from China of Americans and other foreigners who wish to depart.

The decision to take these actions is based upon the same factors which led to a decision to close the American consulate general in Canton.[1]

Through the generous agreement of the British Government, the custody of United States offic l property in areas of China in which American co- sular establishments are closed will be assumed the local British consulate, which will also exte l to American citizens the same protection afford l British subjects. The local American commu- ties will form committees with which the Brit consular offices will deal in routine matters aff- ing American nationals in order that the add l burdens imposed upon the British officers will no greater than necessary.

These arrangements are already in effect in Canton and Tihwa consular districts and will ta effect in the Hankow district when the Americ consular establishment in that city is closed.

Should other American consular establishme in China be confronted by a situation similar that which led to the decision to close the Americ consulate general in Canton, it is expected t such establishments will also be closed and the c- tody of United States official property and the p- tection of American nationals be assumed by local British consulates.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 29, 1949, p. 318.

Howard University Players Leave for Scandinavian Tour

Twenty-one Howard University students companied by three faculty members will le New York on the *S. S. Stavangerfjord* on Aug 31 to make a series of guest performances in N way, Denmark, and Sweden at the invitation of Norwegian Government. Appearances will b a nonprofit basis with income from ticket s covering all of the group's expenses while Scandinavia. Transportation costs have been by funds made available through the offices of Norwegian cultural attaché and through the g erosity of a private donor, Blevins Davis, sponsored the first appearance of American act at Denmark's International Hamlet Festival Elsinore, Denmark, in June of this year.

The plays which will be presented are *The Wi Duck* by Henrik Ibsen and *Mamba's Daughter* DuBose Heyward. Under the direction of Anne Cooke, the Howard University Players open their tour in mid-September with a 6- appearance at the New Theater in Oslo. On S tember 19, they will go to Copenhagen to there and then tour the provinces. The fir 2 weeks in October the company will play in St holm. During the last 2 weeks of October the first 2 weeks of November, they will perform Trondheim, Stavanger, and Bergen.

The University of Bergen has invited the Am ican group to visit the school, and Dr. Co reports that the Players are rehearsing Strid berg's *Miss Julie* for a possible informal prese tion there.

n Signs
ıcational Exchange Agreement

eased to the press September 1]

an and the United States on September 1 ed an agreement under the Fulbright Act, ing into operation the program of educational anges authorized by Public Law 584 (79th gress).

ıe signing took place in Tehran, with Foreign ister Ali Asghar Hekmat representing the ernment of Iran and Ambassador John C. y representing the United States.

ıis agreement was the twelfth signed under ıct, previous agreements having been signed the Governments of China, Burma, the Phil- ıes, Greece, New Zealand, the United King- Belgium and Luxembourg, France, Italy, Netherlands, and Norway.

ıe agreement provides for a United States mission for Cultural Exchange between Iran the United States to assist in the administra- of the educational program financed from in funds resulting from the sale of United s surplus property to that country. It pro- for an annual program of the equivalent of oximately 300 thousand dollars in rials for in educational purposes. These purposes in- the financing of "studies, research, instruc- and other educational activities of or for citi- of the United States of America in schools nstitutions of higher learning located in Iran nationals of Iran in United States schools nstitutions of higher learning located out- he continental United States . . . including ent for transportation, tuition, maintenance, ther expenses incident to scholastic activi- or furnishing transportation for nationals of who desire to attend United States schools stitutions of higher learning in the continen- nited States . . . whose attendance will not ve citizens of the United States of America opportunity to attend such schools and itions."

Commission in Iran will consist of six mem- he honorary chairman of which will be the l States Ambassador to Iran. The members Foundation will include three citizens of nd three citizens of the United States.

er the members of the Commission in Iran een appointed, information about specific unities for American citizens to pursue teaching, or research in that country will be made public. Further inquiries about those opportunities and requests for application forms should be addressed to the following three agencies: Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y. (for graduate study); United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. (for teaching in national elementary and secondary schools); and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D. C. (for teaching at the college level, for postdoctoral research, and for teaching in American elementary and secondary schools in Iran).

U. S. Navy Vessels Sent in Support of Joint Weather Station Program

[*Released to the press September 6*]

It was announced in Ottawa and Washington on June 29 that three United States Navy vessels with Canadian representatives aboard would shortly be sailing to the Canadian Arctic regions in support of the Joint Weather Station Program which is being carried out by the Governments of Canada and the United States.

These three ships, the icebreaker U.S.S. *Edisto*, the cargo vessels U.S.S. *Wyandot* and the U.S.S. *LST 533*, which served as a cargo vessel have now returned to east coast ports.

During the summer they resupplied the Joint Weather Station established in 1947 on Cornwallis Island, Northwest Territories, for redistribution to other joint weather stations at Prince Patrick Island, Ellef Ringnes Island, and Ellesmere Island. The cargo was unloaded by naval personnel in 89 hours in spite of the difficulties imposed through the necessity of running the cargo ashore over a 2-mile stretch of open sea by means of small landing craft.

The U.S.S. *Edisto* carried two helicopters, which were used extensively and to great advantage on ice reconnaissance missions.

The ships which participated in the supply mission were under the command of Capt. Basil Rittenhouse, United States Navy, embarked in the U.S.S. *Edisto*. The *Edisto* was commanded by Commander W. F. Morrison, United States Navy, the *Wyandot* by Capt. T. S. Webb, United States Navy, and the *LST 533* by Lt. J. E. Vautrot, United States Navy. The senior Canadian representative who participated in the supply mission was J. W. Burton of the Arctic Division of the Northwest Territories Administration, Ottawa.

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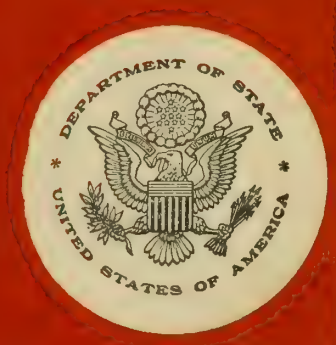

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NITED STATES POLICY IN INDONESIA

The dispute between the Netherlands and the epublic of Indonesia grew primarily out of the esire of the Indonesian nationalists to achieve olitical independence and of the Dutch to proct their political and economic investments durg 300 years of economic development of the chipelago. United States policy in Indonesia based on sympathy with these interests of the vo parties and seeks the harmonious attainment both objectives.

On June 25, 1948, the Deputy Director of the epartment of State's Office of Far Eastern Afirs told the American people in a radio address:

> First and foremost your government is determined to everything it can to bring peace, prosperity, and the edoms of a democratic system to the peoples of Indosia as to peoples everywhere in the world. Secondly, ur government, in this particular instance, seeks to sist the Indonesian and Dutch people to rediscover their pendence on each other and learn anew the great conbution that each can make to the welfare and security the other. Thirdly, your government realizes as do peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia, that the t of the world desperately needs what the two of em, working together, can provide. Finally, your govment is determined that the efforts of totalitarianism defeat these purposes shall not succeed.

After 3 years of intermittent warfare and unccessful negotiations between the Netherlands d the Republic of Indonesia, an event has ocrred which offers the possibility of a happy soion. On August 23, a round-table conference gan at The Hague between representatives of Indonesian peoples, the Dutch, and the United tions Commission for Indonesia. The goal is granting of sovereignty to an independent, mocratic United States of Indonesia and the king of the new sovereign state into a Netherds–Indonesian Union.

The achievement of these goals will satisfy the itimate desire of the Indonesians for political dependence and satisfy the legitimate desire of the Dutch to protect their economic and political interests. It is, indeed, essential to the economic well-being of both Indonesia and the Netherlands that Dutch participation be continued. The Netherlands derives between 200 million dollars and 300 million dollars annually from its East Indies investments and could not lose this income without crucial injury to its national economy. The Indonesians, in turn, must continue to profit from the experience and technical skills of the Dutch to assure their own continued economic development.

All the free nations of the world have a stake in the voluntary, cooperative, peaceful settlement of the Netherlands–Indonesian problem: Many of them require the oil, tin, rubber, and other products which Indonesia can provide in abundance and on which the success of the European Recovery Program is considerably dependent; European stability will be best served by the maintenance of Netherlands economic strength; and international tranquillity and resistance to the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia will be served by the attainment of a democratic, stable Indonesian government.

History of the Dispute

The mid-1930's saw a developing movement for Indonesian independence. This movement did not arise from dissatisfaction with the nature of Dutch rule but with the fact of Dutch rule. The Dutch administration of Indonesia was vigorous and efficient, and their achievements in developing the rich economic resources of the archipelago were great.

Indonesian nationalism increased in intensity during the war when Japanese aggression ended Dutch control. In 1942, Java, Sumatra, and Madura—containing about 55 million of the total 72 million population—began to practice self-

government on lower levels. In August 1945, 2 days after the collapse of Japan and a month before Allied occupation forces arrived to receive the surrender of occupying Japanese forces, the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed its independence and its jurisdiction over the entire archipelago.

This declaration precipitated hostilities and negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. In November 1946, the two disputants over Indonesian independence initialed the Linggadjati agreement and formally signed it in March 1947. This agreement recognized the *de facto* authority of the Republic in Java, Sumatra, and Madura; provided for establishment by January 1, 1949, of a sovereign, democratic, federal United States of Indonesia (USI) composed of the Republic and at least two other states to be formed in Borneo and the eastern islands, and for the linking of the USI to the Netherlands in a Netherlands–Indonesian Union. The United States welcomed the agreement and recognized the Republic's *de facto* authority.

Efforts to implement the agreement, however, renewed the conflict. The Republic agreed to Netherlands proposals for an interim government for all Indonesia but balked at letting Dutch forces share in the policing of Republican territory. On July 21, the Netherlands began a "police action" against Republican troops which brought under its control economically important areas of Java, Madura, and Sumatra and reduced the Republic to three noncontiguous areas: central Java, westernmost Java, and parts of Sumatra.

Australia and India brought the conflict to the attention of the Security Council of the United Nations, and on August 1, the Council called upon both parties to cease-fire and to settle their dispute by peaceful means. On August 25, the Council offered its good offices which both parties accepted, though the Netherlands maintained that the dispute was a domestic matter and denied the Council's competence to deal with it.

Though fighting continued, a conference between the Good Offices Committee (Belgium, Australia, and United States) and the disputants aboard the U.S.S. *Renville* produced the Renville agreement which both parties accepted on January 17, 1948.

This new agreement provided for a truce, establishment of United States of Indonesia with the Republic a component, and transfer of Netherlands sovereignty to the USI after a "stated interval." Netherlands sovereignty would be recognized meanwhile, and a central interim government formed with the Republic and all other states granted fair representation. Plebiscites would determine final delineation of the states and elect a constitutional convention to frame a USI constitution. When formed, the USI would be joined in a Netherlands–Indonesian Union under the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The disputants agreed to assistance of the Good Offices Committee in arriving at a political agreement and also agreed to serve advance notice of intent to terminate the truce.

It soon became evident that the Netherlands and the Republic put differing interpretations upon the terms of the Renville agreement. Both parties accused the other of violations. The Republic protested Dutch creation of new states by decree and formation of a provisional federal government in which the Republic had no part contrary to the Renville agreement. The Republic also charged Dutch efforts to strangle it economically by a trade blockade. In turn, the Netherlands charged the Republic with incitement of guerrilla activity and sabotage in Dutch held territory, also with refusal to accept Netherlands sovereignty in the interim period.

In June 1948 and again in September, the United States and Australian delegations on the Good Offices Committee put forward a compromise plan as a basis for renewing the deadlocked negotiations. The Republic agreed to both plans but the Netherlands refused to discuss the first and in agreeing to the second, insisted upon changes which rejected the substance of the United States–Australian proposal.

In mid-September, taking advantage of the stalemated negotiations, a Moscow-trained Indonesian Communist named Muso led a well planned, large-scale Communist revolt, capture the city of Madiun, and proclaimed a "Soviet government." The Government of the Indonesian Republic promptly invoked martial law and ruthlessly liquidated the rebellion with the vigorous cooperation of loyal government troops and the local population. The Communist leaders were killed or imprisoned, and all known Communists or leftists suspected of complicity in the plot to overthrow the government were arrested. Official Republican statements described the Communist rebellion as "part of the Moscow plan fo

Southeast Asia." For the Republican government to eliminate or antagonize the Indonesian Communist Party was automatically and immediately to deprive itself of the support of one of the most effective anticolonial forces in the archipelago. Nonetheless, the Republic's leaders liquidated the Communist rebellion without outside aid, thereby earning the implacable hatred not only of the Indonesian Communist Party but also of world Communism as well.

The United States made further efforts to revive negotiations for a compromise agreement on political principles between the Netherlands and the anti-Communist nationalist movement, represented primarily by the Indonesian Republic. The Netherlands instituted direct talks with the Republic, but these failed to produce a solution. The Netherlands launched military action on December 18, and the following day the Republican capital Jogjakarta, was bombed and attacked by Dutch paratroops. President Sukarno, Prime Minister Hatta, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials of the Republic were captured and later interned in two separate groups, one on Bangka Island, the other on Sumatra. Dutch land forces quickly penetrated Republican territory, capturing the major cities. Coinciding with this abrupt termination of the truce, the Netherlands promulgated a decree of an interim government of Indonesia which had been previously framed by the Netherlands and leaders of the Federal (Dutch-occupied) areas of Indonesia.

Within a few days, the ECA Administrator announced suspension of issuance of authorizations for the procurement of supplies destined for use in Indonesia, which since mid–1948 had been made available to the Netherlands to aid in the economic recovery of Dutch-held areas of Indonesia. The Administrator stated that conditions necessary for continuation of an effective economic program no longer existed in Indonesia.

Progress Toward Settlement

The Security Council, concerned over the increased gravity of the situation, converted its Good Offices Committee into the United Nations Commission for Indonesia (UNCFI) and passed a resolution on January 28, 1949, calling upon both parties to cease-fire, to release all political prisoners, and to restore the Republican Government at Jogjakarta, to be followed by staged withdrawals of Netherlands forces from areas occupied by them after December 18.

At this juncture, the Netherlands announced to the UNCFI its decision to speed up the transfer of sovereignty to a federal Indonesian government. The Netherlands Government invited Republican leaders, Federalist leaders, Indonesian minority groups, and the members of the Commission to meet in a round-table conference at The Hague on March 12 to work out an agreement on the transfer of sovereignty and on a union statute. However, the Netherlands Government said it could not concur in restoration of the Republican Government. The Republican leaders, therefore, declared their inability to cooperate.

Largely through the energetic efforts of the United States delegate, the United Nations Commission for Indonesia obtained on May 7 agreement of both parties to the following four points: the restoration of the Republican Government to the residency of Jogjakarta, the issuance of a cease-fire order, the release of Republican prisoners by the Dutch, and the holding of a conference at The Hague leading to a definitive political settlement. Indonesian Federalist leaders, representing states of the Dutch-occupied areas, agreed to the Hague conference when they were assured of the restoration of the Republican Government and participation of the Republican leaders at The Hague.

Prospects for success of the conference—rescheduled for August—were heightened by a reported agreement between representatives of the Republic and of the Federalist movement at Jogjakarta and at Batavia. According to reports, the Indonesians agree on: (1) the institution of a federal system of government in Indonesia—to be called the Republic of the United States of Indonesia—of which the present Republican and Federalist states will be constituent parts; (2) the institution during the Hague conference of a provisional Federal government which will undertake administration of the entire archipelago until a popularly elected government can take over; and (3) the holding of free elections by secret ballot under the auspices of the provisional government to delineate the states comprising the Federal Union and to select representatives of those states to a bicameral legislature. Agreement on a cabinet form of government was indicated.

The Outlook

United States believes that it is not unreasonable to expect a successful outcome of the round-table conference. Should success be realized, it will be our aim to assist the Indonesians to achieve coherent and effective government and, if requested, to supply technical aid as permitted by budgetary considerations.

It will be clearly advisable for the Indonesians to makes the fullest use of Dutch technical and administrative ability and skill. The Netherlands has thousands of highly trained, experienced personnel to offer a new sovereign government of Indonesia. The employment of Netherlanders by the United States of Indonesia would benefit not only the Indonesian people but would also help to preserve Dutch beneficial interests in the archipelago.

With Netherlanders and Indonesians rediscovering the great benefits which each may offer the other, an association of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and a United States of Indonesia should become stronger as time goes on.

THE CARIBBEAN SITUATION

U.S. Memorandum to the Inter-American Peace Committee

On August 3, 1949, the Inter-American Peace Committee met to consider the situation in the Caribbean area which has resulted in conflicts and international tension over a considerable period of time. The Committee decided at this meeting that it would address a letter to all of the American governments, through their representatives on the Council of the Organization of American States, requesting information and suggestions pertinent to this situation. On August 18, 1949, the United States representative, Ambassador Paul C. Daniels, presented a memorandum, the text of which is printed below, for the information and use of the Committee in its consideration of the problem. At its meeting on September 2, 1949, the Committee decided, with the approval of the United States representative, to make the text of the United States Government's memorandum available to the public.

The Inter-American Peace Committee is a five-member group which was established in conformity with Resolution XIV of the second meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, Habana, 1940. Its functions, as set forth in that resolution, are to maintain constant vigilance to insure that American states between which a dispute exists or may arise may solve it as quickly as possible and to suggest measures and steps which may be conducive to a settlement of such disputes. Members of the Committee at present are Ambassador Quintanilla, Mexico, Chairman; Ambassador Corominas, Argentina; Ambassador Accioly, Brazil; Ambassador Guell, Cuba, and Ambassador Daniels, United States.

TEXT OF MEMORANDUM

August 18, 1949

The situation existing in the political areas of the Caribbean, on which the Inter-American Peace Committee has requested information and suggestions from all of the American states, contains a number of elements which warrant close examination by that Committee, in order that it shall fulfill its continuing responsibility, under Resolution XIV of the Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of keeping constant vigilance to insure that states between which any dispute exists or may arise may solve it as quickly as possible. Furthermore, this study deserves the full cooperation of all of the American governments which are in a position to contribute to the success of the Committee's work.

Although a few striking and well-publicized in-
dents have attracted general attention, long-
ntinued tensions and evidences of political un-
st have threatened to produce, or have actually
roduced, conflicts which have a deeper signifi-
nce than would appear from the surface mani-
stations of isolated instances of plotting or
volutionary activity.

In the period since the cessation of hostilities
World War II, citizens of one or another of
e countries in the Caribbean area have engaged
preparations for, and have participated in,
ovements whose purpose has been to accomplish
intimidation or armed invasion political
anges in governments of the area. Despite the
ercise of vigilance by the Government of the
nited States to prevent the violation of appli-
ble United States laws, citizens of the United
ates have from time to time been involved in
tivities aimed at other governments. These
ovements have been inspired and carried on, at
ast in part, by political exiles whose aim is to
turn, by force if necessary, to active political
e in the countries of their origin. Whatever
y be the motivation of these individuals, some
whom declare that the cause of their exile is
e absence of democratic practices in their home
untries, the methods they have chosen may in-
lve violation by established governments of their
ternational obligations with consequent disrup-
n of friendly relations among the countries in
e area.

In some instances, the real, apparent or rumored
reat of revolutionary activities has served to
eate international tensions, and there have even
en open accusations from government to govern-
nt. Three times, within a period of a year, the
ocedures of inter-American peaceful settlement
ve been called upon to deal with situations thus
ated. While the success of these instruments in
proving the atmosphere for amicable negotia-
n, or in actually achieving pacific settlement of
specific situations which gave rise to the use
inter-American machinery, has been conspicu-
s, other situations have continued or new ones
ve appeared which indicate that all tensions
ve not been removed, and that means must still
sought for achieving a renewal of international
nfidence and a feeling of security among mem-
rs of the American community.

The unfortunate results of these conditions can-
t fail to be a matter of concern to the states in-
volved as well as to all the American nations. It is obvious that recurring suspicion and lack of confidence among governments do not provide a proper climate for those mutually beneficial relationships, including economic relationships, which are of importance to the fullest development of the American states. Some of the governments concerned have found the situation sufficiently disturbing to cause them to acquire considerable amounts of armament, which they feel to be necessary for their self-defense, as well as to institute rigorous measures of internal control. Heavy expenditures for armaments for these purposes hinder economic improvement in the area and contribute to an accentuation of discord. The proper functioning of the Organization of American States and the effort to realize the ideals and principles to which all have subscribed in the charter require that methods be found for getting at, and eliminating if possible, the causes of international friction and discord.

In searching for these methods, the Inter-American Peace Committee has wisely chosen to seek full information on those matters which will contribute to its better appreciation of the problem. In fulfillment of its desire to cooperate with the Committee in every appropriate way, the Government of the United States herewith furnishes certain items of information which relate to the activities of its citizens or which have come to its attention in the course of official investigations of activities alleged to have been carried on by its citizens or within its jurisdiction. If further pertinent information which the United States is able to make available is developed, this will be furnished to the Committee.

Browder-Eisenhardt Case

Early in 1947 the theft of certain United States Government-owned arms was discovered. United States citizens Edward Browder and Karl J. Eisenhardt subsequently pleaded guilty to the theft. Browder received 18 months in prison and Eisenhardt was fined 10 thousand dollars. During the investigation and court proceedings in this case it was brought out that the arms in question were destined for revolutionary purposes in the Caribbean area, particularly against the then Government of Venezuela; and that the movement was financed in considerable part by foreign sources. It was also publicly asserted during these proceedings that a Dominican consular officer in

the United States was involved in the movement. The officer concerned was subsequently recalled by his government.

Cayo Confites Plot

In connection with the revolutionary expedition organized in Cayo Confites in Cuba in July–August–September 1947 against the Dominican Republic, the United States Government took the following action:

1. Revocation in August 1947 of the export license granted for the export of the *LCI Patria* to one Cruz Alonzo in Cuba, when it became known that the ship was destined for the use of the revolutionaries.

2. Recommendation by the United States Embassy in Habana in September 1947 to American pilots recruited to participate in the revolution that they abandon this undertaking and return to the United States.

3. Statements to the United States press on August 2 and September 20, 1947, of the intention of the United States Government to meet its international obligations in connection with revolutionary activities in other countries. This included a statement that as early as January 1947 the appropriate law-enforcing agencies of this government had been taking special precautions to prevent violation of United States neutrality and export control statutes with reference to possible revolutionary activity in the Caribbean.

4. Indictment by a Federal grand jury in Florida on November 25, 1947, of Manolo Castro (who was the then Cuban Government Director of Sports), Miguel Angel Ramirez (Dominican), Hollis B. Smith (American), and two American fliers, on a charge of conspiracy to violate the export control act. Manolo Castro was killed in Habana before the trial began; Miguel Angel Ramirez has never returned to the United States to stand trial; Hollis B. Smith was given a 2-year suspended sentence and put on probation for 3 years by a Federal court in Jacksonville, Florida, in March 1948.

5. On another charge of conspiracy to violate the export control laws in connection with the export of arms to Cuba during the Cayo Confites activity, Reinaldo Rosell (Cuban), and United States citizens Louis Dell, Frank Adkins, and Luis Bordas were given 2-year suspended sentences and were placed on probation for 3 years by a Federal court in Miami, Florida, in May 1948.

James G. Hurst Jr.

Hurst, a United States Air Force pilot during the recent World War, arrived in Guatemala City on January 1, 1948, in a war surplus bombing plane which he had flown out of the United States without obtaining an export license as required by law. In the investigation it was brought out that the plane had been purchased by him with funds made available from foreign sources for use in connection with plans for a revolution against the Government of Nicaragua. In response to a request of the United States Embassy, the Guatemalan Government impounded the bomber, which was later returned to the United States. In May 1949, Hurst was found guilty of violation of Section 452, Title 22, United States Code (Neutrality Act). He was sentenced to 2 years in the penitentiary and fined one thousand dollars. The penitentiary sentence was suspended for a period of 5 years to be conditioned on Hurst's good behavior.

Edward Browder, Jr., Harry A. Snow Olin D. Mason, and Others

In January 1948, two military aircraft were illegally flown out of the United States by Snow, Mason, and three other United States citizens to Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. Investigation revealed that Browder, who, as reported above, had previously been involved in the theft of United States Government property in connection with a revolutionary plot against the Venezuelan Government, was attempting in January 1948 to engage pilots to fly "to an unknown spot" outside the United States to load bombs and then to fly to Venezuela to bomb the city of Caracas. The American pilots stated to investigating authorities that, upon their arrival at the Nicaraguan airport they were met by 33 Venezuelan citizens who had arrived that same week from the Dominican Republic. In addition to the Venezuelan citizens who had arrived from the Dominican Republic subsequent investigation revealed that other individuals connected with the same movement had arrived in Nicaragua during January 1948, from Costa Rica, Panama, and the United States.

Following urgent action by United States Embassy officials in Nicaragua, the American airmen were transferred from their hotel in Managua to the United States Air Force Base at Managua and returned at an early date to the Canal Zone and the United States. Legal action was promptly

ken against them in the United States Federal urts. Browder pleaded guilty to separate in-ctments involving organizing a military expedi-on and violating the United States Neutrality ct. He was sentenced to 18 months imprison-ent on each charge, the sentences to run con-rrently. Snow, Mason, and the other individ-ls involved pleaded either guilty or *nolo con-ndere* to one or both of the above charges and re-ived appropriate sentences.

ul W. Warren

Paul Warren, a citizen of the United States, has r sometime resided in Costa Rica, where he has gaged in the business of obtaining animals for le in the United States. In 1948, Mr. Warren came a vigorous partisan of the Caribbean gion and an active participant in certain of its tivities. On various occasions during Septem-r, October and November 1948, Warren made ips to Cuba, Guatemala and Honduras. In re-onse to questions of United States authorities, indicated that his travels were connected with tivities of the Caribbean Legion. United States ligations under the Habana convention of 1928 d information as to certain United States stat-es were communicated by United States officials Warren. When it proved difficult to dissuade arren from his activities, the United States Em-ssy at San José was directed to take up War-n's passport and inform him that it would be ide valid only for his return to the United States. was made clear to Warren that this government d not object to his remaining in Costa Rica for carrying on of legitimate business but that the ited States is strongly opposed to interference its citizens in the internal political affairs of ier nations.

sta Rican–Nicaraguan Incident

The invasion of Costa Rica from Nicaraguan ritory in December 1948 and the resulting ac-n by the American states is a matter of recent ord. This government supported wholeheart-y the inter-American action taken in solution that controversy and is of the opinion that the irse followed in connection with the Costa can-Nicaraguan incident offers a valuable prec-ent for problems of a similar nature. In that nnection, the resolution of the Provisional Or-n of Consultation of December 24, 1948, is considered by this government to have pertinence to the current problem. The United States has been happy to note the improved relations which have existed between Costa Rica and Nicaragua since the signing by the two governments on February 21, 1949, of the pact of friendship which terminated the incident, and which has subsequently been ratified by both governments.

The Luperon Incident

Information available to this government indicates that on the night of June 19, 1949, a PBY Catalina aircraft bearing United States registration No. N–1096–M was destroyed at Luperon on the north coast of the Dominican Republic after the persons on board endeavored to disembark munitions and attack the local authorities. All 15 persons aboard were either killed or captured. Of those killed, three were identified as American citizens, namely, John W. Chewning, Habet Joseph Maroot, and George R. Scruggs. The plane was registered in the United States in the name of Jesse A. Vickers of Miami Springs, Florida, who had applied for a license in May to export it to Mexico. This application was not approved by the United States Government. On June 4, however, the plane departed for Vera Cruz, and the circumstances surrounding the departure are now under investigation by the proper agencies of the United States Government to obtain information as to possible violations of United States statutes in this connection.

Reports received by United States officials in the course of this investigation indicate that other aircraft landed in Yucatan on June 18 and 19, destined for the Dominican Republic. According to these reports, two of these, which landed in Yucatan on June 18, were transports of Mexican registry, C–46 XB–HUV and C–47 XA–HOS. They are known to have been at the Air Force Base at San José, Guatemala, for several weeks prior to June 19, their presence there having been confirmed by the Guatemalan Government in a note to the United States Embassy. Two other aircraft, which landed on June 19, were Guatemalan army transports T–1 and T–2; they were reported to have returned to Guatemala on June 26.

The Chief of the Guatemalan Air Force subsequently informed the press that Air Force plane T–1 had not been outside Guatemala and that T–2 had just returned from Houston, Texas. Official United States Government records disclose that

T-2 did not have permission to enter the United States, nor was it reported at or in the vicinity of Houston during this period.

The reports also indicate that there were disembarked from these planes in Yucatan some 50 armed persons, several of whom made statements that they were destined for the Dominican Republic to overthrow the Dominican Government. Among the persons disembarked were two individuals who said they were United States citizens and gave their names as Marion R. Finley and Earl G. Adams. Also disembarked were the reported leaders of the expedition, Juan Rodriguez Garcia and Miguel Angel Ramirez (Dominicans), and Eufemio Fernandez (Cuban). Action by Mexican Government officials in taking into custody these armed men and military equipment prevented further movement of this group.

Conclusions

The formulation of recommendations for methods of dealing with the situation in the Caribbean area which fall within the duties and competence of the Inter-American Peace Committee would appear to depend to a very large extent upon the results of its study of the information which will be received in response to its request for cooperation from the American governments.

In the meantime, however, this government calls attention to the relevance to this situation of inter-American and other international agreements on nonintervention, and, specifically, to the 1928 Convention on the Rights and Duties of States in the Event of Civil Strife. It is suggested that the Committee may wish to give consideration to the question of whether obligations assumed in the 1928 convention and other agreements are being observed with sufficient positiveness by all states which have ratified them. It may wish also to consider whether a recommendation should be made that all states which have signed pertinent international agreements should take the steps necessary to complete their ratification. Such suggestions might also include reference to the desirability of there being domestic laws and enforcement machinery adequate to insure compliance with international obligations.

In view of the lapse of time and on the basis of experience regarding its applicability over intervening years, it is conceivable that the terms of the 1928 Convention may not be sufficiently clear or precise to cover situations to which it was intended to apply, or situations of a kind which could not have been fully foreseen when that Convention was negotiated. The Committee may, therefore, wish to consider the desirability of recommending that the Convention should be reviewed, with a view to its being clarified and strengthened, as necessary, or to determining whether a new convention should be drafted.

It is pertinent to recall that, during consideration of the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan case by the Coas, acting as Provisional Organ of Consultation, the Committee of Information designated by that body presented a report which included, among other conclusions, the following which are particularly relevant to the broader problem:

"7. The existence of active military centers of international agitation constitutes, as it is natural to suppose, a justifiable ground for preoccupation on the part of the Governments affected.

"8. This situation, which is abnormal and dangerous for American international peace, explains why the majority of the Central American and Caribbean Republics have been living in an atmosphere of mutual distrust, constant anxiety and open hostility for some time.

"9. The situation is all the more regrettable since, because of the characteristics which we have pointed out, the international relations of the republics involved must, of necessity, become more strained each day, as the fear of the intention of one neighboring country obliges the other to take the precautions which it considers necessary with serious detriment to its own economy and with grave danger to institutional life."

Furthermore, the Provisional Organ of Consultation approved, on December 24, 1948, a resolution which contains the following particularly relevant articles:

"IV. To request both Governments very earnestly to observe loyally by all the means in their power the principles and rules of non-intervention and solidarity contained in the various Inter-American instruments signed by them.

"VI. To recommend to all American Governments that they actively collaborate for the better fulfilment of the principles by which this Resolution is inspired."

It is suggested that the Committee may wish to invite the attention of all of the American states to the action which was taken at that time.

ourth Anniversary of the United Nations

tatement by Secretary Acheson[1]

A few days ago representatives of our govern-ent held an economic conference with officials the British and Canadian Governments. This eek I am conferring with the Foreign Ministers Great Britain and France. Simultaneously, e delegates of 48 countries have been attending eetings of the International Bank and the Mon-ary Fund. Day after tomorrow, representa-ves of the 12 members of the North Atlantic eaty will meet here in Washington. Next Tues-y the delegation of the United States will join presentatives of the other members of the nited Nations in the fourth session of the Gen-al Assembly at Lake Success.

There is a common link between all these meet-gs that should not go unnoticed. The theme at runs through them all, the single thread that s them all together, is that cooperation among tions is a living, practical reality—that it is nstantly growing in strength and effectiveness spite all obstacles. Our government, and the iendly governments with which we are closely sociated, are resolutely carrying forward the emendous effort to achieve economic stability d political tranquillity in the world, so that free oples can keep their freedom and have a real portunity to improve their conditions of life. Much of the effort to achieve that purpose is ing exerted through the United Nations and its lated agencies. The part of the effort being put rth outside the structure of the United Nations being carried forward in the spirit of the United tions Charter and in the furtherance of its inciples and purposes.

The United States delegation will enter into the deliberations of the General Assembly with the intention of making a determined, patient, conscientious effort to reconcile conflicting interests and to reach agreement on a basis for common action with other members under the auspices of the United Nations.

There is no doubt about the widespread support of the United Nations on the part of the American people. That support, I am sure, will continue unabated. But it must be an intelligent, a reasoned support, and one inspired by an understanding of what it can and cannot be expected to accomplish. We can do this without lessening one whit our devotion to the United Nations based on deeply felt conviction. We need more and more to realize that the United Nations is not a mechanism that operates automatically and perfectly, but an organization which can grow and that its growth and effectiveness depend upon the support of its member nations and upon the extent to which they use its organs and procedures.

This year marks the fourth anniversary of the United Nations—a very short period of history. The record shows that these have been years of achievement. This year alone, the United Nations dealt with conflicts affecting nearly one-quarter of the world's population. Within 12 months it has been possible, because of the United Nations, to make sure that forces of moderation and restraint could operate. That is a significant accomplishment. The United Nations is getting positive results in its effort to get people into the habit of reconciling their differences through reason and compromise, instead of fighting over them.

The United Nations is beginning to get results in its effort to alleviate the hunger, disease, pov-

[1] Made before the National Citizens' Committee for N. Day on Sept. 15, 1949, and released to the press on e same date.

erty, and ignorance that are such a tragic burden to the people of the world.

There is a hopeful and inspiring message for our people in the observance of United Nations Day. We shall be celebrating the increasing success of a cause to which the United States is contributing much—the cause of international cooperation as a practical, effective way of carrying on the world's business. We must not expect to achieve dramatic, conclusive results by this method, but if we apply ourselves we can accomplish something much more valuable—a steady, progressive improvement in the ability of the peoples of the world to live with each other in peace and mutual helpfulness.

Violation of Human Rights by Bulgaria and Hungary Placed on General Assembly Agenda

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press September 14*]

This government has now received replies from Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania to its notes of August 1 asking those governments to join in naming commissions, under the peace-treaty procedure, in order to reach a settlement of the disputes over violation of the human rights clauses of the treaties.[1] In their replies, the three governments have refused to cooperate in establishing these commissions. They continue to insist that they have not violated the human rights clauses of the treaties, but they are unwilling to apply the procedures specifically provided in the treaties for just such cases of disputes over whether or not violations have taken place. In the view of this government they have compounded their earlier violations by this subsequent refusal to carry out the procedures for the settlement of disputes, obligations which they specifically assumed in the peace treaties themselves. The attitude shown by these three governments in their recent notes, as in their earlier notes replying to the charges made against them, calls into question their good faith in signing the treaties and provides further illustration of their callous disregard of clear international obligations.

The violation of human rights on the part of the Governments of Bulgaria and Hungary was discussed last April by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Assembly passed a resolution urgently drawing the attention of those governments to their obligations under the treaties, including the obligation to cooperate in the settlement of these disputes. This item has been placed on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, and it has been proposed (by Australia) that the case of Rumania also be discussed. The Assembly will have before it the full record of the disputes and will be able to judge for itself what further action to take.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 15, 1949, p. 238.

Resolutions on Relations With Intergovernmental Organizations

A

The Economic and Social Council

Recommends Member Governments, which are also members of the International Chemistry Office, to take steps within that body to bring about its dissolution and transfer its assets and functions if appropriate to other organizations;

Recommends Member Governments, which are also members of the International Bureau for Technical Training, to take steps within that body to bring about its dissolution and transfer its assets and functions to the International Labour Organization; and

Requests the Secretary-General to render whatever assistance may be appropriate in connexion with the foregoing recommendations.

B

The Economic and Social Council,

HAVING CONSIDERED the resolution adopted on 3 August 1949 by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission on its relations with the United Nations,

Continues to believe that the purposes of the Commission as set forth in article 1 of its Constitutional Regulation can be carried out within the United Nations while fully safeguarding the expert and professional character of the work undertaken in this field;

Requests the Secretary-General to enter into consultation with the Commission with a view to submitting to an early session of the Council a plan for the eventual integration within the United Nations of the Commission taking into account the principles set forth in section I of the above-mentioned resolution of the Commission and the views expressed at the ninth session of the Council and

Invites Member Governments of the United Nations or of the Commission to transmit to the Secretary-General by 31 December 1949 any comments they may wish to make on this subject.

C

The Economic and Social Council

NOTING that discussions have been initiated on the pos-ible absorption or integration of the International Co-rdination Committee for European Migratory Movements nto the International Labour Organization, and

NOTING that discussions have been initiated on the pos-ible absorption or integration of the International Cus-oms Tariffs Bureau into the future International Trade rganization;

Requests the Secretary-General to report in due course o the Council on the progress of the foregoing discussions.

D

The Economic and Social Council

Requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific nd Cultural Organization to consult with the Interna-onal Union for the Protection of the Rights of Authors nd their Literary and Artistic Works on the question of e future relationship of the two bodies, and to include its next report to the Council an account of the results such consultations; and

Further requests the Secretary-General to submit a re-rt on the matter to the eleventh session of the Council.

E

The Economic and Social Council

Recommends that working relationships be established the Food and Agriculture Organization with the Inter-tional Institute of Refrigeration;

Requests the Secretary-General to render whatever as-stance may be appropriate.

F

The Economic and Social Council

Notes the understanding reached by the Food and Agri-lture Organization with the International Office of izootics and approves the establishment of such rela-onships between them; and

Requests the FAO to examine the possibilities of es-blishing closer collaboration in this field and to include its next report to the Council an account of the co-opera-n achieved.

G

The Economic and Social Council

Notes with approval the relationship established by the ited Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Or-nization wtih the International Bureau of Education; d

Requests UNESCO to include in its next report to the uncil an account of the co-operation achieved.

H

The Economic and Social Council

Notes with approval that relationships have been established by the Economic Commission for Europe with the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine;

Notes with approval that relationships have been established by the appropriate bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies with the Caribbean Commission;

Notes with approval that relationships are being established by the appropriate bodies of the United Nations with the South Pacific Commission.

I

The Economic and Social Council

Notes with approval that relationships have been established by the Food and Agriculture Organization with the following Organizations;

International Commission of Agricultural Industries,
Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux,
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea,
Permanent International Bureau of Analytical Chemistry of Human and Animal Foods,
International Wine Office.

J

The Economic and Social Council

Considers it is not appropriate at the pr sent time to take any steps towards the termination, absorption or integration into the United Nations or a specialized agency of the Inter-National Bureau of Weights and Measures; and

Notes with approval the establishment of working relations by the appropriate specialized agencies with that body.

K

The Economic and Social Council,

HAVING NOTED the fact that a meeting will be held in September 1949 to consider the establishment of a Council for the Mediterranean Sea and Contiguous Waters,

Considers that no decision can be taken, at the present time, on the possible termination, absorption or integration into another body of the International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean Sea; and

Requests the Secretary-General to report on the matter to the next session of the Council.

L

The Economic and Social Council,

HAVING NOTED the letter from the President of the International Red Cross Committee to the Secretary-General dated 3 August 1949,[1]

Decides to defer consideration in regard to the International Relief Union until the next session of the Council; and

Requests the Secretary-General to study the question and to report to the next session of the Council.

[1] See U.N. doc. E/AC.24/7.

M

The Economic and Social Council

Decides to make no recommendations at the present time on the possible termination, absorption or integration into another body of the following organizations;

Central International Railway Transport Office,
International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light,
International Conference for Promoting Technical Uniformity in Railways,
International Hydrographic Bureau,
European Conference on Time-Tables,
International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property,
International Cotton Advisory Committee,
International Rubber Study Group,
International Sugar Council,
International Tin Study Group,
Combined Tin Committee,
International Wheat Council,
International Wool Study Group; and

Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on any new developments regarding these organizations to a later session of the Council.

N

The Economic and Social Council

Decides to take no action at present in regard to the Permanent Committee of the International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy; and

Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the eleventh session of the Council on the possibility and desirability of closer relations and integration between that body, the World Health Organization and other international bodies.

O

The Economic and Social Council

Considers that no action at the present time is required regarding the possible termination, absorption or integration of, or the possible establishment of relationships, with, the following organizations;

International Union for the Protection of Nature,
Bank for International Settlements,
International Exhibition Bureau,
International Central Office for the Control of the Liquor Traffic in Africa.

P

The Economic and Social Council

Requests the Secretary-General to undertake discussions with the Director-General of the Organization of American States on the future status of the following bodies, including possible relationships with the United Nations or a specialized agency, and to report on the results of these discussions to the next session of the Council;

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences,
Inter-American Indian Institute,
Pan-American Institute of Geography and History,
Office of Inter-American Telecommunications,
Pan-American Railway Committee,
Permanent American Aeronautical Commission,
Pan-American Sanitary Bureau,
Central Pan-American Bureau of Eugenics and Homiculture,
Inter-American Juridical Committee,
Inter-American Trademark Bureau,
American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood,
Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama.

Q

The Economic and Social Council

Requests the Secretary-General to submit periodically to the Council the list of inter-governmental organizations[2] as revised from time to time;

Directs that the following organizations be deleted from that list;

International Office of Whaling Statistics,
International Fisheries Commission,
International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission,
International Ice Observation and Ice Patrol Service in the North Atlantic Ocean,
Far Eastern Commission,
International Criminal Police Commission,
International Institute for the Unification of Private Law,
United Nations War Crimes Commission,
Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration,
Committee of Experts on the Codification of International Law,
Permanent Committee of Jurists on the Unification of the Civil and Commercial Laws of America,
Permanent Committee of Havana on the Comparative Legislation and the Unification of Law,
Permanent Committee of Montevideo on the Codification of Private International Law,
Permanent Committee of Rio de Janeiro on the Codification of Public International Law,
Inter-American Coffee Board,
Inter-Allied Reparation Agency,
Commissioner-General's Economic Organization (for South East Asia),
Inter-American Commission of Women;

and that the following organizations be added to that List:

International Whaling Commission,
Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council,
International Committee for Colorado Beetle Control,
Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama.

[2] See U.N. doc. E/818/Rev. 1.

[September 17–24]

eneral Assembly

The fourth regular session of the General As-mbly opened at Flushing Meadows on Septem-r 20 with 23 of the 59 delegations headed by eir countries' foreign ministers. The first eek's sessions were devoted to organizational atters—the election of Ambassador Carlos P. omulo of the Philippines as president and the ection of seven vice presidents and the chairmen the six main committees.

The Assembly adopted a formidable agenda of old and new questions, including problems of ide international interest such as international ntrol of atomic energy; regulation and reduc-on of armaments; alleged violations of human ghts in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania; alestine; the Indonesian question; the Korean oblem; disposition of the former Italian lonies; threats to the political independence and rritorial integrity of Greece; proposals for an panded program of economic aid to under-veloped countries; and the admission of new embers to the United Nations.

The Assembly will have before it two resolutions the Atomic Energy Commission which the curity Council decided September 16 to pass to e Assembly. One of these suspends meetings the Atomic Energy Commission "until such time the sponsoring powers have reported there exists basis for agreement." The other states that no eful purpose would be served by further dis-ssion of the Soviet proposal for the drafting of o conventions on the prohibition of atomic apons and on atomic energy control.

The Commission for Conventional Armaments, accordance with a resolution of last Assembly, s worked out a proposal for a census and verifi-tion of the armaments and armed forces of ited Nations member states, but the Security uncil has not yet taken action on the Commis-n's report.

Since the Assembly discussed the alleged viola-ns of human rights by Bulgaria and Hungary, orts have continued to resolve the problem der procedures set forth in the peace treaties th the respective countries, including Rumania, t all three countries have shown themselves un-lling to apply such procedures. The Assembly ust determine what further action to recommend respect to the alleged violations.

The main aspects of the Palestine question facing the Assembly include the relief of refugees, internationalization of Jerusalem, and protection of the Holy Places. The Assembly will consider a report of the Economic Survey Mission now in the Middle East to study and recommend means of resettling the refugees and to plan the general economic development of the area.

The question of Indonesia was on the agenda of the last Assembly session but discussion was deferred in view of the encouraging negotiations between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic. United Nations machinery is still at work assisting in settlement of the dispute, and the round-table conference in session in The Hague has announced agreement in principle on several points working toward association of a proposed United States of Indonesia with the Dutch Crown.

The Korean Commission report before the Assembly places the main responsibility for blocking Korean unification on the Soviet Union, which has refused to comply with United Nations recommendations on Korea and to cooperate with the Commission.

The disposition of the former Italian colonies is another question held over from the last session where agreement could not be reached. The problem is before the United Nations in accordance with the Italian peace treaty provision to refer the matter to the United Nations if the Big Four nations could not reach agreement before September 15, 1948.

The Assembly will consider the report of the Special Committee on the Balkans which declares that Bulgaria and Albania have continued to give both moral and material assistance to the Greek guerillas and that there has been an increase in aid from Rumania and a decrease, or possible cessation, of aid from Yugoslavia. The report also notes the continued refusal of the bordering states to cooperate with the Special Committee and the refusal of Poland and the Soviet Union to take their seats as commission members.

The question of the admission of new members to the United Nations is also on the Assembly agenda. Seven applicants—Portugal, Jordan, Italy, Finland, Ireland, Austria, and Ceylon—received a majority vote in the Security Council again on September 13, but a negative vote of the U.S.S.R., as a permanent member of the Council, blocked their admission. On September 15 the Security Council again failed to admit Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference

The Department of State announced on September 14 that the President named Rosel H. Hyde, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, and Fletcher Warren, United States Ambassador to Paraguay, chairman and special consultant, respectively, of the United States delegation to the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference. The Conference convened at Montreal, September 13.

The other members of the United States delegation are as follows:

Chief Technical Adviser

John A. Willoughby, Acting Chief Engineer, Federal Communications Commission

Advisers

James E. Barr, Chief, Standard Broadcast Division, Bureau of Engineering, Federal Communications Commission

Raymond L. Harrell, Telecommunications Attaché, American Embassy, Habana

H. Underwood Graham, Chief, Allocations Branch, Standard Broadcast Division, Federal Communications Commission

Florence C. Kirlin, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State, Congressional Relations, Department of State

Joseph M. Kittner, Assistant to the General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission

Bruce S. Longfellow, Assistant Chief, Allocations Branch, Standard Broadcast Division, Federal Communications Commission

Donald R. MacQuivey, Divisional Assistant, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Charles P. Nolan, Adviser, Transport and Communications Policy, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State.

Ralph J. Renton, Radio Engineer, Office of Chief Engineer, Federal Communications Commission

Edgar F. Vandivere, Chief, Information Analysis Branch, Technical Information Division, Bureau of Engineering, Federal Communications Commission.

Julius Brauner, General Counsel, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York

Louis G. Caldwell, Attorney, Clear Channel Broadcasting Service, Washington, D.C.

Commander T. A. M. Craven, Consulting Radio Enginee Craven Lohnes and Culver, Washington, D.C.

William F. Duttera, Staff Allocations Engineer, Nationa Broadcasting Company, New York

R. Russell Eagan, Attorney, Kirkland, Fleming, Green Martin & Ellis, Washington, D.C.

Raymond F. Guy, Manager, Radio and Allocations Engi neering, National Broadcasting Company, New Yor

Andrew G. Haley, Consulting Attorney, American Broad casting Company, New York

Ralph N. Harmon, Engineering Manager, Westinghous Radio Stations, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Royal V. Howard, Engineering Consultant, San Francisc

E. M. Johnson, Vice President, Mutual Broadcasting Sys tem, New York

William B. Lodge, Vice President in charge of Gener Engineering, Columbia Broadcasting System, Ne York

Gustav B. Margraf, Vice President and General Attorne National Broadcasting Company, New York

Leonard H. Marks, General Counsel, Daytime Petitioner Association, Alexandria, Va.

Frank Marx, Vice President and Chief, American Broad casting Company, New York

Neal McNaughton, Director, Department of Engineerin National Association of Broadcasters, Washingto D.C.

Dwight A. Myer, Technical Field Director, Westinghous Radio Stations, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Esterly Chase Page, Consulting Radio Engineer, Wash ington, D.C.

James D. Parker, Staff Radio Engineer, Columbia Broad casting System, New York

Forney A. Rankin, Director, Department of Governmen Relations, National Association of Broadcaster Washington, D.C.

Oscar W. B. Reed, Jr., Engineer, Jansky and Bailey, Wash ington, D.C.

Jay W. Wright, Chief Radio Engineer, Columbia Broad casting System, New York

The Conference will bring together representa tives of the Governments of Canada, Cuba, th Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, and th United States for the purpose of endeavoring t produce a new agreement to regulate and estab lish principles governing the use of the standar broadcast band in the North American region.

The original North American Regional Broad casting Agreement, signed at Habana, in 193

ecame effective in 1941 to continue in force for years. In 1946 it was extended for an additional 3 years, expiring March 29 of this year.

Meeting of South Pacific Commission

The Department of State announced on September 13 that the four United States Commissions on the South Pacific Commission will arrive his afternoon in Washington for a three-day eriod of consultation.

Those attending the series of meetings are:

enior Commissioner—Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology at Stanford University, authority and author on the South Pacific area
ommissioner—Milton Shalleck, lawyer of New York
lternate Commissioner—Dr. Karl C. Leebrick, vice-president of the University of Hawaii
lternate Commissioner—Orsen N. Nielsen, American consul general, Sydney, Australia

This will be the second meeting in Washington f United States Commissioners, who were apointed by the President on April 28, 1948. This eeting has been arranged in order that the Comissioners may confer with officers of this governent on matters relating to the South Pacific ommission. Among other problems which the ommissioners will discuss are items on the agenda f the fourth session of the Commission, which will convened at Nouméa, New Caledonia, on October , 1949.

The South Pacific Commission was established May 1948 as a regional advisory and consultave body on social and economic matters to the overnments of Australia, France, the Netherands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the nited States. The territorial scope of the Comission comprises 15 non-self-governing terriries in the Pacific Ocean which are administered these participating governments and which lie holly or in part south of the Equator and east om and including Netherlands New Guinea.

The Commission is designed to encourage and to rengthen international cooperation in advancg the economic and social rights and welfare of e inhabitants of the territories within its scope. e first and second sessions were held at Sydney, ustralia, in 1948, and the third session was held May 1949 at Nouméa, New Caledonia, the headarters of the Commission. William D. Forsyth the secretary general of the Commission.

The Commission, which is assisted by a research uncil and periodic conferences of representatives the local inhabitants, will be an important eans of promoting the economic and social welling of the two millions of peoples of the islands the South Pacific region. The first South cific Conference will be held at Suva, Fiji lands, in April 1950. Although the Commission does not have any organic connection with the United Nations, its charter makes provision for full cooperation with the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

ILO: Asian Conference of Experts on Technical Training

On September 12 the Department of State announced that Duncan Campbell, labor attaché, stationed at the American consulate general at Batavia, Java, Indonesia, will represent the United States Government as an official observer at the Asian Conference of Experts on Technical Training of the International Labor Organization (ILO). This meeting is scheduled to be held at Singapore, September 12–24, 1949.

The ILO believes that the Singapore conference will have particular importance for its Asian manpower program and that it will lay the ground work for practical operations by the ILO Asian field office in vocational and technical training.

Pan American Institute of Geography and History

The Department of State announced on September 6 that Dr. Preston E. James, professor of geography at Syracuse University and United States member of the Commission on Geography of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, will attend the First Meeting of the Commission which is scheduled to open at Rio de Janeiro on September 12.

Dr. James will also serve as chairman of the United States delegation to the First Pan American Consultation on Geography of the Institute which will be convened concurrently with the First Meeting of the Commission at the invitation of the Brazilian Government. Others named to serve as members of the United States delegation are: Dr. Arthur P. Biggs, assistant attaché, American Embassy, Buenos Aires; Dr. Samuel W. Boggs, special adviser on geography, Department of State; Dr. Clarence F. Jones, professor of geography, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; and Betty Didcoct, Department of State.

The Consultation has been called to aid the Commission in promoting the interchange of technical and scientific information among leading geographers of the Americas. Subjects to be discussed by the Consultation are under the following general headings: (1) physical geography; (2) biogeography; (3) human geography; (4) regional geography; and (5) the teaching of geography. As part of the meeting there will be held also an exhibit of the geographic publications and similar studies carried out by the various American governments.

The United States has supported the activities of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History since it was established in 1929.

Waging Peace in the Americas

Address by Secretary Acheson[1]

I am grateful to the Pan American Society for this welcome opportunity to meet with its distinguished membership and with so many friends from throughout the Western Hemisphere. It is a most appropriate setting in which to discuss the relations within our community of American Republics. There are two reasons in particular why I am glad to be able to discuss this subject tonight. The first is so obvious that we tend to take it for granted. It is that our countries are close neighbors, bound together by a common heritage of struggles for liberty and freedom.

The second reason is that the community between our countries presents us with a unique opportunity to press forward toward the positive objectives of our foreign policy. Much of our effort in other parts of the world has had to be devoted to repairing the destruction caused by war and to strengthening the free nations against aggression. We in this hemisphere have fortunately been spared the terrible destruction of war, and we are relatively remote from any direct threat against our independence. The prospects are, therefore, bright that we can continue to work together in an atmosphere of relative peace and stability. We are in a real sense waging peace in the Americas.

Basic Principles

Before discussing specific policies, it seems well to restate once more the basic principles on which our policy in this hemisphere must rest. They are:

Our essential faith in the worth of the individual;

the preservation of our way of life without trying to impose it on others;

the observance by all governments of ethical standards based on justice and respect for freely accepted international obligations;

protection of the legitimate interests of our people and government, together with respect for the legitimate interests of all other peoples and governments;

the juridical equality of all the American Republics;

nonintervention in the internal or external affairs of any American Republic;

the stimulation of private effort as the most important factor in political, economic, and social purposes;

freedom of information and the development of free exchanges in all fields;

the perfection, with the other American countries, of regional and universal arrangements for maintaining international peace; and

the promotion of the economic, social, and political welfare of the people of the American Republics.

These then are our guiding principles. A statement of the specific policies which rest on these principles can best be made in conjunction with a review of our long-term objective.

National and Hemisphere Security

The primary objective of any government necessarily the security of its territory and people. The Monroe Doctrine is an acknowledgement that the security of this hemisphere is indivisible. With the development of the inter-American sy

[1] Made before the Pan American Society of the United States in New York, N. Y., on Sept. 19, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

em, our countries have jointly created an effec-
ive security organization consistent with the
Charter of the United Nations.

The Rio de Janeiro treaty of 1947 provides that
n case of armed attack on an American Repub-
ic, each party pledges itself to assist in meeting
he attack. One of the foremost policies of our
ountry in foreign affairs is to fulfill its obliga-
ions under the Rio treaty and to seek the maxi-
um cooperation among the American nations in
chieving the objective of a secure and peaceful
ontinent.

I stress this point because the security system
hich has culminated in the Rio treaty is now
acing a crucial test.

For more than 2 years the Caribbean area has
een disturbed by plots and counterplots. These
lots have in themselves been inconsistent with
ur common commitments not to intervene in each
her's affairs. Increasingly, however, denunci-
ions have been succeeded by overt attempts at
ilitary adventure. Since 1945 few nations in the
aribbean area have escaped involvement, and at
mes the entire area has approached a state of
olitical turmoil.

This situation is repugnant to the entire fabric
f the inter-American system. The United States
ould not be faithful to its international obliga-
ons if it did not condemn it in the strongest
rms. The energies spent in these adventures
uld much better have been put to use for peace-
l purposes and improving the lot of the ordi-
ry citizen. Aggression or plotting against any
ation of this hemisphere is of concern to us.
herever it occurs, or may be threatened, we shall
e our strongest efforts, in keeping with our in-
rnational commitments, to oppose it and to de-
nd the peace of the hemisphere.

Only last Wednesday the Inter-American Peace
ommittee, meeting at the Pan American Union,
t forth the principles and standards that bear
this situation. It is my hope that rigorous ad-
rence to these principles and standards by all
merican governments will assure peace, not only
the Caribbean area, but also throughout the
misphere.

We, the nations of this hemisphere, have a re-
onsibility not only to ourselves but also to the
st of the world to live together in peace and
rmony. Together we have played an important
rt in creating the United Nations. We must
e up to the responsibilities which we have thus
sumed toward the other member nations. This
ans, among other things, that we must abide
our regional commitments and maintain peace
our own midst. If all of the countries of the
misphere proceed along these lines, as we in
s country intend to do, there is no reason why
y nation in the hemisphere should fear
gression.

Development of Representative Democracy

What I have said, however, should not be construed as blind adherence to the status quo. We oppose aggression; we do not oppose change. Indeed, we welcome and encourage change where it is in the direction of liberty and democracy. We have worked long and persistently in common with our neighbors toward this end.

We would like to see a world in which each citizen participates freely in determining periodically the identity of the members of his government. This is an objective for which we will continue to work, subject always to our common policy of nonintervention.

In the Americas we have had periods of high hope and periods of bitter discouragement as we have seen democratic institutions flourish in some countries, only to see them subverted in others. We always deplore the action of any group in substituting its judgment for that of the electorate. We especially deplore the overthrow by force of a freely elected government. In such situations we do not cease to hope that the people will regain the right to choose their leaders.

We realize, however, that the attainment of the democratic ideal in any country depends fundamentally upon the desires and efforts of the people of that country. The nature of democracy is such that it can be achieved only from within.

Democracy as we endeavor to practice it is a continuing development toward political maturity—not a formula to be imposed upon a nation by a self-appointed ruling class, as is the case with certain other forms of government. Its attainment is essentially a spiritual and personal problem to be solved by the people of each country for themselves.

We are encouraged in our purpose by the realization that the strength of democratic institutions throughout the hemisphere today is measurably greater than a generation ago. In spite of occasional disappointments, we note a steady forward progress. The spirit of democracy is alive and bearing fruit.

Recognition

Our policy with respect to recognizing new governments in the hemisphere is not inconsistent with our encouragement of democracy. We maintain diplomatic relations with other countries primarily because we are all on the same planet and must do business with each other. We do not establish an embassy or legation in a foreign country to show approval of its government. We do so to have a channel through which to conduct essential governmental relations and to protect legitimate United States interests.

When a freely elected government is overthrown and a new and perhaps militaristic government takes over, we do not need to recognize the new government automatically and immedi-

ately. We can wait to see if it really controls its territory and intends to live up to its international commitments. We can consult with other governments, as we have often done.

But if and when we do recognize a government under these circumstances, our act of recognition need not be taken to imply approval of it or its policies. It is recognition of a set of facts, nothing more. We may have the gravest reservations as to the manner in which it has come into power. We may deplore its attitude toward civil liberties. Yet our long-range objectives in the promotion of democratic institutions may, in fact, be best served by recognizing it and thus maintaining a channel of communication with the country involved. In this way we are also able to discharge our basic function of protecting the interests of our government and our citizens there. Since recognition is not synonymous with approval, however, our act of recognition need not necessarily be understood as the forerunner of a policy of intimate cooperation with the government concerned.

Economic Policy

The economic field offers the greatest opportunity for constructive action. Two sets of problems arise. The first are derived largely from the disruptions of the war, and we hope may be described as short-run problems. The second results from the fact that in wide areas the standard of living is still miserably low. This is a long-run problem, although no less urgent.

It was apparent that the war would be followed by a period of economic stress. In some areas the effectiveness of the economic machine had been destroyed. The effect of the war on various relationships which previously had been the basis of world trade—for example, the reduction in earnings on overseas investment by European countries—raised new issues with respect to achieving equilibrium. Although the heaviest initial impact of this problem fell on Europe, the fundamental disequilibrium has now extended around the world so that for every country the maintenance of trade and the balance of payments has become a major problem of foreign relations. It was obvious in its initial stage that there could be no real recovery in trade without the revival of production in Europe. Therefore, the European Recovery Program must be regarded not merely as a program to meet the individual problems of the European countries but also to revive the flow of goods to and from Europe. We are all aware of the serious character of the present balance-of-payments problems, and it is one to which we must direct our thoughts in the most constructive way possible.

While material well-being is no guaranty that democracy will flourish, a healthy and prosperous people is a far more fertile field for the development of democracy than one which is undernourished and unproductive. That is why we are and must be preoccupied with the long-term problem of economic development.

The record of our economic cooperation in this hemisphere is substantial. It is one of such proved soundness that it forms the precedent and the basis for the more constructive labor ahead.

For 10 years past a large work of technical cooperation has been under way throughout our countries. Our government participates in this work through many of its agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture and the Public Health Service. Our Institute of Inter-American Affairs is cooperating with agencies of the other governments in outstandingly successful programs to improve basic living conditions. Technicians and administrators from the United States and from the host countries work side by side in partnership with each other. They work among the peoples in the remote countryside as well as in the cities. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs has now been authorized by Congress to continue and to expand this work. These programs have furnished the inspiration and the proving ground for the world-wide program of technical cooperation envisaged in Point 4 of President Truman's inaugural address.

In 1935, we created the Export-Import Bank which has become a uniquely successful institution in the field of economic development. The steel mill at Volta Redonda in Brazil is in full operation and a lifelong desire of many Brazilian statesmen and businessmen has become a reality with a plentiful supply of steel products to complement the vigorous growth of industry in that country. At Concepción in Chile we shall soon see the realization of another project which has been brought about by the combination of energy on the part of Chilean leaders and cooperation by the Export-Import Bank in supplying the material needs to bring the idea into fruit. There are constructive evidences throughout the Americas of the good use to which Export-Import credits have been put—in the Artibonite Valley in Haiti, in meat packing plants in Mexico—in highways in many countries, in ships, power systems, public works, agricultural projects, large and small industrial undertakings. The total amount of loans advanced by the Bank to the other American Republics is over 700 million dollars. Defaults on these loans are insignificant.

The International Bank and the International Monetary Fund created at Bretton Woods in 1944 largely on the initiative of the United States, today are actively contributing to economic development and fiscal stability in this hemisphere. The Bank already has made loans to several American nations for basic development, and the

und has assisted in the solution of currency roblems. Through our representation in both stitutions, we shall continue our vigorous sup- ort of these constructive policies.

These specific programs represent actual eds—not merely words. Nor are they isolated amples, but rather parts of a broad program economic cooperation which, while reflecting r national self-interest, can leave no doubt as our deep and lasting concern with the economic elfare of the other American Republics.

ivate Capital and Public Funds

Loans of public funds, however, can only be pplementary to the efforts of private capital, th local and foreign. This country has been ilt by private initiative, and it remains a land private initiative. The preponderance of our onomic strength depends today as in the past on the technical and financial resources and, en more, upon the abilities and morale of private izens. I venture to say that the same thing is ie of the other American nations.

In providing assistance for economic develop- ent, it would be contrary to our traditions to ice our government's public funds in direct and steful competition with private funds. There- re, it will be our policy, in general, not to extend ins of public funds for projects for which ivate capital is available. It is our purpose, o, to emphasize the desirability of loans which crease productivity.

Nor do we necessarily believe that rapid indus- lization is good per se. Industrial develop- nt is an important factor in raising living stand- ls, and therefore we have cooperated actively to s end. However, we feel that a balance should achieved between industry, agriculture, and ier elements of economic life. In many coun- es, large and small, the greatest immediate ogress toward material well-being may be made ough modern and diversified cultivation of the d. Irrigation projects, the use of agricultural chinery, the restoration of old land through fer- zers—these simple measures may do more to se the standard of living than a dozen new lustries.

We have had these principles in mind in borating the Point 4 program. Because we ieve that the job ahead should be done pri- rily through private initiative, we have re- sted Congress to authorize the Export-Import nk to offer certain guaranties against risks pe- iar to foreign private investment.

We hope that the flow of private capital can stimulated also by the negotiation of treaties create an atmosphere favorable to increased vate investment abroad. We are concerned h two types of treaties: first, treaties to avoid double taxation; second, treaties to define our economic relations and give reasonable assurances to our investors while safeguarding the interests and integrity of the other country.

Special Needs of Countries

We believe that this general program can best be developed in full consideration of the special needs of individual countries. The conditions of the various nations of the hemisphere differ widely. Nor can all of our international problems be dealt with in the same way. In the field of economic development we have a common goal of high living standards and increased trade—just as in the political field we have a common goal of security and individual freedom. However, the process of economic development depends upon the efforts and resources of each individual country. There is no common formula. To be sure, the process can be facilitated in various ways by international organizations, such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies and the Organization of American States. But, in the last analysis, it depends upon the energy and resources of the individual countries themselves. The United States is prepared to lend its assistance, both directly and through international bodies, to working out specific programs with individual countries. Possibly this principle might be expanded to the working out of regional programs if two or more countries should seek to plan jointly for economic development.

I cannot stress too strongly that progress will come most rapidly in countries that help themselves vigorously. Economic development, like democracy, cannot be imposed from outside. Positive self-help is also essential to establishing conditions of economic stability and of fair treatment for private investment and the rights of labor. In countries where such conditions are provided, it will follow that we can collaborate more effectively in working out development programs. Public and private capital will be attracted more readily to such countries. While this is dictated by logic rather than emotion, it has been our experience that these conditions are generally founded in countries where constitutional and political democracy exists.

Conclusion

These then are our three major objectives—the security of our nation and of the hemisphere; the encouragement of democratic representative institutions; and positive cooperation in the economic field to help in the attainment of our first two objectives.

If I have said nothing new tonight, it may well be because, in a family of nations as in families of individuals we should expect nothing more sensational than growth.

We can take satisfaction in the stability of our policy in the hemisphere. The good-neighbor policy as we practice it today is, for us, an historic, bipartisan, national policy. It has been wrought by democrats at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue—President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and Senator Connally, and also by Republicans at both ends of the Avenue—President Hoover, Secretary Stimson, and Senator Vandenberg. And this by no means exhausts the distinguished list who have contributed to this great policy.

It is the firm intention of President Truman, as it is of myself as Secretary of State—of the entire personnel of my Department and, I believe, of the people of my country—to work for ever closer relations between the nations of this hemisphere. We seek by positive good will and effort to strengthen the Organization of American States, within the more extensive design of the United Nations, as the most effective expression of law and order in this hemisphere.

We and the other American Republics have determined and pledged ourselves to carry on our common policy of the Good Neighbor as a living and constantly growing reality.

Inter-American Faith in United Nations

Remarks by Assistant Secretary Miller[1]

This is an outstanding occasion for anyone who is interested in inter-American affairs. It occurs in the midst of a momentous period in the development of our country's foreign policy as a symbol of our country's unflagging interest in our inter-American relations. During this period, the financial discussions with Great Britain and Canada have been going on and have demonstrated again the common purpose of the governments concerned to surmount problems of postwar readjustment which are of concern to all of the world. The meetings of the Governors of the International Bank and Fund have shown the strength and the continuing progress of these two great examples of international economic cooperation. Only last week in Washington there was created the organization which will give effect to the understanding set forth in the North Atlantic Treaty. Tomorrow, the General Assembly of the United Nations opens its fourth session at Lake Success. For the next few weeks the hopes of free people everywhere will be focused on its deliberations.

That all of these great events should take place in this country during such a brief period is, in perspective, dramatic proof of the deep interest and the active participation of the United States in the solution of international problems. This interest and this desire to participate would not be nearly as pronounced, however, if we had not behind us already an encouraging record of accomplishment in the field of international cooperation. We have no more inspiring single example of effective international cooperation than our inter-American system with its Organization of American States, for which all of the nations represented here tonight, have worked with zeal and persistence. This vigorous, functioning Organization is a source of pride for all of us.

It is entirely fitting, therefore, that during this series of international events which have been taking place we from the Department of State should be privileged to meet here tonight with this distinguished company to mark the deep and continuing interest which we all have in the welfare of our inter-American system. I wish to thank the Pan American Society for this opportunity to join in welcoming the distinguished representatives of our fellow American Republics who have met with us here tonight. It is pleasant to see here this evening many of the permanent representatives of those countries who live in our midst. A special welcome is felt by all of us for those who have newly come for the meeting of the General Assembly. We also are glad to have in our midst the Governors and Executive Directors on the International Fund and the International Bank. Finally, Dr. Alberto Lleras, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, occupies a unique position in that he represents our entire community of 21 nations.

An assemblage such as this of friends from throughout the hemisphere is in itself an inspiring event. It is an expression of our common faith in inter-American cooperation. We shall all, I am sure, leave here tonight with a renewed sense of dedication to press forward for the realization of our common purpose.

[1] Made before the Pan American Society of the United States at New York, N. Y., on Sept. 19, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

int Statements on Developments and Problems

ıcing U.S., U.K., Canada, France, and Italy

K.—FAR AND MIDDLE EAST

eleased to the press September 13]

Secretary of State Acheson and the Foreign cretary of Great Britain, Mr. Bevin, met this ernoon to discuss matters of concern to their o countries, particularly in the Far East and Middle East. They were assisted in their dis-ssions by the following:

the United States

lip C. Jessup, Ambassador at Large
rge C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and African Affairs
Walton Butterworth, Director, Office of Far Eastern Affairs
vis W. Douglas, Ambassador to Great Britain
ingston L. Satterthwaite, Chief, Division of British Commonwealth Affairs

the United Kingdom

Oliver Franks, British Ambassador
lerick E. Barclay, Private Secretary to Foreign Secretary Bevin
E. Dening, Assistant Under Secretary of State

The discussion, which was a lengthy one, was marily directed to an analysis of developments d of the problems facing their two governnts. The discussion developed a community of ws in regard to the nature of the developments d problems. In some areas which were under cussion the situation as it affected the two ntries was, of course, not identical, but the dis-sion revealed similarity of opinion regarding ectives to be sought and the policies which uld be most effective in reaching them.

It was not the purpose of the meeting to reach cific agreements on these matters. The meet-; was regarded by the Secretary and the For-n Secretary, as well as by their associates, as ng of the greatest help in developing common derstanding of the situation and the develop-nt of policy along parallel lines.

The conference this afternoon, which was the continuation of similar talks held when Mr. Acheson and Mr. Bevin met in Paris, was the first of several to be held in Washington on this and other subjects. The closest consultation between the governments will continue after the Foreign Secretary returns to London.

FRANCE—EUROPE

[*Released to the press September 14*]

Secretary of State Acheson and the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, Mr. Bevin, met again at 12 noon today to continue their discussion of various matters of concern to their two countries. The discussion today was largely on political developments in Europe, including the Balkans. The group considered briefly organization problems connected with the formation of the North Atlantic Pact Council. This discussion continued the mutually satisfactory exchange of views which were described after the conversations yesterday afternoon.

Others present for the meeting were the following:

For the United States

Philip C. Jessup, Ambassador at Large
George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary, for Near Eastern and African Affairs
Llewellyn Thompson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
Theodore C. Achilles, Deputy Director of the Office of European Affairs
Livingston Satterthwaite, Chief, Division of British Commonwealth Affairs

For the United Kingdom

Sir Oliver Franks, British Ambassador
Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Deputy Under Secretary of State
Roderick E. Barclay, Private Secretary to Foreign Secretary Bevin

The meeting adjourned at 1:05 p. m.

U.K., CANADA—PETROLEUM

[*Released to the press September 15*]

Meetings between representatives of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada started today to consider the special problems arising in connection with the production, refining, and geographical distribution of petroleum and petroleum products. The communiqué, issued at the conclusion of the U.S.-British-Canadian financial discussions on September 12, 1949, refers to these problems. The present discussions are those foreshadowed in that communiqué and will analyze oil transactions affecting the sterling area in the light of the legitimate interests of the countries and companies concerned.

The United States representatives will be under the leadership of Assistant Secretary of State, George W. Perkins. The British representatives will be led by Sir Henry Wilson-Smith and the Canadian representatives by R. M. Keith. It is anticipated that the complexity of the problem will require that the discussions continue for some time.

U.K., FRANCE—GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

[*Released to the press September 15*]

The Secretary of State and the British and French Foreign Ministers met this afternoon to discuss several matters of concern to the three governments. Among the subjects discussed was the question of Germany. The three ministers are pleased that the agreements reached in London in 1948 and in Washington in 1949 have now so successfully culminated in the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. They have examined some of the problems of working relationships which may be expected to arise from the new arrangements in Western Germany.

The three ministers also discussed the outstanding unresolved issues in the Austrian treaty and reaffirmed their desire to fulfill the obligations assumed in the Moscow Declaration of 1943 to reestablish an independent Austria. They coordinated their plans for the conclusion of a satisfactory treaty at an early date and again expressed their willingness to proceed with the negotiations by the deputies for a treaty in New York on September 22. The ministers hope that a reply will be received from the Soviet Government accepting this proposal which was made by the United States deputy at the close of the conference of the deputies in London on September 1.

The three ministers also exchanged views on current developments in Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

FRANCE—ECONOMIC RECOVERY

[*Released to the press September 15*]

Secretary of State Acheson and Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, assisted by ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman, and by Ambassador W Averell Harriman, conferred today with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Robert Schuman; Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Maurice Petsche; and Ambassador Bonnet.

These conversations continued those held with Mr. Snyder in Paris during the month of July Economic and financial problems of common interest were reviewed within the spirit of the international agreements, to which the two countries have adhered, with a view to the development of a flow of international commerce as large and as free as possible.

The representatives of France were informed that the arrangements for working out conditions under which world trade can develop steadily and with increasing freedom, recently discussed between the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, would be equally applicable to France and the other ECA countries. In particular, this would apply to customs regulations eligibility requirements within the limits set by the Economic Cooperation Act, and the review of the stock-piling program.

Special attention was given to the important and urgent problem of the liberalization of trade and payments within Europe.

The officials of the two countries reaffirmed their confidence in the OEEC and their common desire that none of the problems which fall within the area of competence of the OEEC be dealt with outside of that organization.

It was agreed that the various questions raised during the course of the conversation would continue to be followed by experts of the two governments.

ITALY—FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES

[*Released to the press September 14*]

This afternoon the Secretary of State and the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Carlo Sforza met and discussed a number of problems, including the organization under the North Atlantic Treaty, the disposition of the former Italian colonies, and other questions of mutual interest to the United States and Italy. Accompanying Count Sforza was the Italian Ambassador to the United States, Alberto Tarchiani.

Participating for the State Department were:

Theodore Achilles, Deputy Director of the Office of European Affairs

Livingston Satterthwaite, Chief of the Division of British Commonwealth Affairs

Leonard Unger, Acting Chief of the Division of Southwest European Affairs

ELGIUM—EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Released to the press September 16]

Secretary Acheson met this afternoon with the 'oreign Minister of Belgium, Mr. van Zeeland,) discuss problems of mutual interest to their vo countries.

Among subjects discussed was the question of European political and economic cooperation and integration. Secretary Acheson and Mr. van Zeeland were in agreement as to the opportunities offered at the present time in this direction. The role and the possibilities of OEEC, of which Mr. van Zeeland is at present the chairman, were discussed and reviewed.

Mr. van Zeeland also outlined the recent work of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, where he served as President of the Committee of Ministers.

lorth Atlantic Council

COMMUNIQUÉ

Released to the press September 17]

The Council established by Article 9 of the North At- ntic Treaty held its first session in Washington on ptember 17, 1949. Representatives of the Parties to e Treaty attending this first session were: For Belgium, e Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Paul van Zeeland; r Canada, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, . Lester B. Pearson; for Denmark, the Minister of reign Affairs, Mr. Gustav Rasmussen; for France, the nister of Foreign Affairs, M. Robert Schuman; for Ice- nd, the Minister to the United States Mr. Thor Thors; Italy, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Sforza; Luxembourg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. sef Bech; for the Netherlands, the Minister of Foreign airs, Mr. Dirk U. Stikker; for Norway, the Minister Foreign Affairs, Mr. Halvard M. Lange; for Portugal, e Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. José Caeiro da Matta; the United Kingdom, the Secretary of State for For- n Affairs, Mr. Ernest Bevin; for the United States, the cretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson.

The task of the Council is to assist the Parties in im- menting the Treaty and particularly in attaining its sic objective. That objective is to assist, in accordance th the Charter, in achieving the primary purpose of the ited Nations—the maintenance of international peace d security. The Treaty is designed to do so by making ar the determination of the Parties collectively to pre- ve their common heritage of freedom and to defend emselves against aggression while emphasizing at the ne time their desire to live in peace with all governments d all peoples.

It is in this spirit that the Foreign Ministers of the rties have met in Washington and have taken steps implement the Treaty. The meetings of the Council owed that all parties are united in their resolve to integrate their efforts for the promotion of lasting peace, the preservation of their common heritage and the strengthening of their common defense.

The main purpose of the Council during this first session was to provide for its own future operation and, in accordance with Article 9, to establish a Defense Committee and such other subsidiary bodies as are deemed necessary to assist the Council in considering matters concerning the implementation of the North Atlantic Treaty.

II. Organization

The Council is the principal body in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In accordance with the Treaty, the Council is charged with the responsibility of considering all matters concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty. Such subsidiary bodies as are set up under Article 9 of the Treaty are subordinate to the Council.

The organization established under the North Atlantic Treaty should be operated with as much flexibility as possible and be subject to review from time to time. The establishment of this machinery does not preclude the use of other means for consultation and cooperation between any or all of the Parties on matters relating to the Treaty.

III. Council

As regards its own organization, the Council agreed as follows:

As decided on April 2, the Council will normally be composed of Foreign Ministers. Should the latter be unable to attend, their places shall be taken by plenipotentiary representatives designated by the Parties. To enable the Council to meet promptly at any time the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the Parties shall

be empowered to act as their Government's representatives whenever necessary.

Terms of Reference

The North Atlantic Treaty shall constitute the terms of reference of the Council.

Time and Frequency of Sessions

The Council shall be convened by the Chairman and shall meet in ordinary session annually and at such other times as may be deemed desirable by the majority of the Parties. Extraordinary sessions under Articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty may be called at the request of any Party invoking one of these Articles.

Location of the Council Sessions

The location of each session of the Council shall be determined by the Chairman after consultation with the other members of the Council. For general convenience the ordinary annual session should normally be held at about the same time and in the same general geographical area as the annual session of the General Assembly. Other ordinary sessions should whenever practicable be held at some convenient location in Europe.

Chairmanship

Chairmanship shall be held in turn by the Parties according to the alphabetical order in the English language beginning with the United States. Each Party shall hold the office from the beginning of one ordinary annual session until the appointment of the new Chairman at the following ordinary annual session. If any Party does not wish to accept the Chairmanship, it shall pass to the next Party in alphabetical order.

Languages

English and French shall be the official languages for the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Permanent Coordination

Additional political bodies shall not be established unless and until experience has demonstrated their need. However, the existing informal arrangement for consultation between representatives in Washington of the Parties shall be maintained.

IV. Defense Committee

The Council established a Defense Committee.

The Council reaffirmed that ensuring the security of the North Atlantic area is a primary objective of the North Atlantic Treaty and is vital to the security of each of the Parties. It is therefore of paramount importance that the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack. The Defense Committee should therefore immediately take the requisite steps to have drawn up unified defense plans for the North Atlanti area.

As regards the organization of the Defense Committee the Council agreed as follows:

The Defense Committee will be composed of one repre sentative from each Party. These representatives wi normally be Defense Ministers. In any case where thi is not possible, another representative may be designated

Terms of Reference

The Defense Committee shall recommend measures fo the implementation of Articles 3 and 5 in accordance wit general policy guidance given by the Council.

Time and Frequency of Sessions

The Defense Committee shall be convened by the Chai man and shall meet in ordinary session annually an at such other times as it may be requested to meet b the Council or as may be deemed desirable by the ma jority of the members of the Defense Committee.

Location

The location of each session of the Defense Committe shall be determined by the Chairman in consultation wit the members of the Committee.

Chairmanship

Chairmanship shall be held in turn by the Parti according to the alphabetical order in the English la guage beginning with the United States. Each Par shall hold the office from the beginning of one ordina annual session until the appointment of the new Chai man at the following ordinary annual session. If a Party does not wish to accept the Chairmanship, it sha pass to the next Party in alphabetical order.

The Council suggested to the Defense Committee t general outline of those subsidiary military bodies whi it considered appropriate for the task of aiding the D fense Committee in recommending measures for the i plementation of Articles 3 and 5 of the Treaty. The D fense Committee was invited, among other things, to co sider the question of these subsidiary bodies in det and to elaborate on the general provisions suggested the Council for each body.

V. Military Committee

The Council suggested in general terms that the mi tary organization should include the following:

The Defense Committee should establish a Milita Committee composed of one military representative fr each Party. These representatives should be Chiefs Staff or their representatives. (Iceland, having no mi tary establishment, may, if it so desires, be represent by a civilian official.)

Terms of Reference

The Military Committee should:

provide general policy guidance of a military natu to its Standing Group;

advise the Defense Committee and other agencies on military matters as appropriate;

recommend to the Defense Committee military measures for the unified defense of the North Atlantic area.

ocation

The Military Committee should normally meet in Washgton.

anding Group

In order to facilitate the rapid and efficient conduct of e work of the Military Committee, there should be set a sub-committee of that body to be known as the tanding Group". The Standing Group should be comsed of one representative each of France, the United ngdom, and the United States.

rms of Reference

The Standing Group, in accordance with general policy idance provided by the Military Committee, should prole such specific policy guidance and information of a litary nature to the Regional Planning Groups and any her bodies of the organization as is necessary for their rk.

To achieve the unified defense of the North Atlantic ea, the Standing Group should coordinate and integrate e defense plans originating in the Regional Planning oups, and should make appropriate recommendations ereon to the Military Committee.

The Standing Group should recommend to the Military mmittee those matters on which the Standing Group ould be authorized to take action in the name of the litary Committee within the framework of approved licy.

It is recognized that it is the responsibility of indidual governments to provide for the implementation plans to which they have agreed. It is further recogzed that it is the primary responsibility of the Regional anning Groups to prepare plans for the defense of their spective regions. Subject to these principles, it is unrstood that before the Standing Group makes recomendations on any plan or course of action involving the e of forces, facilities, or resources of a Party not presented on the Standing Group, going beyond or difing from arrangements previously agreed by the Party ncerned, the Party should have the right to participate the Standing Group in the work of formulating such commendations. It is also understood that when comunicating their regional plans to the Standing Group, e Regional Planning Groups should be entitled to have eir plans presented and explained by any one of their embers and not necessarily by a member of the Standg Group.

me and Frequency of Sessions

The Standing Group should be so organized as to funcn continuously.

Location

The permanent site of the Standing Group should be in Washington.

Permanent Representation

In order to maintain close contact with the Standing Group, a Party not represented thereon may appoint a special representative to provide permanent liaison with the Standing Group.

VI. Regional Planning Groups

In order to ensure speedy and efficient planning of the unified defense of the whole North Atlantic area there should be established Regional Planning Groups on a geographical basis. It should be provided that:

(1) before any Regional Planning Group makes any recommendations affecting the defense of the territory or involving the use of forces, facilities, or resources of any Party not a member of that Group, that Party should have the right to participate in the Group in the work of formulating such recommendations;

(2) any Group which considers that a Party not a member of the Group can contribute to the defense planning of that Group's region, can call upon that Party to join in the planning as appropriate.

Composition

NORTHERN EUROPEAN REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

Denmark, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

The United States has been requested and has agreed to participate actively in the defense planning as appropriate.

Other Parties may participate under the provisions listed above.

WESTERN EUROPEAN REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

Canada and the United States have been requested and have agreed to participate actively in the defense planning as appropriate.

Other Parties may, and in particular Denmark and Italy will, participate under the provisions listed above.

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN-WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

France, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

The United States has been requested and has agreed to participate actively in the defense planning as appropriate.

Other Parties may participate under the provisions listed above.

It is recognized that there are problems which are clearly common to the defense of the areas covered by the three European regional groups. It is therefore important that arrangements be made by the Defense Committee with a view to ensuring full cooperation between two, or if the need arises, all three groups.

CANADIAN-UNITED STATES REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

Canada and the United States.

Other Parties may participate under the provisions listed above.

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The responsibilities for planning the defenses in the North Atlantic Ocean cannot be shared equally by all members of the Group. On the other hand, these responsibilities can to some extent be divided along functional lines and allocated to those Parties who are best able to perform the respective defense functions. Therefore, the North Atlantic Ocean Regional Planning Group, when it meets, should establish a series of planning sub-groups related to specific functions of defense. The Group should determine on which sub-group or sub-groups each Party should sit, and the arrangements necessary to ensure coordination between these sub-groups in the interest of speedy and effective planning.

Terms of Reference

Each Regional Planning Group should:

develop and recommend to the Military Committee through the Standing Group plans for the defense of the region;

cooperate with the other Regional Planning Groups with a view to eliminating conflict in, and ensuring harmony among, the various regional plans.

Location

The Defense Committee should consider the question of the location of the Regional Planning Groups.

VII

The Council recognizes that the question of military production and supply is an integral part of the whole problem of the defense of the North Atlantic area. Consequently, there shall be established as soon as possible appropriate machinery to consider these matters. The details of organization of this machinery, terms of reference, etc., shall be studied forthwith by a working group which shall submit recommendations to the Defense Committee or to the Council.

VIII

The Council recognizes the importance of economic and financial factors in the development and implementation of military plans for the defense of the North Atlantic area. Consequently, there shall be established as soon as possible appropriate machinery to consider these mat ters. The details of organization of this machinery terms of reference, etc., shall be studied forthwith by working group which shall submit recommendations t the Council.

U.S. Concern Regarding Recent Developments in Bolivia

On September 8 Michael J. McDermott, Specia Assistant to the Secretary, Press Relations, mad the following statement:

The United States Government has been and i deeply concerned about the events which have bee taking place in the friendly American Republi of Bolivia. The freedom-loving citizens of th United States whose representative government i based on periodic free elections cannot fail to b disturbed when a minority political group in an country attempts by force of arms to overthrow government which has gained its right to autho ity through genuine elective processes.

U.S.-U.K.-Canadian Discussions on Atomic Energy Begun

[*Released to the press September 15*]

The exploratory talks referred to by the Pres dent in his statement of July 28, 1949, regardin American, British, and Canadian relations in th field of atomic energy, will commence on Sep tember 20, 1949.[1] The talks will be conducted b the Combined Policy Committee, which supervis Anglo–American–Canadian relations in this fiel Members of the Committee are:

The United States

The Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, Chairman
The Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson
The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dav E. Lilienthal

The United Kingdom

The British Ambassador, Sir Oliver S. Franks
The British Minister, Sir Derick Hoyer-Millar

Canada

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, C. D. Howe

As the President has stated, no new arrangeme will be made in these conversations as regar future relations among the three countries, pen ing further consultations with the Congress.

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 185.

ripartite Economic Conference Ends

U.S., U.K., AND CANADA AGREE ON MEASURES TO EXPAND DOLLAR EARNINGS OF STERLING AREA

Anglo–American–Canadian financial talks were ncluded here on September 12, with the three tions agreeing to work together to enable Bri- n and the entire sterling area to increase their llar earnings so as to pay their way by 1952.

In a joint communiqué issued by conference rep- sentatives, methods of easing the present eco- mic crisis were proposed.

The following is the text of the communiqué as ued on September 12:

. Representatives of the United States, the United ngdom, and Canada have met during the past week to mine the trade and financial relationships between sterling area and the dollar area. The pound and dollar are the two principal world trading currencies. ile the development of a satisfactory balance of pay- nts between the two areas is a matter of fundamental cern to the democratic world, it involves many prob- s which concern in the first instance the governments ich are the centers of these two currency systems. e present discussions were held to examine these prob- s. It was recognized that the task of working out ditions under which world trade can develop steadily l in increasing freedom will require a strenuous and tained effort, not only on the part of the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada, but also by all other ntries desiring the same objectives.

. It was agreed that the common aim is to work ard an ultimate solution which will maintain employ- t and establish equilibrium of international trade on nutually profitable basis at high levels. These ob- ives and general course of action have already been forth in the United Nations Charter, the Bretton Woods eements, and the Havana Charter for an International de Organization. It was the broad purpose of the sent meetings to explore, within this general frame- k, various specific measures which the three govern- ts might take to prevent a serious breakdown in the ar-sterling relationships which would have led to a pling limitation of dollar imports into the sterling a and to hasten the achievement of those objectives.

. These conversations have carried forward the con- ations initiated in London during July 8–10. They e resulted in a clear understanding of the character of difficulties to be faced and an increasing realization t a fully satisfactory solution will necessitate continu- efforts in many directions. In the course of these conversations it has become possible to discuss with complete frankness specific problems and the types of measures which will have to be taken if the three countries are to achieve their common purpose.

4. In the early stages of the discussion, attention was given to the immediate problem confronting the United Kingdom and the rest of the sterling area as a result of the rapid decline of gold and dollar reserves. Note was taken by the three governments of the emergency action which sterling area countries have decided to take to meet this situation. These measures are not pleasant ones; they will cause difficulties and sacrifices for everyone concerned. Nevertheless, they are a temporary necessity, and are recognized as such by all three governments.

5. The Ministers were in complete agreement that no permanent solution to the problem could be found in the emergency steps contemplated. A more fundamental attempt would have to be made by all concerned to expand the dollar earnings of the sterling area and to increase the flow of investment from the North American Continent to the rest of the world, including the sterling area.

6. This more fundamental attempt would involve both separate actions of the three countries operating individually, and joint action by the three acting in cooperation with each other. In approaching these possibilities of individual and joint action on the sterling-dollar problem, there was common agreement that this action should be based on the assumption that extraordinary aid from the North American Continent would have come to an end by the middle of 1952. This would require that the sterling area increase its dollar earnings so as to pay its way by 1952. This would require in the sterling area the creation of appropriate incentives to exporters to the dollar area and a vigorous attack upon costs of production to enhance the competitive position of sterling area products. Maximum efforts would be made to direct exports to the dollar area and build up earnings from tourism and other services. As a part of this export campaign by the sterling area countries, it was recognized that an essential element was the creation of a feeling of confidence on the part of sterling area exporters. They must feel that they will be afforded the opportunity to remain in the markets of the United States and Canada in which they will have gained a place, and that the minimum of difficulties will be placed in their way in entering those markets.

On their part the creditor countries undertook to facilitate, to the greatest extent feasible, an expansion of dollar earnings by debtor countries, including the sterling area. It was agreed that the United States and Canada should

reduce obstacles to the entry of goods and services from debtor countries, in order to provide as wide an opportunity as possible for those countries to earn dollars through the export of goods and the provision of services, including tourism. It was recognized that such a policy would be in the interest of producers in the United States and Canada, for only in this way can the future level of trade provide adequately for those sectors of the American and Canadian economies which depend in considerable part upon foreign markets.

7. The discussion of possible individual and joint actions, both long-run and short-run, ranged over a wide field. In addition to the question of dollar earnings of the United Kingdom and the rest of the sterling area, mentioned above, the Ministers gave special attention to the following subjects:

1. Overseas investment
2. Commodity arrangements and stockpiling
3. Limitations on items which may be financed under present ECA procedures
4. Customs procedures
5. Tariff policy
6. Liberalization of intra-European trade and payments
7. Sterling balances
8. Petroleum
9. Shipping
10. Provisions for continuing consultation

8. A working group on overseas investment reviewed both recent experience and future prospects for the flow of productive investment, both private and public, from North America to overseas areas, especially underdeveloped countries. It was agreed that a high level of such investment could make an important contribution toward reducing the sterling-dollar disequilibrium and that every aspect of this problem should be explored on a continuing basis. In order to initiate this work, the President's Committee for Financing Foreign Trade will be asked immediately to explore possible lines of action in cooperation with corresponding groups of British and Canadian financial and business representatives.[1] While dealing with all aspects of private and public investment, the Committee will be expected to address itself especially to the problem of incentives and of providing a suitable environment for a high level of private investment.

9. A working group on commodity arrangements and stockpiling gave special attention to rubber and tin. The Canadian representatives stated that the Canadian Govevrnment was prepared to take steps to increase reserve stocks of tin and rubber in Canada. The United States representatives reported that the United States Government was prepared to open to natural rubber a substantial additional area of competition, including a modification of the Government order relating to the consumption of synthetic rubber. The United States would review its stockpiling program, with particular reference to rubber and tin.

10. Special attention was given by another group to the practical difficulty being experienced by the United Kingdom in making fully effective use of its ECA aid to cover its dollar deficit. This difficulty arises out of the fact that, although the United Kingdom needs dollars to pay for goods in the United States, to make settlements with other countries, to pay for services, and for other purposes the types of transactions which may be financed by ECA dollars have been definitely limited. It has been agreed that, in order to carry out the basic purposes of the Economic Cooperation Act, it will be necessary for the United Kingdom to finance with its share of ECA funds a wider range of dollar expenditures than has hitherto been eligible, both within and outside of the United States. After careful examination of the dollar expenditures proposed to be made or authorized by the United Kingdom, it appears that eligibility requirements can be broadened to the extent required within the limits set by the Economic Cooperation Act. This would broaden the use but not increase the amount of ECA funds allocated to the United Kingdom.

11. In the consideration of measures which creditor countries might take to reduce barriers to trade, it was recognized that customs procedures may create obstacles psychological as well as actual. Technical discussions of this subject disclosed that the United States, through administrative action and proposed legislation, was already contemplating constructive steps in this field. Canadian representatives stated that the Canadian Government would undertake a further review of the administrative operation of its Customs Act in the light of these discussions. As to tariff rates, it was noted that high tariffs were clearly inconsistent with the position of creditor countries. There had already been significant and substantial reductions in U. S. tariffs during the last fifteen years. The policy of the United States Government was to seek further negotiation of trade agreements through which additional reductions might be made, within the framework of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

12. There was agreement that one of the ways in which the competitive position of United Kingdom products might be improved was by a widening of the area in which such products competed freely with those of other countries. In this connection as an initial step toward a more general liberalization the United Kingdom delegation outlined its proposals for liberalizing trade with countries with which it did not have balance of payments difficulties, and raised the question whether the provisions of Section 9 of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement and Article 5 of the Anglo-Canadian Financial Agreement presented an obstacle to such a plan. It was the view of the United States and Canadian delegations that such liberalization of United Kingdom import regulations should be considered since the United Kingdom shortage of dollars should not in itself force the United Kingdom to reduce its purchases from areas with which it does not have a shortage of means of payment. It was agreed that any United Kingdom import regulations as they affect United States and Canadian products would be the subject of continuing review by representatives of the three governments through continuing facilities for consultation.

13. (a) A further subject which was discussed was the United Kingdom liability represented by the sterling balances of other countries. A large number of countries has been accustomed to hold either all or a part of their foreign exchange reserves in the form of sterling. T

[1] The following is the membership of the President's Committee for Financing Foreign Trade which was established June 26, 1946: Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman The Chase National Bank of the City of New York, New York, N. Y., Champ Carry, president Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Corp., Chicago, Ill., Walter J. Cummings, chairman Continental-Illinois National Bank and Trust Co., Chicago, Ill., L. M. Giannini, president Bank of America, San Francisco, Calif., Edward Hopkinson, Jr., partner, Drexel and Company, Philadelphia, Pa., Irving S. Olds, chairman, U. S. Steel Corporation, New York, N. Y., Herbert H. Pease, president New Britain Machine Co., New Britain, Conn., A. W. Robertson, chairman Westinghouse Electric Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa., Tom K. Smith, president The Boatmen's National Bank of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo., Charles Deere Wiman, president Deere and Company, Moline, Ill.

stence and availability of such holdings is an integral ture of the widespread multilateral use of sterling for purpose of financing international trade. One of the blems of the postwar period has been the existence exceptionally large accumulations of sterling which re built up, mainly during the war, as the result of ments by the United Kingdom for goods and services rchased overseas in furtherance of the common war rt. In June 1945 these balances amounted to $13½ ion. Since then there have been considerable fluctuans both in the total and in the holdings of individual ntries, though the amount outstanding at the end of 8 was approximately the same as at June 1945.

b) In principle the whole of these balances represents charge on United Kingdom production of goods and vices. In practice, however, a substantial proportion l continue to be held as reserves by the countries conned. To the extent that the balances are liquidated, e proportion of United Kingdom production of goods l services is used to discharge this liability instead of pay for current imports of goods and services.

c) This whole problem in its various aspects, includ- the necessity to provide capital goods for development, s discussed in a preliminary way on the basis of prior hnical examination by the experts of the three governnts. It was agreed that this was one of the subjects ich concerned other countries and would require furr study.

4. Investigation of the ways in which the sterling area ld move toward a position in which it could earn its way led to the discussion of other special problems, luding petroleum and shipping—two important eleents in the sterling area balance of payments picture. United Kingdom representatives set forth the facts the very large dollar deficit which the sterling area sently incurs because of oil transactions, and their ire to reduce this deficit to the minimum possible level. was mutually recognized that the question of oil protion and refining, and geographical distribution raised blems of extreme complexity involving the protection legitimate interests of the major producing countries l companies. The Ministers recognized that these two stions of petroleum and shipping could not be resolved he short time available to them, and that further study ld be required. In the case of petroleum they agreed ppoint representatives to analyze the facts and to pro- the basis for subsequent discussions.

5. There has been agreement on the objective toward ich policies should be directed and agreement on cer- immediate steps which will be taken to bring that obive nearer. There are, however, as has been emphad, a number of questions requiring closer examination n this short conference has allowed. It is proposed, refore, to continue the examinations, initiated during conference, of questions on which it is hoped that use- understanding can be reached under the direction of present Ministerial group. These arrangements for tinuing consultation—supplementing the usual chans of communication between governments—will be used keep under review the effectiveness of actions already eed upon and to prepare, for governmental considera-, measures which could carry further those adjustts which are considered to be necessary. In estabing these arrangements for continuing consultation, three Governments wish to emphasize that these argements underline rather than diminish their interest the development of economic cooperation within the ire community of western nations. The tripartite angements will not in any way encroach upon, or det from, the area of competence of the OEEC and other sting organs of international economic collaboration. On the contrary, these arrangements for continuing consultation, by contributing materially to the solution of problems which today adversely affect the working of the entire OEEC group and yet are not susceptible of solution within that group, will facilitate the progress of economic collaboration in the wider field.

16. In summary the Ministers of the three countries concerned are satisfied that a real contribution to the solution of the sterling-dollar difficulties has been made by the conclusions recorded above. They are confident that, with sustained efforts on all sides and with the seizure of every opportunity by sterling area exporters to enter into and remain in dollar markets which are open to them, there is the prospect of reaching a satisfactory equilibrium between the sterling and dollar areas by the time exceptional dollar aid comes to an end.

At the close of the ministers' conference, Sir Stafford Cripps, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, "as a result of these consultations and conversations, we feel that we have brought our reserve position into a manageable condition." He expressed the view that Britain would be able to block further dangerous drains on gold and dollar holdings.

The need for the tripartite economic discussions became evident during Secretary Snyder's visit to London in July, when the Secretary, Ambassador Douglas, and Ambassador Harriman had a general exchange of views with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the Board of Trade, Harold Wilson, and the Canadian Minister of Finance, Douglas Abbott, concerning the balance of payments between the dollar and sterling areas.[2]

It was agreed at that time that further consideration should be given to the balance-of-payments problem and that possible remedies would be explored.

British, Canadian, and American financial and economic experts conducted preliminary technical and fact-finding discussions in Washington from August 27 to September 2, in preparation for ministerial talks which were to begin on September 7.

United States representatives to the preliminary technical discussions were: Under Secretary James E. Webb, chairman and head of the United States group; Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs Willard L. Thorp; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury William McChesney Martin, Jr.; and Assistant Deputy Administrator of ECA Richard M. Bissell, Jr.

Ministers to the tripartite economic talks included: United States—Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder, chairman; Secretary of State, Dean Acheson; and the Administrator of the ECA, Paul Hoffman.

Britain—Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps; and Ambassador Sir Oliver Franks.

Canada—Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson; Minister of Finance, Douglas C. Abbott; and Ambassador Hume Wrong.

[2] BULLETIN of Sept. 5, 1949, p. 353.

Answers to Questions on Military Assistance

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN SECRETARY ACHESON AND REPRESENTATIVE LODGE[1]

July 27, 1949.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In connection with the proposed Military Assistance Program, the principle of which I support and advocated in a speech on the floor of the House on August 6, 1948, I should like to propound a few questions. I realize that these questions cover only a few of the vast and complex implications of this undertaking. They seem to me to be vital.

1. Is it the view of the Department of State that the military plan for Western Europe should be based on European rather than on national considerations, thereby effecting significant economies, and furthering the goal of a European federation, which is also a principle objective of the European Recovery Program?

2. Is it proposed that insofar as practicable there should be a gradual standardization of arms in the countries receiving military aid from the United States in order to work toward (a) substantial economies in military budgets; (b) a simplification of the problem of rearmament, logistics, and the furnishing of spare parts; (c) greater strategical strength of the nations involved and particularly of "uniforce"; and (d) a European federation?

3. Is it the view of the Department that military aid to Korea is more important and urgent with relation to American national security than military aid to China?

4. Are the nations which are to receive military aid making a military effort comparable to that of the Soviet Union, taking into consideration their relative size and population, their economic strength, and the over-all objectives of the European Recovery Program?

5. Has the Council of Western Europe, acting under the Brussels pact, evolved plans which make it appropriate that we should proceed at once with the full amount of the military aid required rather than, as has been proposed by certain Members of Congress, notably Senators Vandenberg and Dulles and Congressman Vorys, proceed with an interim aid bill until the Council, to be established under article 9 of the Atlantic Treaty, shall have developed a comprehensive logistics, tactical, and strategical plan involving specific assignments?

6. Will the military aid to be furnished result within the period of the proposed legislation in a corresponding or substantial reduction of our domestic military budget as advocated by Dr. Nourse, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, or will MAP be, in his words, "a simple addition to other military plans as they stood before the new alinement"?

It is my conviction that while the will of the Europeans to resist aggression must be stimulated by this tangible expression of our resolve to preserve the peace, MAP must be based on a prudent regard for our own resources and must be the implement of a global rather than a piecemeal foreign policy.

I believe that answers to the above questions will be helpful to the Congress in passing on this important measure.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN DAVIS LODGE.

August 15, 1949.

Hon. JOHN DAVIS LODGE,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. LODGE: I refer to your letter of July 27, 1949, in which you raise certain important questions with regard to the proposed Military Assistance Program now under consideration by the Congress. The questions which you have raised are indeed vital, and I am grateful to you for the opportunity of expressing views with respect to them.

In your letter you ask:

1. Is it the view of the Department of State that the military plan for Western Europe should be based on European rather than on national considerations, thereby effecting significant economies, and furthering the goal of a European federation, which is also a principal objective of the European Recovery Program?

[1] Reprinted from the *Congressional Record* of Aug. 17, 1949.

The Department is convinced that military trength in Europe must be developed on a collec- ive rather than on an individual basis. The Mil- ary Assistance Program which is proposed is ot designed to build up separate balanced mili- ary establishments. It is designed to strengthen e collective defense capacity of the nations asso- ated in the North Atlantic Treaty by providing ssistance to those European members which re- uire such aid, in kind and amount appropriate the role which each would play in a common llective defense. It is our belief that this pro- dure will make possible significant economies d that it should contribute materially to the eation of an atmosphere and experience of col- boration and cooperation which will further the evelopment of a closer political and economic as- ciation in Europe.

2. Is it proposed that insofar as practicable ere should be a gradual standardization of arms the countries receiving military aid from the nited States in order to work toward (a) sub- antial economies in military budgets; (b) a sim- ification of the problem of rearmament, logis- s, and the furnishing of spare parts; (c) greater rategical strength of the nations involved and rticularly of "Uniforce"; and (d) a European deration?

The provision of military assistance as has been oposed to the Congress is in itself a major con- ibution toward the goal of standardization to- ard which we must all work. In particular the ovision of assistance which will enable the Eu- pean countries to undertake additional military oduction affords an exceptional opportunity r achieving standardization on the production new equipment.

Considerable success has already been achieved reaching agreement on standardized procedures pecially in the command and communications lds. It is our earnest intention to work as stead- and as rapidly as possible toward the achieve- ent of the maximum degree of standardization. It must be borne in mind, however, that in the esent extremely weak condition of the Euro- an nations, insistence upon complete standardi- tion might well result in a serious and extremely ngerous lessening of strength. It must also be rne in mind that standardization can never be mpletely achieved since, as each new develop- ent in research makes it possible to improve upon equipment in existence, it becomes necessary effect changes in order to be certain that the nefits of these developments is fully utilized.

3. Is it the view of the Department that mili- y aid to Korea is more important and urgent th relation to American national security than litary aid to China?

If military assistance to China could be made effective at this time, it would be more important to American national security to send such aid than to send aid to Korea. However, as has been stated, the executive branch of the government is firmly convinced that further provision of military assistance to the Chinese National Government is impractical and unlikely to be effective. It believes that the white paper recently published, which documents the record of assistance previously given to China, fully supports this conclusion.

It is the Department's belief that the provision of military assistance to Korea will enable the Korean Government to maintain internal security and to deal with external pressures short of an all-out attack. In view of the policy of this government of supporting the United Nations and its decisions with respect to Korea and since there is in Korea a responsible government capable of utilizing the assistance provided, it is both important and necessary that such aid be granted.

4. Are the nations which are to receive military aid making a military effort comparable to that of the Soviet Union, taking into consideration their relative size and population, their economic strength, and the over-all objectives of the European recovery program?

The military effort being made by the European nations and other countries to whom military assistance is proposed is, in the opinion of the executive branch, the maximum effort feasible without the sacrifice of economic recovery and the maintenance of a stable economic system. Details with regard to the size and scope of military effort being made by these countries have been provided to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

5. Has the Council of Western Europe, acting under the Brussels pact, evolved plans which make it appropriate that we should proceed at once with the full amount of the military aid requested rather than as has been proposed by certain Members of Congress, notably Senators Vandenberg and Dulles and Congressman Vorys, proceed with an interim aid bill until the council, to be established under article 9 of the Atlantic Treaty, shall have developed a comprehensive logistics, tactical, and strategical plan involving specific assignments?

The executive branch of the government is in complete accord with the view that assistance should be provided to the European members of the North Atlantic Treaty only if thereby the collective defense capacity of the group can be improved. It believes that there does now exist in fact a sound and adequate basis for the provision of assistance which will assure the accomplishment of this purpose, and it further believes that it is by no means necessary or desirable to delay the provision of such aid.

The Brussels treaty powers—the United King-

dom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg—have already agreed upon a plan for the defense of Western Europe and, subject to the limitations imposed by the agreed priority to be given economic recovery, are jointly engaged to the limit of their abilities in the creation of the defensive strength required by the plan. It is highly significant that by invitation of these powers, representatives of both Canada and the United States have observed and participated in the discussions which resulted in the agreement on a defense plan and in the discussions dealing with measures required in support of that plan. It is even more significant that the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff have examined this plan in detail and have found it to be in consonance with United States strategic thinking.

Norway and Denmark, in their requests for military assistance and in the discussions which have taken place with them regarding their requirements, have clearly indicated their acceptance of the principle enunciated by General Bradley in his testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that the man in the best position and with the capability should do the job for which he is best suited. The emphasis placed by these countries on the types of equipment most urgently neeeded clearly demonstrate a determination to improve and strengthen their capabilities for the roles which would inevitably be theirs in the collective defense effort. The Italian request for assistance and the informal discussions regarding it likewise show Italian plans to be in conformity with the necessary role of Italy in collective defense which is of course limited by the provisions of the peace treaty regarding Italian military strength.

In his testimony, General Bradley pointed out clearly that a sound strategic plan must be based on considerations of geographical position, industrial capacity, populations, the will of the peoples, and their military capabilities. It is the firm conviction of the executive branch that the Military Assistance Program has been so planned and will be so executed as to assure that it will aid in the development of that kind and amount of strength appropriate to the role which each country should play in a collective defense effort based upon the principles enunciated above.

It is also the firm conviction of the executive branch that the solemn commitments undertaken by these European nations in joining with us in the North Atlantic Treaty, taken with the tangible evidence of the common plan of the Brussels treaty powers and the plans of the Norwegian, Danish, and Italian Governments, provide a maximum of assurance that further common defense planning will progress as rapidly as can be desired. To refrain from aiding in the creation of the strength which will be essential to the execution of that planning, until the planning has been completely perfected, serves only to delay in improving the security of the area and to prolong the period during which our ability to resist attack is not commensurate with our stated determination to do so. Such delay will be likely to be interpreted as indicative of suspicion and distrust of our allies, and may serve to create doubts both in their minds and in the minds of the Soviet Union as to the sincerity and stability of United States policy. Thus, delay in taking action which is actually required in our own interest instead of stimulating common agreement and effort may well make cooperation more difficult and less effective.

6. Will the military aid to be furnished result within the period of the proposed legislation in a corresponding or substantial reduction of our domestic military budget as advocated by Dr. Nourse, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, or will the Military Assistance Program be, in his words, "a simple addition to other military plans as they stood before the new alinement"?

The Military Assistance Program which has been proposed is a program for the fiscal year 1950. A considerable period of time will be required for equipment to be rehabilitated or produced, for it to be packed, shipped, and put in the hands of men who are to use it, and for them to be trained in its operation and maintenance. It is clear that a degree of strength which would diminish our own security-expenditure requirements will not be achieved within this period. However, as the Secretary of Defense has testified, it is anticipated that the development of a balanced and effective defensive military establishment in Europe will in the long term make possible a reduction in our own national defense budget. If, as we hope, the program, together with other parts of our foreign policy, succeeds in convincing the Soviet Union that a policy of aggression should be abandoned and it is, in fact, abandoned, it will then be possible to effect a substantial reduction in the military expenditures of the pact nations.

The proposed program of military assistance is designed to support and strengthen other elements of our foreign policy with a view to achieving peace and security. We seek to assist in creating world conditions that will make it possible for the United States to preserve and to continue to develop its way of life. The Military Assistance Program is but one of the courses of action which must be pursued toward this aim. Its principal contribution will result from the extent to which it serves to deter aggression and to promote the sense of security which is essential to the establishment and maintenance of economic and political stability.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON.

PORT ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE NDERED TO FOREIGN UNTRIES SINCE V-J DAY[2]

The following qualifications of the report should noted:

a) The data generally includes only combat terial; i.e., arms, ammunition, and implements war as defined in the President's Proclamation 6, dated March 26, 1948. In some cases, howr, it has not been possible to exclude military ipment not strictly definable as combat mate-l.

b) Although not included in this report, mili-y equipment other than combat material has o been supplied to foreign governments under ious congressional authorities; e.g., trucks, itary clothing, communications equipment, etc.

c) No attempt has been made in this report distinguish between combat material transred to foreign governments for the specific purse of augmenting the military establishments of se governments and that transferred for other poses; e.g., for internal police purposes for nilitarization and use in the civilian economy nerally, ammunition).

Military assistance has been extended to foreign ntries under the following procedures:

a) Direct sales of United States military surs.

b) Transfers from either military surplus or ernment stocks but financed or facilitated by cial congressional authorization.

c) Transfers from government stocks under plenary powers of the President.

t should be noted that military assistance hin the meaning of the statement in the preing paragraph is considered to embrace genlly only combat material (arms, ammunition, lements of war). In some cases, however, it not been possible to exclude from the data his report military equipment not strictly deble as combat material.

Direct Sales of United States Military plus (See Table A)

This government has continued to dispose of ited States military surplus to foreign governts under the authority of the Surplus Property of 1944 (Public Law 457, 75th Cong. 2d sess.) mended. These sales have consisted of limited ntities of aircraft, weapons, vessels, ammunition, and spare parts therefor, which in most cases were needed by the recipient countries for the replacement or maintenance of United States equipment already in their possession. A number of sales involved large quantities of ammunition sold for scrap or salvage purposes. Information on sales under this authority is identifiable in the attached table by the term "P. L. 457" in the last column, and reflects sales completed through May 15, 1949.

Iran: Sales of surplus United States military equipment have been made to Iran under the general authority of the Surplus Property Act of 1944, and have been facilitated by funds made available by Public Law 785, Eightieth Congress, second session, which, among other provisions, provides funds for defraying expenses for the care, handling, and disposal of surplus property abroad. Data reflected in the attached table under this authority are as of May 15, 1949.

Korea: Under the authority of the Surplus Property Act, this government has transferred to the Government of the Republic of Korea, approximately $40,000,000 in military equipment and supplies. Of this amount, which is based on acquisition cost, approximately $13,000,000 has been for vessels for the Korean Coast Guard, while the remainder has consisted principally of equipment and supplies, including small arms and ammunition, for the Korean Army and police. The transfer of this material has been effected without monetary compensation in consideration of other benefits derived.

B. Transfers From Either Military Surplus of Government Stocks but Financed or Facilitated by Special Congressional Authorization (See Table B)

Greece and Turkey: Assistance has been rendered to Greece and Turkey under the authority of Public Law 75, Eightieth Congress, first session, and Public Law 472, title III, Eightieth Congress, second session (the Greek and Turkish Assistance Act of 1948). Information on sales under this authority is identifiable in the attached table by the term "P. L. 75 and 472" in the last column, and reflects Army shipments as of April 30, 1949, and Navy shipments as of May 20, 1949.

Latin America: In addition to sales under the authority of the Surplus Property Act, military assistance has been rendered to certain Latin American nations under the specific authority of Public Resolution 83, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, which provides the National Military Establishment with limited authority to assist the governments of American Republics to increase their military and naval establishments. Information in the attached table reflecting Army shipments under this authority is as of April 30, 1949; Navy information is as of May 20, 1949.

China: Under the authority of Public Law 512, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, and following an agreement between the United States

[2] Submitted on Aug. 8, 1949, to John Davis Lodge, House Representatives, in reply to his request on July 28 for rmation on military assistance and the "revolving d." Reprinted from the *Congressional Record* of Aug. 949.

and China signed on December 8, 1947, there have been authorized for transfer to China on a great basis 271 naval vessels.

Under the authority of Public Law 472, title IV, Eightieth Congress, second session (the China Aid Act of 1948) there has been allocated to the Chinese Government $125,000,000 which has been used by that government for the purchase of aircraft and other military equipment from both Government and commercial sources in the United States.

The Philippines: In addition to direct sales of surplus property under the general authority of the Surplus Property Act military assistance has been rendered to the Republic of the Philippine under the specific authority of Public Law 45 Seventy-ninth Congress, second session (the Re public of the Philippines Military Assistanc Act). Information in the attached table o Army shipments is as of January 31, 1949; Nav shipments include data through May 20, 1949.

C. Transfers From Government Stocks Under th Plenary Powers of the President

The President, acting under his plenary powe as Chief Executive and Commander in Chief, fo

Table A.—Direct sales of United States military surplus under authority of Public Law 457

Country	Procurement cost	Selling price	Type of equipment
	Thousands of dollars	*Thousands of dollars*	
Argentina	6, 673	748	Aircraft, ammunition, small arms, explosives, artillery, spa parts.
Australia	4	----------	Machine guns. Part of bulk sale.
Belgium	44, 845	[1] 210	Ammunition, armored vehicles.
Brazil	25, 191	3, 488	Small arms, ammunition, aircraft, artillery.
Canada	29, 626	1, 242	Aircraft, radar, light artillery, armored vehicles, spare parts.
Chile	22, 265	1, 647	Aircraft, ammunition, vessels.
China	102, 072	[2] 6, 740	Ammunition, aircraft, ordnance and Air Force matériel.
Colombia	7, 570	632	Aircraft, armored vehicles, small arms, artillery.
Cuba	15, 632	504	Vessels, aircraft, ammunition, spare parts.
Denmark	([3])	1, 031	Vessels.
Dominican Republic	501	23	Vessels, small arms, artillery.
Ecuador	4, 964	414	Vessels, aircraft, ammunition, spare parts.
Egypt	5, 240	540	Vessels.
El Salvador	318	43	Aircraft, ammunition, spare parts.
Ethiopia	11	1	Ammunition, artillery.
Finland	[4] 2, 911	190	Trawler and demilitarized mine sweepers.
France	[5] 116, 720	10, 527	Vessels, ammunition, aircraft.
Greece	15, 050	1, 960	Vessels.
Guatemala	[6] 2, 343	20	Ammunition, artillery, aircraft, small arms.
Haiti	319	34	Aircraft, small arms, ammunition, vessels.
Honduras	92	6	Small arms, artillery, ammunition.
Iceland	85	----------	Aircraft matériel. Part of bulk sale.
Iran	26, 469	[7] 5, 298	Ammunition, small arms, aircraft parts, artillery.
Italy	[8] 141, 357	[8] 22, 125	Vessels, aircraft, ammunition, explosives, tanks.
Korea	40, 000	([9])	Small arms, ammunition, vessels, miscellaneous ordnance matéri
Mexico	21, 286	644	Aircraft, armored vehicles, vessels, small arms, artillery, sp parts.
Netherlands	7, 216	680	Aircraft, vessels, small arms, ammunition, spare parts.
Norway	[4] 7, 739	169	Vessels, ammunition.
Paraguay	16	7	Aircraft, spare parts.
Peru	13, 870	1, 021	Aircraft, vessels, small arms, artillery, spare parts.
Philippines	634	340	Small arms, ammunition, aircraft, spare parts.
Poland	2, 600	240	Demilitarized mine sweepers.
Portugal	2, 500	562	Aircraft, spare parts.
Sweden	7, 632	1, 758	Aircraft, ammunition.
Switzerland	6, 903	549	Aircraft, ammunition.
Turkey	24, 748	1, 161	Vessels, armored vehicle parts.
United Kingdom	[4] 70, 410	[10] 100	Miscellaneous military equipment.
Uruguay	6, 801	831	Aircraft, ammunition, vessels, small arms, artillery, spare pa
Venezuela	9, 339	983	Aircraft, ammunition, vessels, small arms, spare parts.

[1] Includes a large quantity of surplus ammunition for demilitarization, 50 percent of the profits therefrom to accrue to the United States.
[2] Includes $3,736,604 in military surplus financed by Chinese Government from the $125,000,000 grant authorized by the China Aid Act of 1948.
[3] Captured enemy equipment.
[4] Plus captured enemy equipment.
[5] Plus unestimated value of ammunition included in bulk sale.
[6] Includes Army and Air Force equipment valued at $2,041,000 transfe gratis due to reverse lend-lease credit built up by Guatemala.
[7] Facilitated by funds made available by Public Law 785.
[8] Data not complete, since certain figures with respect to aircraft mat aircraft, and ammunition are not available at this time.
[9] This transfer was effected without monetary compensation in consid tion of other benefits involved.
[10] Plus portion of proceeds included in bulk sale.

purpose of protecting primary security in-
ests of the United States, has authorized the
nsfer of combat material from United States
vernment stocks to France and Italy. The
nsfer to France under this authority consisted
ertain spare parts and replacement items, ex-
to the needs of United States occupation
es in Germany.

he transfer to Italy consisted of small quanti-
of military equipment and supplies, primarily
ll arms and ammunition, which were needed
omplete the reequipment of Italian security
es which had been rearmed mainly with surplus allied material in Italy. In authorizing this transfer the limitations imposed upon Italy by the treaty of peace were scrupulously observed.

Section 4 (b) of the proposed legislation creates a mechanism for the disposition of property or money received from foreign countries in connection with the operation of the Military Assistance Program.

Such money or property may be accepted by the President either as payment for particular items of assistance so that the money or property may be said to be the proceeds of a sale to a foreign country. On the other hand, money or prop-

le B.—Transfers from either military surplus or Government stocks but financed or facilitated by special congressional authorization

UNDER PUBLIC LAWS 75 AND 472

Country	Authorized	Shipped	Type of equipment
	Thousands of dollars	*Thousands of dollars*	
ce	295, 510	270, 562	Army and Air Force equipment.
	Unknown	11, 358	Navy equipment, including vessels.
ey	103, 331	87, 651	Army and Air Force equipment.
	Unknown	13, 840	Navy equipment, including vessels.

UNDER PUBLIC RESOLUTION 83

ntina	1, 709	1, 412	Army and Air Force: Ammunition, small arms, explosives, artillery, spare parts.
	2, 333	2, 333	Naval ordnance.
l	135	135	Do.
	28	28	Do.
nican Republic	41	41	Do.
	166	166	Do.
co	246	246	Do.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSFERS

ountry	Procurement cost	Selling price	Type of equipment	Authority
	Thousands of dollars	*Thousands of dollars*		
	141, 315	(1)	Naval vessels	Public Law 512.
	(2)	[3] 25, 000	Wide range United States military equipment left in west China by United States troops.	Military operations.
	(2)	None	Ammunition abandoned to Chinese Government by U.S. Marines in north China.	Do.
	[4] 694, 700	(5)	Ordnance and aircraft matériel, vessels, tanks, miscellaneous service equipment.	Post V–J lend-lease.
	17, 667	(6)	Ordnance and other supplies	Sino-American Cooperative Organization.[7]
			$125,000,000 disbursed to China for direct procurement or through U.S. Government agencies.	Public Law 472.
pines	72, 556	1, 875	Army and Air Force equipment	Public Law 454.
	59, 129	(8)	Navy equipment, largely vessels	Do.

t basis. [2] Unknown.
5.16 billion Chinese dollars. Includes US$5,000,000 in bulk sale nt.
ides $336,000,000 in services, the largest part of which involved the nt of Chinese armies by air to reoccupation assignments.
[5] Under negotiation. [6] Services.
[7] Transferred in exchange for services by U.S. Navy under Sino-American Cooperative Organization agreement.
[8] Gratis.

erty may be received not in payment for particular items but as part of the general scheme of mutual aid.

If money is received merely as general mutual aid, without relationship to specific items transferred to the other country, such funds will be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts and are not available for the purposes of the program. The same disposition will be made of the proceeds of the disposal of any property received as general mutual aid. However, the President is not required to sell such property, but may transfer it directly to the armed services, without any charge to the armed services appropriation.

If money or property is received in direct payment for particular items of assistance, money, the proceeds of the property, or the property itself may be used to reimburse the armed services for the items transferred out of their stocks. If such funds are not used as reimbursement to the armed services for items drawn from their stocks, they remain available for the purposes of the program until spent.

Visa Requests for Americans in Mukden Refused

[*Released to the press September 15*]

Consul General Angus Ward has on several occasions since the announced closure of the American consulate general in Mukden on May 18, 1949, requested exit visas, travel passes, and rail transportation from Mukden to Peiping and Tientsin for the consulate general staff. Rail freight facilities for government property and personal effects now packed and awaiting shipment out of Mukden have also been requested.

The Chinese Communist authorities in Mukden have so far refused or failed to acknowledge all such requests. While no reason has been given by them, it is assumed from reports available to the Department of State that floods during August and early September, resulting in the disruption of rail service south of Mukden, have contributed to the delays encountered by Consul General Ward.

The Department of State has instructed Consul General Ward to continue to make every effort to obtain from the local authorities the necessary permission and facilities to depart immediately and confidently expects that as soon as normal rail traffic between Mukden and Tientsin is resumed, the Communist authorities will, in accordance with generally recognized obligations of international law and comity, facilitate the departure of the consulate general staff.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Resignation of James Bruce as Ambassador to Argentina

The President on September 9, 1949, accepted the res nation of James Bruce as American Ambassador Argentina. For the texts of the President's and Bruce's letters, see White House press release of S tember 9, 1949.

Consular Offices

The branch office of the Consular Section of the Am can Embassy at Vienna, located in Salzburg, Austria, designated a Special Purpose Post with the rank of C sulate, effective August 15, 1949.

THE DEPARTMENT

First Official Intern Program Started

[*Released to the press September 6*]

The Department of State today announced t 33 young men and women, selected from more th 700 applicants, will begin training this week careers in the Department of State and in Foreign Service under the first official int program conducted by the Department.

John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary State, explained that over 321 colleges were e invited to nominate not more than three outsta ing students with particular interests or abili in fields pertaining to foreign affairs. A select board, set up to screen the applications, cl 147 from educational institutions for perso interviews, and selected 22 to take part in the tern program. In addition, 11 candidates w selected from sources within the Department the Foreign Service. The selection board sisted of Dr. Karl Stromsen, of the National stitute of Public Affairs; Franklin Conner, Un States Civil Service Commission; and three resentatives of the Department's Office Personnel.

Under the direction of the Foreign Service stitute, these interns will participate in plan course work as well as in on-the-job training. program will run until June 30, 1950, and u successful completion of the course interns wi assigned to jobs in Washington or at foreign p

PUBLICATIONS

klet on ECA
l Small Business Released

leased to the press by ECA September 12]

'he Economic Cooperation Administration to- issued a new booklet designed to assist Amer- ı small businessmen who plan to enter the ex- t market under the Marshall Plan.

Entitled *The ECA and Small Business*, the klet explains the various methods of organiz- for overseas trade, listing the advantages and ıdvantages of each method.

t answers many of the questions the newcomer ›xport would ask, enabling him to avoid lost ion and unnecessary expense. Explaining the essity for an overseas market analysis, it di- s the small businessman to sources of helpful ›rmation and guidance.

'opies of the booklet may be obtained at the nomic Cooperation Administration, 800 Con- ticut Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C., free charge.

lication on Inter-American Conference Conservation of Natural Resources

leased to the press September 16]

'he Department of State announces the pub- tion of the proceedings of the Inter-Ameri- Conference on Conservation of Renewable tural Resources held at Denver, September 0, 1948. This 782-page volume contains a ıplete account of the Conference, including ies of all the speeches and papers given.

'he main themes stressed in both the speeches l papers were: (1) human populations and ductive capacity of the land; (2) renewable ›urces and international relations; (3) land and the social sciences; (4) the dynamics of ewable resources; (5) education in conserva- ı dynamics; and (6) making conservation ctive.

'he volume also describes the field trips con- ted for the participants, including those to Arapahoe National Forest, the Rocky Moun- ı National Park, and the Cherry Creek drain- area. One of the most spectacular of the field ›s was the conservation demonstration carried on a farm 12 miles southeast of Denver. uipment manufacturers and dealers, business ple, local and State organizations, neighbors, and others worked together to remake the farm in a single day. It was completely transformed and changed so that the land would be used according to its capabilities and its productivity maintained for many years to come.

Brief sections of the volume are devoted to the outstanding exhibits prepared especially for the Conference and to the documentary films that were shown to the participants.

This publication provides the most comprehensive body of material available on conservation in the Western Hemisphere.

Copies of this volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for $2.25 each.

Recent Releases

Foreign Consular Offices in the United States, April 1, 1949. Pub. 3476. 56 pp. 20¢.

Annual list of foreign consular offices and representatives in the United States, its territories and insular possessions, and the Canal Zone.

United States Relations With China With Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949. Far Eastern Series 30. Pub. 3573. 1054 pp. $3.

Based on the files of the Department of State and includes the letter of transmittal from the Secretary of State to the President.

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U.S. National Commission UNESCO News, August 1949. Pub. 3596. 12 pp. 10¢ a copy; $1 a year domestic, $1.35 a year foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Diplomatic List, August 1949. Pub. 3605. 157 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

The Military Assistance Program. General Foreign Policy Series 16. Pub. 3606. 50 pp. Free.

Message of the President to the Congress and statements of the Secretary of State and Ambassadors Douglas and Grady. Reprint from BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949.

A Summary of American-Chinese Relations. Far Eastern Series 31. Pub. 3608. 16 pp. Free.

Letter from the Secretary of State to the President transmitting the record of United States Relations with China.

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The Department of State bulletin

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October 3, 1949

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The Department of State bulletin

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October 3, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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TOMIC EXPLOSION OCCURS IN THE U.S.S.R.

atement by the President

leased to the press
the White House September 23

I believe the American people, to the fullest ex-
ıt consistent with national security, are entitled
be informed of all developments in the field of
omic energy. That is my reason for making
ıblic the following information.

We have evidence that within recent weeks an
omic explosion occurred in the U. S. S. R.

Ever since atomic energy was first released by
an, the eventual development of this new force
other nations was to be expected. This prob-
ility has always been taken into account by us.

Nearly four years ago I pointed out that "Scien-
ic opinion appears to be practically unanimous
at the essential theoretical knowledge upon
hich the discovery is based is already widely
nown. There is also substantial agreement that
reign research can come abreast of our present
eoretical knowledge in time." And, in the
hree-Nation Declaration of the President of
e United States and the Prime Ministers of the
nited Kingdom and of Canada, dated November
, 1945, it was emphasized that no single nation
uld in fact have a monopoly of atomic weapons.

This recent development emphasizes once again,
indeed such emphasis were needed, the necessity
r that truly effective enforceable international
ntrol of atomic energy which this Government
d the large majority of the members of the
nited Nations support.

For other materials on atomic energy see following articles in this issue: Tripartite Discussions on Atomic Energy, page 508; and AEC Reactor Safeguard Committee Visits U.K., page 507.

Statement by Secretary Acheson

Released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the United Nations September 23

I want to emphasize the four basic matters which were brought out in the President's release this morning. Those are: The President has stated the fact that there has been an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union. In the second place, the President has stated that we have been fully aware that sooner or later this development would occur and that in our thinking it has been taken into account. That is an important fact to remember. In the third place, the President has recalled what so many people have forgotten, that in every statement made by him and by the two Prime Ministers as well as by all the commissions and bodies which have studied this matter it has always been clearly pointed out that this situation would develop. And finally, the President has stated that this event makes no change in our policy.

This Nation, from the very beginning of the development of atomic power, has been determined to do everything in its power to proceed toward a truly effective international control of atomic energy. It would be deluding ourselves to get something on paper that is not really effective. The President's statement underlines the importance of having an effective method of control.

We are continuing our most earnest efforts in the organization of the world toward peace. That, of course, is the whole purpose and reason for the great efforts which we have made here in the United Nations, in the Rio treaty, in the North Atlantic Treaty, in the military assistance bill, and in the Marshall Plan. The entire foreign policy of this government is directed toward the organization and preservation of peace. It is only through the success of those efforts that we will avoid the increased hardships and perils of war.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

Released to the press September 28

I have the following to say regarding recent developments in the field of atomic energy.

First, I wish to emphasize the point made by the President that the probability that other nations would develop atomic energy has always been taken into account in our basic policies. This is the case in our atomic energy policies in the United Nations on the international control aspects, in our domestic program, and in our relations with the United Kingdom and Canada, which latter are now the subject of exploratory talks.

The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission plan of control and prohibition approved by the General Assembly last fall remains the only feasible, workable, and effective one so far advanced. That is why we support it. The problem of finding agreement in the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons now rests with the sponsoring powers of the original General Assembly Resolution establishing the United Nations Atomic Energ Commission. These are Canada, China, Franc the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socia ist Republics, and the United States. Followin on the instructions of the General Assembly las fall, they have held seven meetings at Lake Su cess since August 9th, with the next meeting sched uled for next Thursday.

The exploratory talks with the United Kingdo and Canada are continuing. Of course, you a aware that no agreements or commitments will b made by us until after consultations with the Co gress. The recent development within the Unio of Soviet Socialist Republics is one of many fa tors being taken into account in our talks. Th new factor emphasizes the need for the most ra tional and economic utilization of the material techniques, and knowledge available to the thr countries.

.S. Position on Problems Confronting Fourth General Assembly

y Secretary Acheson[1]

This session of the United Nations General ssembly is opening at a time when the initial ocks and adjustments of the posthostilities eriod have been generally absorbed into the lives nations. We can now see with greater distinctess the real shape of the major problems with hich we are faced in this postwar era. We are ming to grips in many practical and prosaic ways ith our tasks in a world which is not what any us would have entirely liked it to be.

We have thought a great deal about these major oblems which have agitated and dominated inrnational life since the end of the recent war, d have done our best to analyze their nature and eir significance. We recognize that some of them e of a terrible seriousness. But we also recognize at they are deeply rooted in the experience and aditions of great peoples, in the philosophies of ajor political movements, and in inertia—the ertia of institutions and conditions which intiately affect the lives of hundreds of millions of eople across the globe. They are too deeply oted, in many instances, to be rapidly overme by persuasion or compromise or by isolated plomatic gestures.

Many people, becoming aware of the depth of ese problems, despair of their solution by peacel means. We have never shared this feeling, and e do not share it today. My distinguished predessor, General Marshall used to warn against what called "fighting the problem" instead of applyg oneself to the solution of it. I think that warng has its applicability to those things which have orried us all in the international field in these ast months and years. It is true that the problems e serious, that they are bitter and that they are not susceptible of any sudden and dramatic solutions. But it has not been proven that they will not eventually yield to the effects of time and patience and hard work. To the extent that we cannot solve them today, we must endure them; but we must never cease our efforts to overcome them step by step. And we are justified in hoping that persistent effort, geared to the ever-present process of change in human affairs, will eventually produce a more hopeful and a more solid structure of world relationships than we have today.

These major problems which press upon us cannot be solved by national action alone, but require common action in the light of the common public interest. The increasing recognition of the concept of public interest in the field of international relations is a significant though little heralded fact of our time.

The sure vision of the leaders of the nations united in the last war has given us the United Nations. Here we have a forum in which the international public interest can be fully expressed and applied in the solution of our problems.

The questions which lie before us in this fourth session of the General Assembly affect vitally the general complex of world problems. Let us face these questions soberly and practically. Even if we find the right answers to them, that will not alone bring about the transformation we wish in world affairs. Only out of a long series of such patient and often undramatic efforts can that transformation eventually be achieved.

Greece

With respect to the Greek question, the Balkan Commission has concluded that Yugoslavia has decreased, and may have ceased, its aid to the Greek guerrillas and that guerrilla activities in general are declining, but the danger still exists because of continuing aid, principally from Albania. It is timely for this Assembly to make a renewed effort to restore peace along the northern Greek

[1] An address made before the first plenary meeting of the urth session of the General Assembly in New York, N.Y., Sept. 21, 1949, and released to the press on the same ate. Mr. Acheson is chairman of the U.S. delegation.

border and to reestablish normal relations between Greece and all its northern neighbors. Outside aid to the guerrillas must stop, and Greece must be permitted to bind up its wounds. This session can afford further opportunity for continued and sincere efforts among interested parties to bring about this result.

I believe that I express a desire widely shared in this Assembly when I voice the hope that the U.S.S.R., which in the past has not participated in the Balkan Commission, will join in renewed consultations looking toward a settlement of this persistent and serious problem. If the northern neighbors of Greece have come to realize that their own self-interest requires respect for the recommendations of the United Nations and an adjustment of their relations with Greece, I feel that a solution can be reached at this time.

Korea

A further matter in which the public interest has been deeply engaged for a long time is Korea. Despite serious obstacles, United Nations agencies have made a successful contribution to the creation of the Republic of Korea and have assisted it in its development. Unfortunately, the authorities of the northern portion of Korea have so far refused to permit the United Nations Commission to visit that region or to arrange for the unification of the country.

It is the view of the United States that a United Nations Commission should continue to be stationed in Korea. Among the principal responsibilities of such a body should be to observe and report on any developments which might lead to military conflict in Korea, to use the influence of the United Nations to avert the potential threat of internal strife in that troubled land, and to explore further the possibility of unification. The authority of the Commission to observe and report on the actual facts may be sufficient to prevent open hostilities. This is the fervent desire of all patriotic Koreans.

Under its established policy the United States will continue to give full support to the work of the Commission.

Palestine

On the question of Palestine it is a source of considerable satisfaction that the period of active hostilities in that area has been brought to a close through the conclusion of armistice agreements between Israel and the several Arab states. The efforts of the acting mediator and his staff in this connection are worthy of high praise.

Since the first of this year the Palestine Conciliation Commission has been carrying on its task. While no agreed settlement between the parti has yet been reached, I am nonetheless hopef that progress will be made in moving beyond t armistice stage to that of a real and permane peace.

Eventual agreement between the parties is e sential for the political and economic stability the area. Later during this session the Palesti Conciliation Commission will present a repo including the recommendations of the Econom Survey Mission which is presently in the Ne East. On the basis of this report the Gener Assembly should be able to provide such machi ery as may be necessary further to facilitate a encourage the parties to reach that agreeme The United States stands ready to give its fu support and assistance to this effort.

The plight of the Palestinian refugees prese to the world a pressing humanitarian problem. is of the highest importance that the states i mediately concerned recognize and accept th governmental responsibilities with respect to t problem. As an interim measure the General A sembly should make the necessary provision f the maintenance of these refugees until the ti when they can again become self-sustaining me bers of the Near Eastern communities.

It is the hope of the peoples of all faiths th the General Assembly will be able to act succe fully upon the report of the Palestine Conciliati Commission in respect to Jerusalem. In my go ernment's view, it should adopt a practical pl for a permanent international regime in the Je salem area and for the protection of, and fr access to, the Holy Places.

Italian Colonies

Another problem of great complexity which t General Assembly did not solve last spring, b which now appears ready for solution, is the que tion of the disposition of the former Itali colonies. The exhaustive discussion last spri helped to clarify the issues, to bring out new i formation and to enable many members to devel their views on the matter. At this session t General Assembly should work out plans for united and independent Libya to be carried completion in not more than 3 or 4 years.

It is the view of my government that the A sembly should agree on provisions enabling t peoples of Eritrea to join in political associati with neighboring governments and the peoples Somaliland to enjoy the benefits of the system trusteeship.

We must make every effort to reach agreeme in this assembly on the major lines of a workab plan for the resolution of this important proble

The General Assembly's responsibility for t disposition of the Italian colonies arose from t agreement of the four major signatories to t Italian peace treaty to accept the Assembly's re ommendation. This grant of a new power of de

n to an organ of the United Nations, by express ior agreement of the responsible parties, opens promising avenue toward enhanced usefulness the United Nations.

The development of this precedent might well sist the settlement of various other political oblems by special agreements, in advance, to cept recommendations of the General Assembly the Security Council or in legal questions the termination of the International Court of Jus- e. Through such advance agreement additional vices can and should be rendered from time to ne upon the General Assembly and other organs the United Nations.

n-Self-Governing Peoples

The United States Government takes deep inter- in the varied activities of the United Nations ecting the peoples of the world who have not t become fully self-governing. In Indonesia e United Nations are watching an example of e development of a colonial people to freedom d independence and, through cooperative ef- rts of both parties at the round table-conference The Hague, a voluntary association to the utual advantage.

Progress is being made in the realization of the arter objectives regarding non-self-governing oples both in colonial areas and in those under usteeship. My government will continue to sup- rt the aspiration of those peoples who are work- g out their destinies in the spirit of the Charter the United Nations to the end that they may hieve self-government or independence at the rliest practicable date.

chnical Assistance

There is another field in which the concept of ternational public interest is becoming increas- gly evident. The Charter expresses the deter- ination of the peoples of the United Nations "to romote social progress and better standards of fe in larger freedom."

The Economic and Social Council has laid before e General Assembly a program for cooperative tion by the United Nations and the specialized gencies for rendering technical assistance in the onomic development of underdeveloped areas. My government will give full support to such a rogram to be launched by the United Nations, which international action will supplement and pport the steps taken by national governments improve economic and social conditions. In very field—health, education, agriculture, indus- y, and others—particular projects have demon- rated that, with the support of local authorities, small number of experts can bring great benefits large numbers of people. These efforts are not for the selfish advantage of any one country. They are for the common good.

Poverty, malnutrition, and disease go together and their existence is a threat to the prosperity and stability of the rest of the world. National economic development has to come primarily from the efforts of the people concerned working with their own national resources. But their efforts can be leavened and the process speeded up by international cooperation to assist the less developed areas to acquire the knowledge, skills, and techniques by which their efforts can be made more productive.

The recommendations of the Economic and Social Council on this subject are on a bolder scale than ever undertaken in the past through international organizations. They offer effective tools in the struggle for increased production and ever-widening opportunities for employment. They deserve careful consideration and approval in the common interest.

Human Rights

The Charter recognizes that social progress and higher standards of life grow from larger freedom. Man does not live by bread alone. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the greatest achievements of the third session of this Assembly, constitutes a long stride forward in our efforts to free men from tyranny or arbitrary constraint. The United States attaches great importance to this work of the United Nations.

This year we are confronted with a concrete issue in this field, the question of observance of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania. The treaties of peace with these countries set forth the procedures for the settlement of disputes arising under these treaties. Within the last few weeks Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania have refused to follow these procedures. However, since the three governments seek to support their position on legal grounds, the United States favors submission to the International Court of Justice of the question whether they are under obligation to carry out the treaty procedures. We hope that Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania will not refuse to accept in advance the opinion of the Court and to act in accordance with it. The United States as an interested party will accept as binding the view of the International Court of Justice.

This issue involves more than the violation of terms in a treaty. It affects the rights and freedoms of all the people who live in these three states.

Atomic Energy

My government deeply regrets that no agreement has been reached in the United Nations on the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The United States is continuing and will continue to strive for an effective system of interna-

tional control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons. That is why we support the Commission plan of control and prohibition as approved by this General Assembly last year. It is clear from the resolutions passed by the General Assembly on this subject that the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations also support effective control and effective prohibition.

Because the Soviet Union refuses either to accept this United Nations plan or put forth any other effective plan of control and prohibition, the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has reported again the impasse confronting it. The Commission found that its discussions were not enlarging areas of agreement. On the contrary, they were hardening existing differences. Therefore, it concluded that there was nothing practicable or useful it could do until the sponsoring powers had reported that a basis for agreement existed.

As one of the six powers that sponsored establishment of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, we are endeavoring, in response to the request of the last General Assembly, through consultation among the sponsoring powers, to find such a basis for agreement. In our view, that offers the best prospects of determining whether any hope remains for finding such a basis. We stand ready to discuss any proposal advanced in good faith for effective international control of atomic energy and for effective prohibition. But we must state in all candor that unless and until the Soviet Union demonstrates a willingness to cooperate in the world community and, in the field of atomic energy, gives evidence of such a willingness by agreeing to a truly effective, enforceable system of international control and prohibition, there is no hope that a basis for agreement can be found.

Regulation of Armaments

On the subject of regulation and reduction of conventional armaments, we are all well aware that there is no immediate prospect of universal agreement. The work done by the Commission on Conventional Armaments has helped to provide a useful start toward the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces when that becomes practicable. The Commission should continue to formulate such plans in order that they may be available whenever the opportunity to utilize them arises.

My government can be depended upon to contribute fully to the creation of the necessary conditions of confidence and, with their attainment, to play its full role in the regulation and reduction, under effective safeguards, of armaments and armed forces. The policy of the United States in this important matter is in full conformity wit the resolution adopted by the Assembly in Par looking toward the composition of differenc among the major powers and the establishment c lasting peace.

International Cooperation

In the perspective of history, the first 4 years c the United Nations have been marked by grea advances in international cooperation among na tions. Yet we have not attained the assured an durable peace mankind sought in the victory i 1945 and seeks in the world today.

In the Charter we pledged ourselves to settle ou problems by peaceful means and to build up th conditions essential for peace. Disregarding thos obligations, a small group has persisted in policie threatening other members of the internationa community. As a result a profound sense c insecurity has enveloped large areas of the worl

Security Problems

To meet this threat of insecurity in Europe th United States joined with members of the Nort Atlantic community in a treaty which makes clea in advance, the determination of the parties t resist armed attack on any of them. The America Republics have undertaken similar commitment under the treaty of Rio de Janeiro. Both thes treaties are made pursuant to the principle o collective action to resist aggression embodied i the Charter.

Methods and procedures to give effect to thi principle vary with circumstances. The member of the United Nations, and the General Assembl itself, must constantly study the means which wil lead to the stabilization of peace.

In the final analysis, the security problem is universal problem. It cannot be solved except o a universal basis, through the United Nations.

U.S. Pledge for Concerted Action

The business of this General Assembly is to mak its contribution to the resolution, in the commo interest, of the great problems pressing upon th nations of the world today. I pledge for th United States unreserved support and devotion t a concerted effort to this end. Let us proceed wit appreciation of the limits of what we can expec to accomplish at this time, with confidence in th long-term values of patience, and with reliance upon the power of common sense in internationa affairs. The public interest of the world commu nity demands that we can get on with our business

by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup [1]

We members and friends of the American Association for the United Nations are meeting to-

her here today to celebrate a great concept ich, through the efforts and devotion of men l women like yourselves all over the world, has n brought to life and to reality.

Seven years ago the concept of the United Nans was first embodied in a wartime coalition of tes pledged to crush powers using military force aggression and aggrandizement.

Four years ago the concept was firmly anchored the same and other nations in a permanent orization pledged to the maintenance of the ce which had been so hard won.

Now we meet here, and the members of assotions corresponding to ours meet in other nans throughout the world, to mark the opening the fourth session of the General Assembly of t permanent organization. We celebrate the ual fruits of what so few years ago was only a d. We celebrate the fact that this week will ng together in this city the representatives, in ny cases the foreign ministers, of 59 nations. e seed did not fall in barren ground.

This afternoon I want to take advantage of this portunity to discuss briefly with you and with se who are listening on the radio some of the rticular accomplishments of the United Nations the political field and to comment on the politi- problems which will be dealt with by this sion of the Assembly.

I should like to lay particular emphasis on the e which the United Nations, and especially the sembly, is playing in meeting two sets of probns: first, the problems of peace and security, and ond, the problem of aiding peoples to emerge m colonialism into independence.

A list of the political issues which have been ated by the Assembly would be long. It would lude the question of Franco-Spain, the treatnt of Indians in the Union of South Africa, eats to the territorial integrity and political lependence of Greece, the Government of rea; it would also include atomic energy, disnament, the question of withdrawal of troops, r propaganda, establishment of an Interim mmittee (the Little Assembly), pacific settlent of disputes, membership, and voting procere in the Security Council. It would also lude the question of the violation of human hts in Hungary and Bulgaria and the very portant matter of the disposition of the former lian colonies.

You are familiar with how the Assembly has alt with these matters in the past, and I do not opose to review the record now. What I do wish to do is to indicate briefly the United States attitude toward those political issues which are expected to come before the Assembly commencing on Tuesday.

Italian Colonies

The Assembly has been deeply concerned at its previous sessions, both in Paris and in New York, with the disposition of the former Italian colonies. This is a most complex problem and one which the Assembly has not found it easy to resolve. The issue involves peoples in various stages of national development, some ready for self-government and early independence, others still needing a period of guidance and political experience. There are involved, furthermore, vital questions of security in the eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea areas, of the interest of immediate neighbors of the peoples in question, including some which have legitimate claim to certain portions of these territories, and, finally, the interest of Italy which has made an important contribution to their development. It is significant that the General Assembly was, in the Italian peace treaty, charged with the responsibility for finding the fairest and wisest solution of this most difficult matter.

The United States, having in mind the varying degree of capacity for self-government among the peoples in question and having also in mind the complex of interlocking interests referred to above, would favor a solution which would move these peoples in the direction of self-government and independence in accordance with their particular capacity. There would seem to be every reason to believe that the people of Libya are approaching readiness to govern themselves and that we should work toward an independent Libya in the relatively near future. Eritrea, on the other hand, except for the western province, we believe, as we have made clear at the previous session of the Assembly, should be incorporated into Ethiopia with appropriate guarantees for the protection of minorities. This solution will permit the people of this territory to enjoy immediate self-government as an integral part of an ancient and independent nation. As to the western province of Eritrea, the population of which is of a somewhat different character, we consider that it should be incorporated in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan either directly or under some form of trusteeship. As to Italian Somaliland, we continue to believe that the people of this territory will require for some time to come United Nations guidance and that it should therefore become a United Nations trusteeship. We will urge, moreover, as we have in the past, that Italy be named as the trustee power.

Indonesia

As to Indonesia, we are happy to note that the conciliatory efforts of the United Nations have met with such response from the governments of the

An address made before the American Association for United Nations in New York, N. Y. on Sept. 18, 1949, d released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the United tions on the same date. Ambassador Jessup is a mber of the U.S. delegation to the fourth session of the neral Assembly.

Netherlands and Indonesia that there is every prospect that the important round-table conversations now in progress at The Hague will result in a broad agreement and in the prompt establishment of the independence of the Indonesian people in close association, however, with the Netherlands crown and the people of the Netherlands. If our hopes in regard to the outcome of the round-table conversations are realized, it will be unnecessary for the Assembly to deal with this matter, and we will be able to congratulate ourselves that the United Nations has a large measure of responsibility for an outstanding achievement on an issue affecting both world peace and the welcome progress toward freedom of a once dependent people.

Palestine

The Assembly will also be concerned with most difficult problems in connection with Palestine. The difficulty, however, of settling the remaining international questions which confront the new nation of Israel should not lead us to overlook the outstanding achievement of the United Nations in connection with the emergence of Israel as a sovereign people and with bringing to an end the hostilities in Palestine. Until the Palestine Conciliation Commission has presented its report to the Assembly, it would be impossible to specify exactly the action which the United Nations will be called upon to take. We hope, however, that the Assembly will be able to make further progress toward reconciliation of the basic issues between Israel and her neighbors and to adopt concrete measures for the continued support of the great mass of homeless Palestinian refugees. These are not questions which the Assembly can resolve this autumn, but they are questions on which steady progress toward solution must be made.

Korea

Another question with which the Assembly will be called upon to deal is that of Korea. Here an ancient nation, long subject to foreign control, has been restored to independence. Unfortunately, however, that nation has been cut in two, and the writ of the Korean Government, recognized by the United Nations, does not run in the northern half of the country which is subject to a totalitarian regime. The security of the Korean people and the new Korean state is, moreover, threatened by this regime which constantly foments unrest and sponsors armed incursions from the northern into the southern part of Korea. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the United Nations Commission which has been dispatched by the General Assembly to Korea be maintained there and that its authority be confirmed and enlarged, until the security of the new state is no longer threatened. The United States will strongly ur such action by the Assembly and will, furthermor continue to give every possible support and encou agement to the Government of Korea, includir support for its admission as a member of t United Nations.

Technical Aid

Another most significant matter with which t Assembly may be called upon to deal is a repo which will be presented to it from the Econom and Social Council in regard to the extension technical aid for the economic development underdeveloped areas. This is obviously a que tion which ties in very closely with the concern f the progress of dependent peoples of which I ha spoken. People cannot obtain the political expe ence necessary to self-government to achieve t political stability essential to independence unl they possess at least a measure of economic we being. It is axiomatic that hungry people provi a ready prey for demagogues and that liberty h little meaning or cannot long endure if econon security does not exist. Low standards of livi cannot be raised overnight or economic proble of the millions of peoples of Asia and Africa solved exclusively by the United Nations or by t materially more fortunate nations of the We However, it is a fact that the resources of Asia a Africa are enormous and that in many cases relatively small amount of technical advice a assistance, through the dispatch to these areas experts who can introduce new techniques a train local personnel, will produce relatively gre returns.

The Economic and Social Council has giv careful consideration to a program of this sort, a the General Assembly will be called upon to a prove this program and recommend its impleme tation. The United States, for its part, attac the very greatest importance to such a progra and will give it full support. President Trum proclaimed this United States interest in his mous Point 4. We believe we should offer to t peoples of Asia and Africa the tangible means helping themselves to achieve a better life rat than, by the reckless use of political slogans, t to inflame them up to a pitch of international a internal violence which may absorb their energ for a time but can never solve their problems. each new state becomes independent, it reali that all the members of the modern world co munity are interdependent. We shall, therefo work patiently and steadfastly on a construct cooperative program which will provide a fi basis for real national independence among peoples.

Greece

Another area in which the United Nations h been active in the maintenance of peace and se

ty, and in which the United States has played a rticularly significant role, is Greece. Here there as been real progress during the past year in ducing the threat to the peace inside Greece and niting the aid to the Greek rebels supplied by her rthern neighbors. Such aid from Yugoslavia as apparently ceased with most salutary effects the situation as a whole. Albania and Bulgaria, wever, particularly the former, continue to elter and supply the rebels and hence to prolong e tragic and bloody civil war which might otherise long since have ended. So long as this situaon continues, the United Nations Special Comittee on the Balkans will still have an important le to play, and the United States believes that should be continued in being.

uman Rights

In another field in southeastern Europe, the eneral Assembly by a resolution of April 30th this year expressed the hope that the proceedgs, which have been instituted under the peace eaties with Bulgaria and Hungary charging em with violating human rights and requesting medial measures, be applied diligently. Remeal measures have not been applied and, indeed, has been impossible, because of the attitude of e Soviet Union, even to utilize for the considerion of this matter the machinery provided in the ace treaties. The violation in these countries of e human rights provisions of the treaties conues, moreover, as before. The United States ill, therefore, pursue this matter before the Genal Assembly with a view either to inducing the vernments concerned to utilize the machinery r the settlement of disputes provided in the peace eaties or to refer the question for judgment to me competent and impartial body such as the ternational Court of Justice.

Our government has, therefore, come to the conusion that a wiser procedure would be to drop for e present a separate convention on this subject d, instead, to insert in the covenant on human ghts, which is being prepared by the Human ights Commission of the United Nations, a broad firmative provision specifying the right to freeom of information among the basic human rights. e believe that the covenant on human rights is e proper place for such a statement and that ithout it the covenant would be deficient in a most portant particular. It should be remembered, oreover, that the General Assembly has already lopted a Convention on the International Transission of News and the Right of Correction deal-g with the operation of foreign correspondents d information agencies and that the United ations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Orinization is even now considering other agreements to promote the international circulation of educational, scientific, and cultural materials. We cannot expect that under conditions now obtaining in many parts of the world international action of whatever character will guarantee freedom of information to all peoples. We are convinced, however, that positive and repeated statements by the General Assembly and other United Nations organs of the standards in this field which we consider essential to real democracy will not be without effect even among those peoples who are, for the present, ruthlessly denied this freedom.

Atomic Energy and Armaments

Let me refer briefly to two issues which will come before the Assembly and the resolution of which sooner or later is the very keystone of the maintenance of peace and security. These are, first, the elimination of atomic weapons together with the control of atomic energy and, second, the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments. You are fully aware of the extended and painstaking efforts which have been made to reach agreement on these great questions on which in the last analysis the future of the United Nations and of all of us individually depends. You are aware that these problems have not been resolved and why they have not been resolved. I do not need to go into the details of the interminable discussions which have taken place. In a word, the Soviet Union has refused to accept the establishment of the international controls essential to the effective implementation of any agreements on these matters. Perhaps in view of the rigid totalitarian political structure of the Soviet Union that attitude was to be expected, but it is nonetheless disappointing to the hopes of the peoples of the world. The United States will continue in the General Assembly and elsewhere to pursue earnestly and constantly whatever means offer the slightest promise of achieving international agreement on these problems. We have offered that, in the interest of world security, the great and unique weapon which we hold shall be eliminated from national armaments when effective enforcible safeguards against evasion are in effect and that other armaments shall be regulated and progressively reduced as soon as political conditions of security permit. Neither of these can be accomplished, however, until we can feel fully assured that they are being accomplished everywhere and at all times. We are under no illusions that a solution to this most basic of all problems will be found at this time, but we shall continue to make abundantly clear by the positions we take that it is not the United States which stands in the way of a solution.

Interim Committee

Finally, the General Assembly will be called upon to consider whether or not it should con-

tinue its Interim Committee, the so-called Little Assembly. The United States is convinced that the Interim Committee has demonstrated its usefulness precisely in this political field which we have been discussing this afternoon and that it should be continued for an indefinite period. We will so propose to the General Assembly.

Such are the issues in the political field with which the General Assembly is dealing in its fourth year. They are issues which go to the very heart of the problem of peaceful international relations in the modern world. Specifically involved in several of these issues and basic to our whole world problem is the role of the United Nations in assisting peoples who are now entering upon or moving toward independent national existence.

Membership

The period in which we live is marked by the rise throughout the world of national groups seeking self-government and independence. Some of these are ancient peoples whom the accidents of history placed in temporary dependence but who are now being reborn as nations capable of meeting the responsibilities of freedom and self-government. In the 4 years that have passed since the Charter was signed in San Francisco more than 400 million people in Burma, Ceylon, India, Israel, Nepal, Pakistan, and Jordan achieved full independence, and most of them have become members of the United Nations. Others, fully qualified for membership, would now be members had their applications not been vetoed in the Security Council. Still other peoples, such as those of Indonesia, with whom the United Nations has been so deeply concerned, and those of Indochina, have already assumed a large measure of self-government and are moving through orderly progressive stages toward full independence.

Dependent Peoples

The role of the United Nations, however, is particularly comprehensive and important in respect to those peoples who are still in the stage of political development wherein the major responsibility for their government must still be exercised by others. Here the United Nations through its Trusteeship Council plays the role of watchdog and guardian to see to it, first, that the welfare of the dependent peoples themselves remains constantly the primary aim of their government and, second, that their participation in that government is steadily expanded to the full extent of their capacities. In the United Nations there exists today an unprecedented degree of international action with respect to non-self-governing and trust territories. All such territories come under its review, and the trust territories are subject to close supervision.

It is true that we hear a great deal of clamor to the effect that the liberties of these dependent peoples are not extended sufficiently rapidly and drastically and that their independence is delayed for imperialistic reasons. Wherever the motive for delay is merely the aggrandizement of empire, the motive is bad and to be condemned. But orderly progress toward self-government under international supervision is infinitely to be preferred to a sudden interlude of independence which merely precedes the equally sudden dictatorship of a small group acting under the direction of a foreign power. The avowed Communist doctrine of using nationalism only as a stepping stone to Communist domination which means enslavement is now being recognized throughout the world as the most reactionary form of imperialism. The United States welcomes a comparison of both its record and its doctrine. We in the United States are proud of our record in the Philippines. We are proud to cooperate with the influential representatives of that independent member of the United Nations because this is the cooperation of warm friends who because they know well and admire each other are free to disagree or agree according to their convictions. The Philippines emerged into independence not as a satellite but as a full partner in the international society.

The United States supports the nationalist aspirations of those peoples who are progressively advancing toward the Charter's goal of self-government or independence. It is the policy of our government to use the full measure of its influence to support the attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it. We are convinced that it is in the best interests of all concerned that a full transfer of authority to such peoples be consummated quickly and generously. We appreciate the advantages flowing from a transfer which is based upon mutual accommodation. We recognize the farsighted statesmanship of those who transfer authority and the sense of deep responsibility with which those who take authority assume the burdens of government. Once won, however, political freedom must be preserved. It must be preserved not only against attack from without but also from those who would betray that independence from within. We shall strive unremittingly through the United Nations and in association with free peoples, whether they be in Europe or in Asia, to see to it that freedom is preserved.

International Unity

It is clear that the United Nations, and the General Assembly in particular, are playing an increasing and a vital role in dealing with political issues both in the field of the maintenance of peace and in the field of the freedom of peoples. One

as only to imagine the confused, clumsy, and ften reckless way in which these issues would be onfronted by 59 sovereign states acting individ-ally to realize to what a degree the United ations separates us from chaos.

We could and often do wish for an organization ith greater scope and power, able to win and hold e first loyalties of peoples and governments, ut we must not let these aspirations for the ideal make us forget the solid advantages of the real and the possible. We have a long hard road to march to reach full international unity, but the United Nations is no mean way station.

Through the idealism, the devotion, and the constant hard work of people like yourselves in each of the 59 states and among all the other peoples striving to be free, we shall gradually perfect our instruments of international cooperation. We shall then use those instruments to ward off the imminent perils which beset our world and the world in which our children must live.

he Place of UNESCO in American Foreign Policy

y Assistant Secretary Allen[1]

UNESCO has the most difficult task in the world oday—perhaps the most important task which xists. Having made such a broad statement, let's xamine it. Some people think UNESCO has bitten ff such a big bite that it cannot possibly masti-ate it.

NESCO'S Sights

UNESCO is trying to mobilize sufficient human ympathy, understanding, and friendship among e multifarious and diverse peoples of the world, ith their different cultures and languages and eir bitterness and enmity, to accomplish world rganization strong enough to establish lasting eace.

When I think of the terrific task UNESCO has efore it, I am reminded of a story that the Sec-etary of State likes to tell: During the Battle f New Orleans, Andrew Jackson's troops on the anks of the Mississippi were firing at the British unboats coming up the river. All their shots ere going over the ships. Jackson dashed out f his tent, rushed up to the artillery, and said, Boys! Boys! Elevate them sights a little ower!"

Maybe UNESCO will have to elevate its sights a ttle bit lower, but I think not. Sometimes we veremphasize the difficulties and fail to concen-rate enough on the favorable aspects which may able UNESCO to succeed.

eminar on Democracy

The report of the seminar on democracy in aris, which Richard P. McKeon of the University f Chicago attended recently, impressed me par-cularly. In that report, of a group of experts athered together to try to see whether they could find some unified definition of "democracy," it was determined from the 85 replies to questionnaires that the supreme goal of every country and peoples of the world is the achievement of democracy throughout the world.

The nations appear, from that poll, to have reached absolute unity as to objective. That's news. It is a far cry from 10 years ago when Hitler's Nazi regime used the vulgar but impressive statement: "I spit on liberty." Democracy and the "bourgeois" ideas of individuality were despised by the entire Nazi regime.

Now democracy is written large as the ultimate goal of the foreign policy of every freedom-loving nation and people of the world.

U.S. Institutions

We are often told that the United States should not try to cram its brand of democracy down the throats of the world, but that we should, in our spirit of tolerance, recognize that there can be variations in the concepts of democracy and that in the live-and-let-live philosophy, we should not insist that everybody make himself over in our likeness.

I myself am inclined to think that there is no such thing as the American brand of democracy, or the English brand, or even the Soviet brand, in the UNESCO sense. We have borrowed almost all of our concepts of democracy. We have contributed our share toward expanding or clarifying ideas that were suggested long before our statesmen and writers began working on the subject. We have all sorts of institutions of our own here in the United States, such as the Parent Teachers Associations, the 4–H Clubs—we even have the Ku Klux Klan. But we are not insisting on transplanting them to other countries.

UNESCO, through this seminar on democracy, is going right to the heart of the problem. It is try-

[1] This article is based on the remarks that Mr. Allen ade before the first plenary session of the U.S. National ommission for UNESCO in Washington, on Sept. 9, 1949.

ing to work out universal concepts regarding the principles on which the UNESCO Charter is based. Those principles center in the word "democracy." The goal of UNESCO and the goal of the United States are precisely the same. The goal is to achieve world democracy.

Changes in Democracy

Turning to the modern concept of the term "democracy," Dr. Raymond Fosdick recently pointed out in a splendid article in the New York *Times* that a certain evolution is taking place at the present time in the thinking of many people regarding the meaning of the word. Starting from the basic elements of equality, liberty, and fraternity of the French Revolution and the principles written into the foundations of the United States Constitution, the thinking has gone forward, not to change the original concept, but to go somewhat beyond it. Many people believe that government has the responsibility not only to see that the individual retains his liberty, but also that certain consideration is given to his welfare in the fields of education, health, housing, and general well-being. These social aspects have not detracted at all from the fundamental, original, basic, hard-core concept of democracy in the political sense, but, as Dr. Fosdick says, thinking has gone beyond that in the minds of many people today.

Now, there are differences of opinion as to how far that departure should go. A part of the problem of UNESCO is to correlate the views of the member states in this matter.

Policy and Public Opinion

The job of UNESCO is vastly different from the ordinary day-to-day job of any foreign office or the Department of State. The attitude of the Department of State toward any foreign country at any given moment is essentially the attitude of the American people toward that country. This relationship exists in any genuinely democratic country, in our use of the term. At this present moment, what is the attitude of the American people toward Tito, Franco, Peron, Great Britain, France, China, or what-have-you? What goes to make up that attitude which governs the day-to-day workings of the Department of State?

It is well understood that the United States attitude toward any given foreign country at any time is not something absolutely black or white. It results from a lot of ingredients which, added together, give a balanced mixture.

A first consideration would be: Aside from whether the foreign country is a dictatorship or a democracy or what it is, is it aggressive? Is the country threatening its neighbors? That sets a immediate tone in our attitude.

A second factor is the attitude of other peopl toward the United States. The human trait is t like people who like you. Are the people of th country in question quarreling with us every day Are they finding fault with us? Or are they tend ing toward more friendly relations with us? Thi is an ingredient we cannot ignore. It has to b taken into consideration.

Another very real consideration which mos Americans take into account with regard to foreign country is the extent to which its insti tutions are similar to ours. Is there individua liberty? Is there freedom? Are there hones elections? Are there courts of justice in the give foreign country?

Another factor is the economic policy which th given country follows. Does it follow the prin ciple of free enterprise? The attitude of man Americans toward Great Britain today depend upon whether those individuals approve the ec nomic policy which Great Britain follows. Th Department of State must, of course, take thes views into consideration.

Another important consideration, on particula occasions, is the frequent sympathy of American for the under dog. Other considerations might b outweighed momentarily by a sudden surge o emotion. When the Soviet Union attacked Fin land in 1940, there was a great wave of emotio in the United States unfavorable to the Soviet During the Boer War in 1900, the general att tude of the man on the street in the United State was, "Those poor little Boers are being pushe around by a great country." Nobody asked wh was right or wrong. One can imagine what woul happen if a conflict should break out in the Ba kans tomorrow. A strong wave of emotion prob ably would arise in the United States if any sma country were attacked by a large one, and all othe considerations might be wiped out.

History plays an important role in the formu lation of policy. One of the things that colors th opinion in Eastern Europe today, in countries lik Czechoslovakia, is what happened at Munich. Th Czechoslovaks feel that the Western powers le down Czechoslovakia at Munich. Therefor whenever there is a decision on the part of th Czechoslovaks as to how closely they should tie u with the Western powers again, they ask, "Are w likely to let ourselves in for another Munich? The Soviet Union recalls the interventions of 191 Americans do not retain bitterness very long, bu we must keep other people's emotions in mind.

UNESCO'S Task

In my view, UNESCO is concerned with some thing over and beyond, and in the long range muc more significant, than the temporary, changing ephemeral matters of foreign policy to which

(*continued on page 518*)

[September 30–October 1]

w Assembly Agenda Items

Two new items were added to the already wded General Assembly agenda and referred the Political and Security Committee:

'Condemnation of the preparations for a new r, and conclusion of a five-power pact for the engthening of peace," introduced by U.S.S.R. egate Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, and "Threats to political independence and territorial integrity China and to the peace of the Far East, result- from Soviet violations of the Sino-Soviet eaty of Friendship and Alliance of 14 August 5, and from Soviet violations of the Charter the United Nations," submitted by chairman of Chinese delegation, Dr. T. F. Tsiang.

The item with regard to China, submitted by Dr. iang on September 26, was included in the enda over the objections of the Slav bloc, includ- Yugoslavia. Dr. Tsiang, in supporting his uest in the General Committee pointed out that Sino-Soviet Treaty and its annexed agree- nts had been concluded in fulfilment of the lta agreement. Under this treaty, he said, both rties had assumed certain definite obligations, luding: (1) mutual respect for respective ter- orial integrity and sovereignty and the prin- le of noninterference, (2) mutual economic istance, and (3) agreement that administration h respect to Dairen should belong to China. expressed deep regret that "the Union of Soviet cialistic Republic has chosen not to honor her aty obligations." He stressed that the Chinese nplaint was directed against the Soviet Union d not the Chinese Communists. Before the nary, Dr. Tsiang denied the Soviet insinuation t the Chinese case had been instigated by any- e except China.

Mr. Vyshinsky, in a 40-minute speech before plenary, referred to the "Kuomintang Re- ne's" charges as "slander" and "pettifoggery," scribing the item as an attempt to blame the sco in China on outside sources. Ambassador stin, in supporting inclusion of this item, stated t the matter was obviously one of important ernational concern falling within the scope of Charter.

Korea

Continuation of the United Nations Commission on Korea and strengthening of its powers was proposed jointly by the United States, Australia, China, and the Philippines in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on September 29. The Commission would be empowered to (1) report developments which might lead to military conflict in Korea, (2) seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to friendly relations between North and South Korea and supply its good offices to assist in bringing about the unification of Korea, (3) appoint observers and utilize the services and good offices of others as it may choose to employ to accomplish these tasks, (4) be available for observation and consultation throughout Korea in the continuing development of representative government, including elections of nation-wide scope, and (5) verify the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces insofar as it is in a position to do so.

Charles Fahy of the United States, introducing the joint resolution, said it was hoped that the continued presence of the Commission would serve as an important stabilizing influence and a deterrent to possible "open military conflict" in Korea. But, "in the event that conflict should occur," he said, "the United Nations would have at hand testimony from a duly constituted agency regarding its nature and origin, and regarding the responsibility therefor." He pointed out that the General Assembly recommendations for the unification of Korea on the basis of United Nations-observed elections have been flouted by the northern regime, with the result that Korea continues divided and threatened by brutal conflict. The Communist regime not only has denied the United Nations Commission access to its territory, Mr. Fahy noted, but it has also actually broadcast threats against the Commission.

Greek Question

An Australian proposal for a Conciliation Committee on the Greek question was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee on September 29 after 2 days' discussion of this first item on the agenda. The

Conciliation Committee, composed of Assembly President Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary-General Lie, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, and Selim Sarper of Turkey, Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the Political and Security Committee, will report to that committee by October 17. Pending receipt of this report, further consideration of the Greek question has been suspended. A Polish proposal calling upon the Committee to appeal to the Greek Government to suspend all executions and court martials and in particular the death sentence against Catherine Zevgos was rejected as a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Greece. It received support from only the six Slav states. Benjamin V. Cohen (United States) supported the Australian proposal for a Conciliation Committee.

Freedom of Information

The Human Rights Commission will be asked to include the broad, general principles of freedom of information in its proposed Covenant on Human Rights, and further action on the draft Convention on Freedom of Information will be postponed to the next session of the General Assembly. These provisions were embodied in a joint United States–United Kingdom–Netherlands resolution adopted by the Social, Cultural and Humanitarian Committee of the General Assembly on September 27 by a vote of 29 to 13, with 8 abstentions. A companion joint resolution, sponsored by the same three states, requested that the Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction be open for signature immediately but was rejected by a vote of 16 to 18, with 13 abstentions. This convention was approved by the last Assembly session with a stipulation that it would not be open for signature before the Freedom of Information Convention was approved and both could be signed by acceding nations.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt opened the Committee debate, stating that freedom of information is an essential element in both peace and security and that the important thing is "to state in an international instrument the principles of freedom of information." She considered that the Covenant on Human Rights is "an appropriate instrument" for those basic principles. Mrs. Roosevelt mentioned the difficulties, arising from conditions in various countries, that had been encountered in drafting the convention on this subject, with the result that a great many exceptions had to be written in as soon as the attempt was made to formulate the details. None of those conditions has changed in the last 5 months, she continued. Supporting the second resolution, Mrs. Roosevelt said that the Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction was "adopte by a large majority at the last session, and in o view, we should not delay any longer giving a opportunity to sign to those who are now rea to do so."

Access of News Personnel to United Nations

A resolution urging all countries to grant fre dom of access for accredited news personnel countries where meetings of the United Natio take place and to the sources of information the United Nations and its specialized agenci was adopted by the Social, Humanitarian and Cu tural Committee of the General Assembly on Se tember 29 by a vote of 42 to 0, with 7 abstentio

Miscellaneous items

The proposal for the establishment of a Unit Nations postal administration, which would ope ate like any national post office, with its own sp cial stamps and administrators, permitting saving of 21 thousand dollars a year as compar with present postal costs, is being considered the General Assembly's Administrative a Budgetary Committee . . . The Legal Committ is discussing possible changes in methods a procedures of the Assembly, based on propos of a special committee established at the last se sion to study this problem . . . The Economic a Finance Committee is discussing plans devised the Economic and Social Council for econom development of underdeveloped countries.

Representatives of seven Mediterranean cou tries, meeting in Rome under the auspices of t Food and Agriculture Organization, have agre to establish a Mediterranean Fisheries Council be set up in essentially the same way as the Ind Pacific Fisheries Council . . . The Internation Bank for Reconstructions and Development h granted a loan of 10 million dollars to India f the improvement of agricultural production . Ceylon and Israel have become members of t International Telecommunication Union, incre ing the membership of this second largest of t specialized agencies to 81 countries.

The Special Committee on Information fro Non-Self-Governing Territories on September adopted a United States resolution recommendi that the Committee be continued for an addition 3-year period . . . The Trusteeship Council, at special meeting on September 27, approved the a pointment of a new member from Mexico on t United Nations Visiting Mission which will vi trust territories in West Africa this year. T other countries represented on the mission are B gium, Iraq, and the United States.

rotocol: What It Is and What It Does

Stanley Woodward, Chief of Protocol

No feature of diplomacy, I venture to say, is ore misunderstood by more people on more oc-sions than is the function of protocol. Some ry well-meaning persons ask me whether my sole nction is to send out invitations to dinner par-es; others, equally well-meaning, inquire whether wear formal clothes to my office or spend most of y time seating tables.

In the face of this popular misunderstanding, it ight be appropriate to set the record straight on e position, function, and necessity of protocol in reign affairs.

Protocol is the rule book by which international lations are conducted. Any organization, any ciety must, if it is to thrive, operate under certain les if for no other reason than to prevent chaos. ne same rules apply to relations between govern-ents. It is necessary that contacts between na-ons be made according to law, custom, and some rm of planned organization. Thus made, the ntacts connote mutual respect for the laws and stoms of the countries concerned. They for-alize the channels of communication between vernments. These are the rules of foreign rela-ons which are the concern of protocol, the point contact between governments. It is the agreed ethod of doing business, of "getting along."

A prime purpose of protocol is to create an at-osphere of friendliness in which the business of plomacy may be transacted. This purpose is sed on the conviction of most, if not all, nations at countries with differing viewpoints are better le to reach agreement in an atmosphere of friend-ness than in one of hostility.

In seeking this objective, the function of pro-col may be exercised in a variety of ways. A iendly conversation at a dinner party may be e way; adhering to law and custom in the exten-on of diplomatic immunities may be another. A cordial welcome to a foreign head of state or official may be yet another. Nations honor each other's pledges; they assume that the courtesies of one nation will be returned in others. In short, the rules of diplomacy tend to be reciprocal throughout the world.

Many years ago the functions of protocol consisted almost exclusively of formal ceremonial arrangements. Kings required the services of court aides to prepare elaborate receptions and dinners for visiting officials of foreign countries. Ambassadors were presented to court in ceremonies attended by great pomp. In Spain and elsewhere, the chief of protocol was known as Introducer of Ambassadors, a self-explanatory title which many of them still retain. If not his only function, the introduction of ambassadors was at least considered his most important.

These formalities were outward expressions of good manners between friendly governments. The years have taken much of the pomp and picturesque ceremonial out of protocol, but they have not removed the necessity for good manners between countries. Today, when some diplomatic relations are conducted against a background of name-calling, the requirement of good manners is no less evident. It is significant that nations that indulge in name-calling are discreetly respectful of the time-honored methods of showing good manners in their public acts.

We in protocol look upon ourselves as the guardians of international behavior in Washington. In the course of our duties we act as guide, philosopher, and friend to 70 ambassadors and ministers. We deal with each on equal terms but stay out of any political controversy. That fact, I believe, makes us unique among representatives in foreign affairs.

When the United States establishes diplomatic

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relations with a country, the Protocol Staff is the first official contact between the two governments. When the United States breaks off diplomatic relations with a country, the Protocol Staff is the last official contact.

In one sense, protocol functions and the methods of carrying them out represent the country itself. For example, some European and Latin American countries have long histories and traditions of ceremonial elegance surrounding their official behavior. Coaches, royal courts, coronations are part of the gilded trappings of their history which even today they are reluctant to give up. They are ingrained in their national life. The protocol officers in those countries must respect and reflect those traditions in carrying out their functions.

The United States, however, has no such background. Its history, as reflected in its acts and its public officials, is one of simplicity. Jefferson and Lincoln, among others, were noted for their unpretentiousness of action and simplicity of utterance. Benjamin Franklin, our first ambassador to France, endeared himself to the French through demonstrations of characteristic American wit and neighborliness which ultimately won much-needed shipments of supplies to American forces in the Revolutionary War.

Lacking the ornate ceremonies of other nations, the United States depends on the friendliness and vitality of the American people to speak for the country in its dealings with representatives of other lands. Since it is my duty frequently to show such representatives our country, I try to make it possible for foreign visitors and resident chiefs of mission to come into contact with this friendliness and vitality. Such an opportunity, I might add, makes my job much easier than those of some of my counterparts in other countries who must depend on ceremonial traditions to impress visitors. Visiting officials do become impressed with this friendliness.

In seeking the objective of a friendly atmosphere for the transaction of diplomacy, the Protocol Branch engages in certain well-defined functions that serve both the President and the Secretary of State. As Chief of Protocol, I serve as the protocol officer of the President and the Secretary of State and serve as liaison between the Department and the White House in all matters relating to protocol.

The Protocol Staff relieves the President and Secretary of many formalities and time-consuming procedures. Many of these relate to the appointment and accreditation of ambassadors and ministers to the United States. The process is rather simple. A foreign country sending an ambassador or minister to the United States submits the name of the candidate in a letter to this government.

The letter comes originally to my office. It is then sent to the appropriate geographical desk for recommendations. Here I should note that 99 percent of all such requests are approved. It has become customary among friendly nations to honor the appointments of each other. Only persons with well-known pronounced prejudices against the United States or an individual whose character is not up to diplomatic standards would likely be rejected.

Once favorably recommended, a letter is sent to the Secretary and then to the President for ultimate approval. The familiar notation "O. K." followed by the President's initials on the letter is the final step in the process.

This approval does not end the work of the Protocol Staff; it is, to a large extent, just beginning. The Office, in conjunction with the area desk involved, arranges for appropriate remarks for the President's reply when the incoming envoy presents his credentials. Actually, the words are not uttered orally, but are exchanged in writing and the text made available to the press for public dissemination. Years ago, however, the remarks were made orally but time and a more informal approach have eliminated the practice.

Once an ambassador or minister is officially accredited, it becomes necessary to provide him with the privileges and immunities granted him in accordance with law. This procedure involves a series of tasks, routine but necessary, which devolve on the Protocol Staff. It must issue diplomatic identification cards, diplomatic license tags, free driver's permits and Congressional gallery passes to chiefs of foreign missions and their wives.

In this connection the Protocol Staff also publishes the official *Diplomatic List* that contains the name of every diplomatic representative of a foreign government assigned to Washington. Widespread use is made of this list: Department officers constantly refer to it in their work and law enforcement officers use it to make routine checks on diplomatic immunity and freedom from taxes.

Matters relating to taxes is also a subject for

the jurisdiction of the Protocol Staff. Diplomatic officials in the United States are granted legal immunity from certain domestic taxes, such as income, sales, and excise levies as well as free customs entry. It is a function of the Protocol Staff to see that foreign officials entitled to such immunity receive internal revenue certificates indicating the degree of exemption.

Nearly all functions of the Protocol Branch are concerned with international personnel and international procedures. One exception to this rule involves the custody and authority over the Great Seal of the United States. The use of the seal on documents as a symbol of dignity and authenticity is strictly defined by law. An act of 1789, which designated the Secretary of State as custodian of the seal, made specific provisions for use of the seal. They have been modified only slightly by subsequent legislation.

The seal is affixed to such civil commissions as those of Cabinet officers, ambassadors, and ministers; written authorizations issued to foreign consular officials stating the limits of their jurisdiction in the United States; ratification of treaties; Presidential powers to negotiate a treaty or exchange ratifications; Presidential proclamations, and to the envelopes containing letters of credence or other ceremonial communications to the heads of foreign governments.

Another word about the seal. In the early days of the Republic, it was customary for merchants, importers, and other commercial traders to use the design of the Great Seal, or modifications thereof, to decorate their product. Although even today the Department has no legal authority to withhold the design of the Great Seal or to prevent its duplication, the prevailing opinion is that the Great Seal should be reserved for official documents as prescribed by law.

The large iron "arm" which impresses the Great Seal on documents is kept at all times in the custody of the Protocol Branch. When not in use, it is locked up in the diplomatic reception room in the Department.

One subject which recurs quite frequently in the work of the office is the custody of medals and decorations awarded by foreign governments to public officials in the United States. Under the Constitution, public officials are not permitted to receive such decorations without the consent of Congress. During the war, however, members of the armed forces, under special legislation, received permission to accept certain foreign decorations. Wartime legislation in this regard having lapsed, the awards now received must be turned over to the Protocol Staff of the Department for safekeeping until such time as the recipients are legally entitled to receive these decorations.

Finally, I should note but not emphasize the well-publicized function of arranging social functions for the President, Secretary of State, and other high-ranking Department officials. Many people believe this is an easy assignment—a "soft touch" in the words of one aquaintance. Actually, the arranging of such a function is frequently a more difficult assignment than might appear.

Suggested invitation lists must be prepared, a budget must be drawn up for each occasion, approved invitations sent out, all hotel arrangements made, the seating chart and place cards prepared. At the function itself, care must be taken to assure that the formalities run smoothly and that no circumstances develop which might prove embarrassing to the Department or to the government.

This by no means exhausts the list of functions of the Protocol Staff. It has others. In normal times, when the White House is occupied, it operates the Blair House and Blair-Lee House for distinguished foreign visitors and arranges for visits to foreign ports and countries by United States armed forces vessels and personnel and similar visits to the United States by foreign armed vessels and troops. It keeps an up-to-date register of all members of international organizations meeting in the United States, including the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It also arranges appointments with the President for foreign nations and American chiefs of missions abroad.

Although certain explicit functions of protocol are provided by the Constitution and by statute, the implicit functions of protocol are unlimited. They involve acts which make the United States better understood and better appreciated. The scope of protocol, therefore, is infinitely broader than the assigned duties of the office. It encompasses the broad, complex principles of human fellowship and good manners which have existed between peoples and nations for centuries. Destructive wars have not been able to wipe out those principles. As long as nations and peoples want to "get along," there will be an important role for protocol to play in the international life of our civilization.

What Is a Bipartisan Foreign Policy?

by Ernest A. Gross, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

Foreign policy, like navigation, requires steering the best course to a known objective. Informed men usually will not differ in defining the major objectives of our foreign policy, but, rather, in choosing the most effective of the available alternative courses. In a democracy this choice rests on enlightened common consent.

There is general agreement that we wish to see the maintenance of international peace and security in a world of free nations dedicated to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We are not now living in that sort of a world. As the leader of that part of the world which is free we require a clear, continuous, and consistent foreign policy. National security demands that continuity and consistency survive changes in administration. The obligation of leadership requires that our foreign commitments stay afloat on all political tides. These are the reasons for a bipartisan foreign policy.

Although conflicts attend the separation of powers decreed by the Constitution, the principle of collaboration in foreign affairs between the Executive and the Congress is accepted as the rule. Procedures have been developed to make collaboration systematic and the Department of State has designated officials to carry this out as their primary responsibility.

Since the Congress operates largely through its committees composed of members of the two major parties, successful collaboration in foreign policy matters requires a sound relationship not only between the Executive and the congressional majority, but with the minority party as well. This is all the more necessary when serious differences of opinion exist within congressional parties.

The evolution of a successful foreign policy is better assured if it is founded upon the support of like-minded statesmen, whatever their party affiliation. Indeed, Viscount Bryce noted 50 years ago that differences may exist without breaking party unity, since all that was needed was "that a solid front should be presented on the occasions, few in each session, when a momentous division arises."

Are such "momentous divisions" inescapable in the development of United States foreign policy?

The majority party bears the responsibilities which go with "administration." The minority party owes the duty of "loyal opposition." A bipartisan foreign policy, however, presumes that neither party will seek to derive party advantage through the manner in which it discharges its responsibilities and duties.

The administration should refrain from making foreign-policy proposals for partisan reasons or from seeking partisan advantage in the execution of foreign policy. The minority party should refrain from opposition based upon partisan considerations. Criticism would be "on the merits" and always welcome.

Obviously, the decisive element in such an arrangement is good faith. An action or attitude is colored by the motive which breeds it. Suspicion of partisan motive has often choked off collaboration like a jungle vine. Inasmuch as basic

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Gross and Mr. Marshall substituted for Edgar Ansel Mowrer, newspaper columnist, while the latter was on vacation. These articles were released by General Features Corporation on August 22 and August 29, 1949, respectively, and are reprinted with permission.

objectives are rarely in dispute, the duty of the executive and of the legislature is to clarify the alternatives. A proposed course of action must rest upon the argument which supports it. Opposition, to be constructive, must similarly assert the justified alternative. There is no other way to develop and maintain an enlightened public opinion. There is no other satisfactory way in which a democracy can conduct its foreign affairs. The necessary working conditions for a bipartisan foreign policy are these: (1) An understanding among respective party leaders implying common readiness to collaborate; (2) full sharing of information; (3) timely consultation.

The last element—timely consultation—offers the greatest challenge to good faith. Either the "administration" or the minority may be asked by the other to modify or abandon carefully considered foreign-policy proposals.

Public interest then requires sincere efforts to clarify the alternative courses. The Executive, having a constitutional responsibility it can neither share nor avoid, should present its proposals in a manner which permits the minority to fulfill its public duty to weigh the alternatives.

The attitude with which both sides approach the problem affects the outcome. Wisdom may call for compromise. But the end in view is to achieve agreement on a sound and publicly supported policy. Compromise is a means to that end, not an end in itself.

Bipartisan foreign policy exists when there is a sustained sincere effort to reach agreement on objectives and on courses of action. It is not destroyed merely because agreement is not always reached.

When disagreements persist despite full and timely consultation, the issues are often drawn between persons rather than between parties. Such differences are unavoidable in any society. They are relevant to the problem of a bipartisan foreign policy only to the extent that they reveal a desire to obtain partisan advantage. Party discipline may rally adherents to one side or the other. But a successful bipartisan foreign policy will make it virtually impossible for "momentous divisions" to occur in our foreign affairs.

The primary condition is the will to succeed. The world in which we live does not leave us much room for failure.

Financing Our Foreign Policy

y Charles Burton Marshall, Staff Consultant
Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives

The Executive withheld the Military-Assistance Program until the waning days of an exhaustive session. In the press of time the Committee on Foreign Affairs could not resolve its will. The bill produced four minority reports subscribed 12 times by a total of 10 Members. This was no simple rupture of bipartisanism. The difference cut four ways—not just straight down the middle. The result in the House—the halving of the authorization for military assistance for Western Europe—was inevitable, given the differences within the committee.

The differences were as to means, not ends. Too often bipartisan foreign policy is discussed only in terms of the latter. But the rubs develop in the questions of means. Those are the questions that take time. It is of the factor of time in legislation that I write. I shall pose the problem. I don't know the answer. Let us take the time factor in the work of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I serve.

You may get some idea of the scope of its tasks by a comparison with 15 years ago.

In the Seventy-third Congress this committee got around to legislation only in the second regular session. It handled nine minor public bills and a few private relief measures. None of these bills even remotely resembled an issue. The money involved in the public bills was a mere $102,000.

At this session of the Eighty-first Congress—only this session—the committee has reported 25 public bills. A dozen of them lie at the heart of foreign policy. Nine have involved strenuous floor fights. Eleven were of such consequence or controversy as to require special rules—the parliamentary device for giving exigent measures priority.

The sharpest illustration pertains to money. The total of authorizations in committee bills so far this session is $7,391,760,598. Dollarwise, the job of public policy in the committee has multiplied by 145,000 in 15 years, comparing this session with a whole Congress of 1933–34.

And consider the matter of variety. In general, the bills before this committee have only one common quality—their relation to foreign affairs. They may differ completely in substance. The committee must study a question of an en bloc settlement of international claims or legal immunity of international organizations as if it were the Judiciary Committee. It must study a question of power development on an international river as if it were the Committee on Public Works. It must study military assistance as if it were the Armed Services Committee. And so on through a list in its way almost as diverse as the legislative task of the entire House.

No let-up is in sight. The issue of the International Trade Organization—a tremendous one—must lie over to the next session. The so-called point IV legislation will have to wait. These two measures alone constitute enough unfinished business for a whole session. But they are not all. The European Recovery Program must come up again next spring. So must military assistance. Aid to China will be back. Perhaps also aid to Korea. And a dozen or more issues whose importances we call secondary only because the importance of others is so vast.

This huge job falls on a committee of 25. Fourteen are Democrats and eleven Republicans. Twenty-three are men, and two are women. The average age is 50, but the oldest among them was 45 when the youngest was born. On an average they are in their fourth term in Congress, but the oldest was here 24 years before the newest arrived. Eleven are lawyers, three are doctors. Two have had careers on stage and screen. The list includes teachers, local government officials, a minister, a public relations man, a sociologist, and an engineer. Nine come from the Northeast, eight from the Midwest, five from the South, and three from the Far West.

They are a heterogeneous group. They cannot resolve their will by fiat. There is no question of rubber-stamping. Even if they were willing (which they aren't) there would be no percentage in it. Most of them would not fight for legislation that was not a product of their own work. A bill which the committee sends to the floor must reflect its own will and be in a fundamental sense its own creation if the committee is to stand up for it.

If the mechanism is overloaded by trying to do too much too soon, the result is division and subdivision such as in the military assistance issue. Yet adequate deliberation and creation in every legislative task in the foreign affairs field impose demands in time and intellectual diversification quite beyond anything in legislative experience.

A year ago a report of the committee noted: "The responsibility for the purse as it relates to foreign policy cannot be separated from the roots and substance of foreign policy." That means full legislative participation in the making of foreign policy. How to make that work is a central constitutional problem of our day.

Statements and Addresses of September

Adrian S. Fisher, Legal Adviser--	On the subject of the problems in advancement of human rights. Not printed. Text issued as press release 667 of September 2.	Address made before the California Ba Assocation at San Francisco, Calif on September 2.
Ambassador Paul C. Daniels------	On the subject of intellectual cooperation in the Americas. Not printed. Text issued as press release 680 of September 8.	Address made before the Internationa Congress of Americanists, at Columbi University, New York, N.Y., on Sep tember 8.

J.S. Delegations to International Conferences

EC Reactor Safeguard Committee Visits U.K.

Released to the press by AEC August 31]

The Reactor Safeguard Committee of the tomic Energy Commission will represent the nited States at a three-nation conference on re-ctor safeguards and related subjects to be held in e United Kingdom from September 5–10, 1949. he conference will include classified discussions nd inspections under the existing Technical Co-peration Program of the United States, United ingdom, and Canada, which was established rly in 1948 and does not include weapons infor-ation.

Evaluation of the potential hazards of reactors one of the primary considerations in the loca-on and design of reactors, and each of the three ations has carried on extensive research into rious phases of the problem. Among the topics be discussed will be environmental and meteor-ogical studies connected with the treatment of dioactive wastes, studies of biological tolerances radiation of plants, animals, and human beings, nd the significance to reactor hazards of mal-nction of reactor structure or controls, acci-ental error of operations, sabotage, and other tion.

Members of the U.S. AEC Reactor Safeguard ommittee planning to attend this meeting are:

. Edward Teller, chairman, Institute of Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
. Manson Benedict, Hydrocarbon Research, Inc., New York
. Joseph W. Kennedy, Department of Chemistry, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
. Abel Wolman, Department of Sanitary Engineering, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
. John A. Wheeler, Palmer Physical Laboratory, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

In addition to the members of the Committee e following United States representatives also an to attend:

Dr. Frederic de Hoffman, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Los Alamos, New Mexico
Commander James M. Dunford, USN, Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM

The Technical Cooperation Program is carried out under the general direction of the Combined Policy Committee, which also reviews those problems of raw-materials supply common to the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada. The Combined Policy Committee was established early in the period of wartime development in August 1943, by the three governments to provide broad direction to the atomic project as between the countries.

Members of the Combined Policy Committee are:

For the United States

Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State
Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense
David E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

For the United Kingdom

Sir Oliver S. Franks, Ambassador from the United Kingdom
Sir Frederick K. Hoyer Millar, Minister of the British Ministry

For Canada

C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce

With the passage of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the wartime cooperation between the three governments had to be adapted not only to considerations of foreign policy and national defense but also in the light of the responsibilities fixed by Congress upon the Commission.

As was stated by the President in his public statement of July 28, 1949, "In January, 1948, the three governments agreed upon a *modus vivendi* which provided for cooperation among the three

countries involving exchange of scientific and technical information in certain defined areas and collaboration on matters of raw material supply of common concern."[1]

The general framework thus provided has been utilized to develop technical consultations on certain specified topics, which have from time to time included visits by scientists and technicians of each country to the other two.

Tripartite Discussions on Atomic Energy

[*Released to the press September 20*]

As was announced on September 15, 1949,[2] the Combined Policy Committee met today to begin exploration of certain basic questions underlying the determination of future relationships between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada in the field of atomic energy. Since 1943, the Committee has been the tripartite body responsible for the direction of Anglo-American-Canadian cooperation in this field. Participants in the talks include:

The United States

Under Secretary of State, James E. Webb, for the Secretary of State
Deputy to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy Matters, William Webster, for the Secretary of Defense
Commissioner Sumner Pike, Acting Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission

The United Kingdom

The British Ambassador, Sir Oliver S. Franks
The British Minister, Sir Derick Hoyer-Millar

Canada

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, C. D. Howe

During the talks, which are expected to continue for some time, the members will be assisted by their respective scientific, military, and political advisers.

As President Truman indicated in his statement of July 28, no agreements or commitments will be involved in the talks.[3] The meetings will furnish the opportunity for a full exchange of views, which will be of value to the President and the Congress in determining how to meet the problems involved.

Achievements of Telecommunications Revision Meeting

The Department of State announced on September 23 that in his official report submitted recently to the Secretary of State, Wayne Coy, Chairmar of the Federal Communications Commission, de scribed the accomplishments of the Conference fo the Revision of the 1945 Bermuda Telecommunica tions Agreement of 1945, held at London, Augus 8–12, 1949, at which Mr. Coy served as chairmar of the United States delegation.

New ceiling rates for telegrams between th United States and countries of the British Com monwealth (excepting Canada) were recom mended. Rates between the countries of th British Commonwealth are not affected by thes recommendations. In addition to the establish ment of new telegraph ceiling rates, the represen tatives of the United States and commonwealt governments recommended general condition which should govern the retention of existin radiotelegraph circuits between their respectiv countries and the establishment of new or addi tional circuits.

The Bermuda agreement of 1945 was signed b representatives of eight countries—Australia Canada, India, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Conference held las month was convened at the request of the Unite States. It was believed that since the 1945 agree ment has been in force, increases in wages an operational practices have altered the basis fo the rate features of the agreement. Because o these changes and the changes which will be ef fected as a result of the decisions of the Interna tional Telegraph and Telephone Conference, hel at Paris this summer, the parties to the Bermud agreement decided to meet again to revise the rat aspects of the agreement. In addition to the rep resentatives of the original eight signatory gov ernments, representatives of Ceylon and Pakista attended the London meeting.

The delegations of the countries at the Londo conference will recommend to their respective gov ernments that the revised agreement be accepte and brought into force not later than December 1949. Under the original agreement the ceilin rate per ordinary full rate word is 30 cents, an the new ceiling would be 40 cents; the present cei ing per word for code telegrams is 20 cents, an the new ceiling would be 26⅔ cents; and the pres ent ceiling rate per ordinary press word is 6 cents, whereas the new ceiling would be 10 cent The Conference recommended that if any part to the agreement found it necessary to fix a ra in excess of the ceiling rate, this could be don upon 90 days' notice to the other parties. It wa made clear that the ceiling rates recommended fo the various categories of telegraphic service did no constitute the rates to be charged the public usin these services: these would be within the ceilin rates.

The Conference also recommended that the e sential factors to be taken into account in th retention of existing direct radiotelegraph circui

[1] BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 185.
[2] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 472.
[3] BULLETIN of Aug. 8, 1949, p. 185.

· in the establishment of any new or additional rcuits between two countries is a matter involving judgment on its merits by the governments of ɔth countries concerned, and that conditions, ırticularly economic conditions and the require-ents of the users, at both ends of a proposed cir-ıit, should be fully considered in each case.

ɛchnical Tripartite Conference ı Safety in Coal Mines of the ILO

The Secretary of State announced on Septem-r 6 that three delegates representing respectively e government, employers, and workers of the nited States have been named upon the recom-ɜndation of the Secretary of Labor to attend the ɛchnical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Coal ines of the International Labor Organization. ıe meeting is scheduled to be held at Geneva, ɜptember 12–24, 1949. The delegates are as llows:

VERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

orge W. Grove, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior

IPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES

rry A. Leidich, Safety Engineer, Philadelphia Reading Coal and Iron Company, Pottsville, Pennsylvania

ɔRKERS' REPRESENTATIVES

arles F. Davis, Director of Safety, United Mine Work-ers of America, Washington, D.C.

The purpose of the Conference is to discuss and opt a draft model code of safety regulations for derground work in coal mines. The draft code s been prepared by committees of experts in col-ɔoration with the International Labor Office.

enty-sixth International Union Meeting Venereal Disease

The Department of State announced on Septem-· 12 that William A. Brumfield, M. D., first ɔuty commissioner of health of New York State, l William F. Snow, M. D., of the American cial Hygiene Association, New York City, will ɔresent the United States Government at the ɜenty-sixth General Assembly of the Inter-ional Union Against Venereal Disease. The eting is scheduled to be held in Rome, Septem-· 12–16, 1949.

The objectives of the Assembly are (1) to facili-e legal, sanitary, and moral measures designed control venereal disease and (2) to coordinate programs of national and international so-ties for combating the disease. The twenty-fifth Assembly was held at Copenhagen last September.

ILO: Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians

The Department of State announced on September 22 that Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, has been appointed delegate to represent the United States Government at the Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Loring Wood, economist, Special Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to France, has been named adviser to the government delegate. The meeting is scheduled to convene at Geneva on September 26. All member governments of the ILO have been invited to send representatives.

The primary concern of the Conference will be the standardization of statistics on classification of occupations, productivity of labor, data of earnings, and records of accidents and occupational diseases. The sixth conference of this series was held at Montreal in August 1947.

Austrian Treaty Conversations To Resume

[*Released to the press September 19*]

[Editor's Note: Because of the delay in the arrival of the French deputy, Marcel Berthelot, the treaty conversations will not resume before Sept. 23. The discussions will be a continuation of the conference in London which was suspended on Sept. 1. After nearly 2½ years of negotiations, there are still nine treaty articles on which the deputies are disagreed. The disputed articles deal chiefly with the former German holdings in Austria and what is to be done with them.]

The Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and the United States called together on September 18 upon the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, to present notes amplifying the communiqué issued in Washington on September 15 by Secretary of State Acheson, Foreign Minister Bevin, and Foreign Minister Schuman, on the matter of the treaty with Austria.[1] During the course of the conversation, the outstanding points of difference were outlined.

The Acting Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union accepted on behalf of his government the proposal already made for the resumption of the meetings of the deputies on the Austrian treaty convening on September 22 in New York; and assured the three Ambassadors that the Soviet Deputy would participate.

[1] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 468.

Calendar of Meetings[1]

Adjourned during September		1949
Council of Foreign Ministers:		
Deputies for Austria	London	June 30–Sept. 2
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Congress on Problems of Illiteracy and Adult Education.	Rio de Janeiro	July 27–Sept. 3
International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature	New York City	Aug. 22–Sept. 1
Executive Board: 17th Session	Paris	Sept. 3–16
Tenth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art	Venice	Aug. 11–Sept. 1
Izmir International Fair	Izmir, Turkey	Aug. 20–Sept. 20
Conference on Plant and Animal Nutrition in Relation to Soil and Climatic Factors.	Canberra	Aug. 22–Sept. 15
FAO Technical Meeting on Agricultural Extension	Turrialba, Costa Rica	Aug. 23–Sept. 2
United Nations:		
Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources.	Lake Success	Aug. 17–Sept. 6
Conference on Road and Motor Transport	Geneva	Aug. 23–Sept. 19
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Subcommission on Statistical Sampling	Lake Success	Sept. 15–
International Association for Research in Income and Wealth	Cambridge, England	Aug. 27–Sept. 3
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Permanent Agricultural Committee: Third Session	Geneva	Sept. 1–10
Technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in Coal Mines	Geneva	Sept. 12–24
Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	Sept. 2–17
International Statistical Institute: 26th Session	Bern	Sept. 3–10
Budapest International Fair	Budapest	Sept. 3–18
Fourth International Congress on Neurology	Paris	Sept. 5–10
29th International Congress of Americanists	New York City	Sept. 5–12
International Union of Chemistry: 15th General Conference	Amsterdam	Sept. 6–10
XVII International Navigation Congress	Lisbon	Sept. 10–
Vienna International Fair	Vienna	Sept. 11–18
Pan American Institute of Geography and History: First Consultation of Commission on Geography.	Rio de Janeiro	Sept. 12–
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–16
International Monetary Fund: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 13–16
International Council of Scientific Unions: General Assembly	Copenhagen	Sept. 14–16

In Session as of October 1, 1949[2]		
United Nations:		
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Lausanne	Jan. 17–
General Assembly: Fourth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 20–
Permanent Central Opium Board: 54th Session	Geneva	Sept. 26–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region I Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Meeting of the Technical Plan Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Second Session	Geneva	Aug. 1–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: Eighth Session	Montreal	Sept. 6–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference	Montreal	Sept. 13–

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.
[2] Meetings in session which were convened prior to Jan. 1, 1949, are not included.

In Session as of October 1, 1949—Continued		**1949**
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–
Marseilles International Fair	Marseilles	Sept. 25–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians	Geneva	Sept. 26–
Scheduled October 1 to December 31, 1949		
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
ECAFE–FAO Joint Meeting	Singapore	Oct. 1–3
ECAFE Meeting of Inland Transport Experts	Singapore	Oct. 5–10
ECAFE Meeting of Standing Committee on Industry and Trade.	Singapore	Oct. 10–17
ECAFE: Fifth Session	Singapore	Oct. 20–29
Social Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	November or December
Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body: 33rd Session	Geneva	Oct. 5–
Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission to West Africa	Cameroons and Togoland	Nov. 1–
FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization):		
Meeting on Livestock Breeding in the Tropics and Subtropics	Cairo	Oct. 3–
Far East Conference on Cooperatives	Lucknow, India	Oct. 23–
Joint Committee with WHO on Nutrition	Geneva	Oct. 31–
Timber Committee (FAO–ECE)	Geneva	October
Meeting of Specialists on Adjusting Livestock Feeding Practices to Current Feed Supplies.	France or Switzerland	October
Joint Committee with WHO on Nutrition	Geneva	October
Council: Seventh Session	Washington	Nov. 14–
Annual Conference: Fifth Session	Washington	Nov. 21–
Committee on Unexploited Forests	Habana	November
Meeting of Technical Committee on Physiological Requirements of Calories and Nutrients.	Washington	November
Pan American Sanitary Organization:		
Eighth Meeting of Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 3–5
Third Meeting of the Directing Council	Lima	Oct. 6–12
Ninth Meeting of Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 13–15
United Kingdom and Dominions Official Medical Histories Liaison Committee: Third Meeting.	Canberra	Oct. 3–8
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea	Edinburgh	Oct. 3–11
IRO (International Refugee Organization):		
Executive Committee: Sixth Session	Geneva	Oct. 6–10
General Council: Fourth Session	Geneva	Oct. 11–
International Criminal Police Commission: General Assembly	Bern	Oct. 10–15
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Advisory Committee on Cooperation: First Session	Geneva	Oct. 17–
Advisory Committee on Salaried and Professional Workers: First Session.	Geneva	Oct. 24–29
Officers of the Committee of Social Security Experts	Geneva	Oct. 26–28
Tripartite Conference on Rhine Navigation	Geneva	Oct. 31–
Industrial Committee on Metal Trades: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 8–19
Industrial Committee on Iron and Steel: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 22– Dec. 3
ILO Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment: First Session.	Geneva	Dec. 5–6
Governing Body: 110th Session	Mysore, India	Dec. 29–
Twelfth International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy.	Mexico City	Oct. 23–29
South Pacific Commission: Fourth Session	Nouméa	Oct. 29–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization): Air Routes and Ground Aids Division Meeting: Fourth Session.	Montreal	Nov. 1–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Seminar on Rural and Adult Education	New Delhi	Nov. 2–Dec. 14
International Congress of Zootechny	Paris	Nov. 3–10
Committee on the 1950 Census of the Americas: Third Session	Bogotá	Nov. 7–
Third Inter-American Congress on Radiology	Santiago	Nov. 11–17
Inter-American Statistical Institute: Second Session	Bogotá	Nov. 14–26
Postal Union of the Americas and Spain: Sixth Congress	Lima	Nov. 15–
Regional Conference of Latin American Science Experts	Lima	Nov. 23–30
Seventh Pan American Congress of Architects	Habana	Dec. 4–10
Tenth International Ornithological Congress	Washington	Dec. 16–18
Caribbean Commission: Ninth Meeting	St. Thomas, V. I.	December
Port-au-Prince Bicentennial Exposition	Port-au-Prince	December

Western Germany Begins New Phase of Self-Government

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

[*Released to the press September 21*]

Today marks the beginning of a new phase in the occupation of Germany. Having freely elected a Parliament and selected a President and a Cabinet under the terms of the Basic Law drafted at Bonn and ratified by the German states, the people of two-thirds of Germany are regaining today a large measure of self-government under the Occupation Statute and the Allied High Commission. It is our regret that not all the German people are free to join in the reestablishment of their self-government. It is through no wish or act of ours that the Germans in the Eastern zone are not yet able to play a role in the new Germany which is about to emerge. The door is open to them, however, and we expect that the day will come when they will be able to enter on truly democratic terms.

The new state of affairs in Germany will present a challenge equally to the Germans and to the United States and the other occupation powers. For us it means we have entered that delicate stage in which we relinquish our close grasp of the administration of government and content ourselves for the most part with observing events and giving advice, encouragement, and economic support. In a limited sphere, of course, we retain direct control, and sufficient power is reserved to safeguard the chief purposes of the occupation. We are fully prepared to use that power, if need be, because we are resolved to prevent a return to power of the Nazis. But we are likewise resolved to use our power sparingly and with restraint and to proceed toward the reestablishment of a normal situation as rapidly as possible. In this tremendous task of reintegrating Germany into the family of democratic nations, success is dependent upon sympathetic cooperation and support from the American people.

The speed with which a return to normality can be achieved will depend largely on the German people themselves. This is why we say that the Germans face a challenge and an opportunity in the new state of affairs. The challenge is to rehabilitate themselves as a nation and to show by their acts that they merit the confidence we are reposing in them. The opportunity is for them to play that constructive role in the development of the new Europe which their talents, their position and their resources should enable them to play. Through the painstaking labors of the occupation powers during the past 4 years, during which the American contribution has been of great importance, a solid economic and political foundation has been laid in the Western zones. It is for the Germans themselves now to build a solid superstructure.

We in the United States wish the German people success in their endeavors to achieve this goal.

Federal Republic of Germany Established

Effective September 21, 1949, the Allied High Commissioners in Germany have been formally advised of the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and have proclaimed that the Occupation Statute is now in force.

Under the terms of Executive Order No. 10063 dated June 6, 1949, "The United States High Commissioner for Germany, hereinafter referred to as the High Commissioner, shall be the supreme United States authority in Germany. The High Commissioner shall have the authority, under the immediate supervision of the Secretary of State (subject, however, to consultation with and ultimate direction by the President), to exercise all of the governmental functions of the United States in Germany (other than the command of troops), including representation of the United States on the Allied High Commission for Germany and the exercise of appropriate functions of a Chief of Mission within the meaning of the Foreign Service Act of 1946."

By the same Executive Order, the United States High Commissioner for Germany was designated also as "the United States Military Governor with all the powers thereof including those vested in the United States Military Governor under all international agreements" until such time as the Mil

ary Government of the United States zone of Ger-
nany shall have been terminated. Effective Sep-
ember 21, 1949, the Military Government of the
Jnited States zone of Germany was terminated.
Therefore, by virtue of these events, the United
States High Commissioner for Germany no longer
xercises the role of the United States Military
Governor.

The role of the United States High Commis-
ioner for Germany as the ECA representative for
ermany is outlined in Executive Order No. 10063,
ated June 13, 1949, as follows:

1. During his tenure of office as United States High
ommissioner for Germany, Mr. John J. McCloy, under
e immediate supervision of the Administrator for Eco-
mic Cooperation and the coordination of the United
ates Special Representative for Europe (subject, how-
er, to consultation with and ultimate direction by the
resident), shall be the representative of the said Ad-
inistrator and the said Special Representative in all
eir relations and actions with respect to Germany.
2. Mr. McCloy, in performing the duties set forth in par-
raph one hereof, shall be assisted by a Chief of Special
ission who shall be appointed by the Administrator for
conomic Cooperation and who shall be acceptable to Mr.
cCloy. The Chief of Special Mission shall have the rank
Minister and shall act under the immediate supervision
d direction of Mr. McCloy.

The United States High Commissioner for Ger-
any is the Honorable John J. McCloy. The
ritish High Commissioner for Germany is Gen-
al Sir Brian Robertson. The French High Com-
issioner for Germany is His Excellency André
ancois-Poncet.

MGUS Terminated and Office of S. High Commissioner Established

Effective September 21, 1949, the Military Gov-
ment of the United States zone of Germany
MGUS) was terminated and the United States
gh Commissioner for Germany (HICOG), un-
the immediate direction of the Secretary of
te, was authorized to exercise all of the govern-
ntal functions of the United States in Germany,
ept the command of troops. The Office of the
ited States Political Adviser (USPOLAD) has
n combined with the Office of the United States
gh Commissioner for Germany. The terms
POLAD and OMGUS are no longer applicable.
The term HICOG has been established as the
bol for the Office of the United States High
mmissioner for Germany. The HICOG head-
rters are located in Frankfort on the Main,
many.

Volume on Germany and Czechoslovakia, 1937–1938 Released

[*Released to the press September 21*]

The Department of State released today the publication in English translation of the second volume in the collection entitled *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*.

The collection contains documents from the captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry, the Reich Chancellery, and other agencies of the former German Government. The publication of the documents, which is under the joint sponsorship of the American, British, and French Governments, is being edited by scholars who have been directed by their governments to make an impartial and scholarly selection of all documents essential for an understanding of German foreign policy.

The volume released today, which is the second of a group dealing with the immediate origins of World War II, is entitled *Germany and Czechoslovakia, 1937–1938*. It includes the most important German documents on German-Czechoslovak relations between October 1937 and September 1938. They deal with such subjects as the Sudeten German Party's demand, first for Sudeten autonomy and later for inclusion in the Reich, the alarm caused in Czechoslovakia by the German annexation of Austria, the Sudeten leader Konrad Henlein's Karlsbad demands of April 1938 and the week-end crisis of May 1938, when Europe appeared to be on the brink of war. There are documents on the mission of Lord Runciman and on British Prime Minister Chamberlain's dramatic offer of September 13, 1938, to fly to Germany to meet Hitler at Berchtesgaden and Godesberg. The events leading to President Roosevelt's two appeals to the Führer are documented here, and the volume concludes with memoranda of the conferences held at Munich, the texts of the agreements reached there, and the Anglo-German Declaration of September 30, signed by Hitler and Chamberlain, in which they referred to the desire of their two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

An earlier volume dealt with the Austrian crisis and German relations with the European great powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Japan in the same period. The third volume, on the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939, is now being prepared. Succeeding volumes now in course of preparation will carry the story, as told by the German documents, through the outbreak of war in September 1939 and into World War II.

A British edition of the first two volumes will appear shortly. A French translation of some of the documents will appear later this year. Because of the mechanical difficulties of printing in Germany, the publication of the German originals,

planned to coincide with the appearance of the English translation, will be delayed several months.

The three participating governments have agreed that, when publication has been completed of documents dealing with a topic or period, the relevant microfilms of unpublished as well as published documents will be made available for research by scholars. Accordingly, microfilms on the topics covered in the volume published today will shortly be placed in the National Archives.

The American editor-in-chief during the preparation of the volume released today was Dr. Raymond J. Sontag, who has since returned to the University of California at Berkeley, from which he was on leave. He has been succeeded by Dr. Bernadotte E. Schmitt. General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and Professor Maurice Baumont continue as editors-in-chief for Great Britain and France respectively.

This volume is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for $3.25.

Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania Accused of New Breach of Treaty Obligations

[*Released to the press September 19*]

The United States Government replied on September 19, 1949, to the notes of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in which the three countries refused the United States request to join in the establishment of commissions, under peace treaty procedure, with a view to reaching a settlement of the disputes which have arisen over violation by those countries of the human rights clauses of the respective peace treaties.[1] The United States notes of September 19 were delivered by the American Legations at Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, respectively. The text of the United States note to Rumania, which is substantially the same as that of the notes to Bulgaria and Hungary, follows:

"The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Rumania and has the honor, acting on instructions from the United States Government, to refer to the Legation's note of August 1, 1949, and to the reply of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated September 2, 1949, concerning the establishment of a Commission for the resolution of the dispute which has arisen with respect to the interpretation and execution of Article 3 of the Treaty of Peace.

"The United States Government considers that the Rumanian Government has no grounds for declaring unilaterally that a dispute over Rumania's execution of Article 3 of the Peace Treaty does not exist. Since the interpretation placed by the United States Government on the acts of the Rumanian Government with reference to the latter's treaty obligations respecting human rights and freedoms does not correspond with the interpretation advanced by the Rumanian Government the existence of a dispute is self-evident. In the view of the United States Government, refusal by the Rumanian Government to comply with the provisions of Article 38 of the Treaty of Peace relating to the establishment of a Commission to reach a decision on that dispute, constitutes a serious new breach of treaty obligations.

"The excuse made by the Rumanian Government in its note of September 2, 1949, that its actions which have been called into question by the United States Government have been taken in execution of Rumania's obligations under Article 5 of the Treaty is a flimsy pretext that will not stand examination in the light of the systematic suppression of human rights and freedoms in Rumania. It is patently not the intent of Article 5 that its provisions should be utilized by the Rumanian Government as a cloak for the elimination of all opposition to the totalitarian rule of a minority or for the denial of fundamental freedoms specified in Article 3. The United States Government does not acquiesce in the Rumanian Government's arrogation to itself of the exclusive right to judge its own actions in relation to Peace Treaty obligations. It is clear, moreover, that Article 38 of the Treaty of Peace would be without meaning and purpose if the Rumanian Government were the sole arbiter of the execution of international obligations under the Treaty.

"As regards the intimation of the Rumanian Government that its sovereignty is impugned by the action of the United States Government in invoking the Treaty of Peace, it is manifest that

[1] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 456.

he sovereignty of Rumania is limited by Ru-
ania's clear international obligations. The mat-
ers dealt with in Article 3 and Article 38 of the
'eace Treaty impose international obligations on
umania. Accordingly, the invocation by the
'nited States, a signatory of the Treaty of Peace,
f specific treaty procedures for the settlement of
dispute involving Rumania's execution of its
eaty obligations can in no sense be regarded as
nwarranted intervention in the internal affairs of
umania.

"Continued refusal by the Rumanian Govern-
ent to join in the establishment of a Commission
r the resolution of the existing dispute—a pro-
dure expressly stipulated by Article 38 of the
eace Treaty—can only be regarded by the United
tates Government as a further deliberate viola-
on of international obligations and as demonstra-
ve of a lack of good faith on the part of the
umanian Government. In these circumstances,
e Legation is instructed to inform the Rumanian
overnment that its recalcitrant attitude in this
atter can in no way affect the determination of
e United States Government to have recourse to
l appropriate measures for securing the compli-
ce by the Rumanian Government with its obli-
tions under Article 3 of the Peace Treaty
specting human rights and the fundamental
eedoms and under Article 38 respecting the pro-
dure for dealing with disputes arising over the
terpretation and execution of the Treaty of
eace."

hinese "Tiger Air Force" Not Related American "Flying Tigers"

atement by the American Consulate General at ipei, Taiwan (Formosa)

eleased to the press September 19]

Information has reached the American consulate
neral that the name "Tiger Air Force Squadron"
s been used by certain Chinese Air Force planes
raids on Shanghai. In this connection the Con-
ate General wishes to point out that the Chinese
r Force planes using such designation have no
ation to the former American volunteer group,
nerally known as the "Flying Tigers," which
ght the Japanese. No armed forces personnel
the United States are in Taiwan except a few
aché personnel with diplomatic status, nor has
United States any military bases on Taiwan.

Cantonese Authorities Assure Safety of U.S. Vessel Embarking Americans

[*Released to the press September 20*]

The Department of State has instructed the American consulate general at Shanghai to notify American citizens there that arrangements have been made for a call at Shanghai of the S.S. *General Gordon*, American President Lines vessel. The ship, which is calling at Shanghai for the purpose of embarking Americans and other foreigners, is expected to arrive at Shanghai on September 23 and depart on September 25. The office of the American Embassy, on behalf of the American President Lines, has obtained assurances from the National authorities in Canton that the vessel will not be molested on the voyage to and from Shanghai and while in that port. The agent of the American President Lines in Shanghai has been in contact with the local authorities in Shanghai and has obtained permission for the safe entry and exit of the *General Gordon* for the purpose named.

U.S. Recognizes New Syrian Government

[*Released to the press September 20*]

The United States Government has today recognized the Syrian Government established on August 14, 1949, under the Premiership of His Excellency Hashim al-Atassi. The text of the note signifying recognition which was sent by the American Legation in Damascus to the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs follows:

"Pursuant to instructions from the United States Government, the Legation of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the note from the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated August 16, 1949, informing it of the establishment of a new Syrian Government under the Premiership of His Excellency Hashim al-Atassi.

"The United States Government relies upon the assurances given to it by the Syrian Government that Syria intends to honor its international obligations, and trusts that the friendly relations between our two nations will be continued. The promulgation on September 11, 1949, of a new electoral law reflecting the Syrian Government's intention to hold elections and form a constitutional government has also been noted.

"The Legation takes this occasion to assure the Ministry of its highest consideration."

Amendments to Immigration Act Opposed

Released to the press September 19

Text of a letter sent by the Secretary of State to Senator McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Senate Bill S. 1832

July 15, 1949

My dear Senator McCarran: The Department has noted with interest the Judiciary Committee's consideration of the bill, S. 1832, "To amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918, as amended." In view of the serious effects that this bill, if enacted, would have on the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States, the Department desires to make its position thereon known to the Committee, and, accordingly, takes this opportunity to offer its comments.

Under existing law, the President has broad authority in time of war or during the existence of other specified contingencies, by virtue of the Act of May 22, 1918, as amended by the Act of June 20, 1941 (42 Stat. 559; 55 Stat. 252; 22 U.S.C. 223–226), relating to the "interests of the United States," to exclude dangerous aliens. In addition, the Act of June 20, 1941 (55 Stat. 252; 22 U.S.C. 228) gives American diplomatic or consular officers authority at any time to refuse visas to aliens who they know or have reason to believe are coming to the United States to engage in activities which will endanger the public safety. By the Act of May 25, 1948 (62 Stat. 268), amending the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended (40 Stat. 1012; 41 Stat. 1008; 54 Stat. 673; 8 U.S.C. 137), relating to the exclusion of anarchists and persons of similar classes, the Attorney General was given broad authority to exclude aliens who he "knows or has reason to believe, seek to enter the United States for the purpose of engaging in activities which will endanger the public safety of the United States". Moreover, although under the United Nations Headquarters Agreement the United States pledged itself to a considerable degree of liberality in the admission of aliens coming on official business to the Headquarters District of the United Nations, section 6 of the joint resolution ratifying the agreement reserves to the United States the right to "safeguard its own security and completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territo of the United States other than the headquarte district and its immediate vicinity". This res vation may be implemented under existing law invoking the Public Safety Act and the May 1948 amendment to the Act of October 16, 19 referred to above. Furthermore, except for p sons having diplomatic privileges and subject recall as *personae non gratae*, the great majori of individuals admitted under the Headquarte Agreement are subject to prosecution under o criminal statutes, including those which penali activities similar to those proscribed by S. 18 such as the provisions of Sections 793 and 794 Title 18 of the United States Code, relating to t gathering and transmittal of defense informati

S. 1832 appears to be directed at further p tecting the security of the United States, an obj tive with which the Department is, of course, complete accord. It proposes to further ame the Act of October 16, 1918 so as to create th new classes of aliens (enumerated below) w may not be granted visas or admitted into t United States. No exception is provided si the Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Provisos to Secti 3 of the Act of February 5, 1917 are express made inapplicable to persons in these categori

(1) Section 3 (a) provides that no visa or oth travel document shall be issued to any alien w the "issuing officer knows, or has reason to belie seeks to enter the United States for the purpose a purpose of (1) obtaining or transmitting i formation, not available to the public general respecting the national security".

From the point of view of the conduct of forei relations, the Department is concerned with t extent to which such a provision would exclu foreign diplomatic, consular and other official p sonnel, members of delegations to and the staffs international organizations, foreign journalis and some persons coming to the United States f legitimate purposes of business, study, traini or research under public or private auspices. T language of Section 3 (a) (1) is so broad that consular officer would be bound to conclude, at le in some instances, that aliens in the category en

erated above, if only because of the nature of eir professions, were excludable thereunder.

(2) Section 3 (a) (2) would deny visas to per-ns seeking to enter for the purpose of "engaging any activity a purpose of which is the control overthrow of the Government of the United ates by force or violence . . ." If, as it is widely lieved, Communism embraces the doctrine of a orld-wide conspiracy to bring about a world dic-orship of the proletariat by the overthrow of n-communist governments, by force, if neces-y, a visa issuing officer would seem to be fully stified in concluding that members of foreign nmunist parties or those affiliated therewith, rticularly if they occupy official positions with nmunist governments, might engage in some ac-ity which has as its ultimate purpose the over-ow of this Government by force or violence.

(3) Section 3 (a) (3) precludes the issuance of as to persons who seek to enter the United States the purpose of "organizing, aiding in any man-whatsoever, joining, associating with, or par-ipating in the activities of any association, so-ty, or group, which shall be publicly designated the Attorney General, as provided in subsection of this section, as subversive to the national urity." As there might well be reason to be-ve that any alien communist coming to this ntry would have contacts with some proscribed ups, such as the Communist Party of the ited States, this clause appears susceptible of ng construed to require the exclusion of all mmunists, and possibly other aliens coming in iplomatic or consular capacity or in connection h the activities of international organizations.

ections 3 (c) and 3 (d) of the Bill require the orney General to deport all aliens who have r been members of any of the classes rendered ludable by Section 3 (a). Needless to say, such action by the Attorney General, in so as it affected officials of foreign governments international organization aliens would seri-ly disrupt the conduct of our foreign relations the fulfillment of our international obliga-ns. The vesting in the Attorney General of lusive determination of deportability under the without the prior approval of any other offi-would appear to be inconsistent with our gation under the United Nations Headquarters eement, which provides for certain procedures for consultation with the Secretary General r to deportation. In addition, it would mark arp departure from the requirements of exist-law that no foreign government official or in-ational organization alien be deported without approval of the Secretary of State.

ection 4 (b) provides that "the provisions of Seventh, Ninth and Tenth Provisos to Section the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, mended (39 Stat. 875; 8 U.S.C. 136), clauses (1) and (7) of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended (43 Stat. 154; 47 Stat. 607; 54 Stat. 711; 59 Stat. 672; 8 U.S.C. 203), and of any other statute or authority permitting the admission of aliens to the United States shall have no application to cases falling within the purview of Section 3 (c) of this Act." The Department is not concerned with the Seventh Proviso. However, it believes that the elimination of the Ninth Proviso, which gives the Attorney General discretion to admit an otherwise inadmissible alien, would weaken the position of this Government in the conduct of foreign relations, in as much as the admission temporarily of inadmissible aliens for legitimate purposes of business, study training or research has frequently been found to be in the best interest of the United States, from a foreign policy standpoint. The elimination of the Tenth Proviso, which excepts foreign government officials from the excluding provisions of the immigration laws, would virtually result in a break of diplomatic relations, at least with all communist dominated countries, and perhaps with others as well. It would also impair the activities and functions of the United Nations and might even render impossible the maintenance of its headquarters in the United States.

Section 5 of the Bill gives the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, with the approval of the Attorney General, authority to "prescribe all rules and regulations deemed necessary in aid of the administration and enforcement of this Act". Since the law relates to the issuance of visas by consular officers, who are under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State, all regulations regarding visas should have the approval of the Secretary of State. This proposal is departure from estalished procedure, and violates the principle that the agency administering a law (in this case the Department of State) should have the primary responsibiitly for making regulations.

The Department fully realizes that it is not the intention of the proponents of the bill to impair the conduct of foreign relations. However, it appears from an analysis of the bill that its primary effect would be to drastically interfere with such conduct as well as with the fulfillment of our international commitments, without resulting in any commensurate increase in protection to the national security. This government is firmly dedicated to the principles of the United Nations and to a policy of peaceful cooperation with governments of other countries. At the same time it must be realized that there is a degree of potential danger to our national security in the admission to this country of aliens who are antagonistic to our form of government and active in the promotion of their own. Nevertheless, the Department is of the opinion that, in considering the desirability of enacting legislation of this character, serious consideration should be given to the extent to which the security of the United States

is dependent upon the success of the United Nations and an effective United States foreign policy. It is believed that it is from this perspective that we should measure the danger to our national security from the presence in this country of any politically undesirable aliens who cannot be excluded under existing law but whose exclusion might be made possible by the enactment of S. 1832.

In view of the adverse effect which it may have on United States foreign relations, as indicated herein, the Department must oppose the enactment of S. 1832.

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that enactment of the proposed legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON

Double Taxation Conventions With Ireland Signed

[*Released to the press September 16*]

According to information received by the Department of State from the American Legation in Dublin, two tax conventions between the United States and Ireland were signed in Dublin on September 13, 1949. The two conventions relate to the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion, one of them dealing with taxes on income and the other dealing with taxes on estates of deceased persons.

The conventions with Ireland contain provisions substantially similar to provisions in tax conventions now in force between the United States and certain other countries, namely, Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, and provisions in tax conventions which have been entered into with a number of other countries but which are pending in the United States Senate and have not entered into force. In general, the conventions with Ireland, like those which have been made with other countries, are designed to eliminate double taxation with respect to the same income or with respect to the same estate, this being accomplished either by means of a specific exemption from taxation in one of the countries or by means of a credit allowed by one of the countries for taxes paid to the other country.

Both of the conventions provide for ratification and for the exchange of instruments of ratification. The income-tax convention will become e fective, so far as United States tax is concerne for taxable years beginning on or after Januar 1 of the calendar year in which the exchange instruments of ratification takes place, and, far as Irish tax is concerned, according to the fo lowing formula: (1) as to Irish income tax, f the year of assessment beginning on April 6 the calendar year in which the exchange tak place, and subsequent years; (2) as to Irish su tax, for the year of assessment beginning on Apr 6 immediately preceding the calendar year which the exchange takes place, and subseque years; and (3) as to Irish corporation profi tax, for any chargeable accounting period begi ning on or after April 1 in the calendar ye in which the exchange takes place and for t unexpired portion of any chargeable accountin period current at that date. The estate-tax co vention will become effective on the date of t exchange of instruments of ratification, but effe tive only as to (*a*) the estates of persons dying or after such date, and (*b*) the estate of any pe son dying before such date and after the last d of the calendar year immediately preceding su date whose personal representative elects, in su manner as may be prescribed, that the provisio of the convention shall be applied to such estat

Authentic copies of the texts of the conventio are not yet available for distribution.

UNESCO in Foreign Policy—*continued from page 498*

have referred. UNESCO's job is to mobilize, foster, and to encourage the great sentiment f friendship and for peace and for international u derstanding that exists among peoples everywhe

I am certain that such an underlying sentime exists behind the Iron Curtain as well as on t side. Many have had the experience, of sayin in regard to a given country: "I perhaps don't li that country very much, but when I get out in the country and talk to the peasants or the farm and so forth, I find he is really a very fine fello He doesn't want war."

I am sure that if by any good fortune a pr nouncement could be broadcast throughout t world tomorrow that peace had been guarante for a thousand years, an immediate, simultaneo shout of joy would rise from every farmer in Ka sas, every steel worker in Britain, every shephe in Pakistan, and from peoples behind the Ir Curtain too. There is a genuine sentiment amo all people to get along together. UNESCO's ta is to encourage cooperative action and to make so strong that it will prevail.

The American Government is dedicated to t fullest support of UNESCO in accomplishing a mo difficult, yet supremely important and vital ta

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

ichard P. Butrick Appointed Director eneral of the Foreign Service

Richard P. Butrick, recently United States Minister Iceland, has arrived in Washington to assume newly ssigned duties as Director General of the Foreign Serv-e, effective September 7, 1949. Announcement of his rrival was made on September 16 by John E. Peurifoy, eputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. r. Butrick is replacing Christian M. Ravndal, newly ppointed United States Ambassador to Uruguay, who resented his credentials at Montevideo this week.

Mr. Butrick was appointed Minister to Iceland in ebruary of 1948. At the capital, Reykjavik, he also rved as Chief of the Special Mission of the Economic ooperation Administration. On departure from Reyk-vik Mr. Butrick was commended for his services by dministrator Paul Hoffman and Special Representative verell Harriman.

In his new duties, Director General Butrick will serve staff adviser to Deputy Under Secretary Peurifoy on atters pertaining to the Foreign Service.

onfirmations

On August 31, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomina-on of Ellis O. Briggs to be American Ambassador xtraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Czechoslovakia, and athaniel P. Davis to be American Envoy Extraordinary nd Minister Plenipotentiary to Hungary.

onsular Offices

The American Consulate at Dacca, Pakistan, was pened to the public, effective August 29, 1949.

The office at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, was raised to the nk of Consulate General, effective September 7, 1949.

The American Consulate at Tihwa, China, was closed the public on August 16, 1949.

CONGRESS

egislation

Overseas Administration. Federal-State Relations. ederal Research. Letter from the Chairman, Commis-on on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Gov-nment transmitting its report on Federal-State Rela-ons, and separately, in typescript, Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4 the Task Force Report in this field. H. Doc. 140, 81st ong., 1st sess. 50 pp.

Federal Business Enterprises. Letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government transmitting its report on Federal business enterprises, and, separately, the Task Force reports on revolving funds, as appendix J; on water resources projects, as appendix K; and on lending agencies, as appendix R. H. Doc. 152, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 129 pp.

Estimates of Appropriation for Expenses of the European Recovery Program. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting estimates of appropriation for the period April 3, 1949, through June 30, 1950, in the total amount of $5,272,200,000, for expenses of the European Recovery Program. H. Doc. 167, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 3 pp.

Amending the War Claims Act of 1948. H. Rept. 496, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 3 pp.

Payment of Compensation to the Swiss Government. H. Rept. 502, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

Economic Assistance to the Republic of Korea. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a recommendation that the Congress authorize the continuation of economic assistance to the Republic of Korea for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950. H. Doc. 212, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 4 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriation for the Fiscal Year 1949 and Prior Fiscal Years. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriation for the fiscal year 1949, in the amount of $55,422,354.44, together with certain proposed provisions pertaining to existing appropriations. H. Doc. 217, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 8 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriation for the Fiscal Year 1950 and Prior Fiscal Years. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriation for the fiscal year 1950, in the amount of $92,175,407, together with certain proposed provisions and increases in limitations pertaining to existing appropriations. H. Doc. 218, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 19 pp.

Increasing Rates of Compensation of the Heads and Assistant Heads of Executive Departments and Independent Agencies. H. Rept. 535, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 106 pp.

Further Contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund. H. Rept. 569, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 7 pp. Part 2, 10 pp.

Amending the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. H. Rept. 581, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 50 pp.

Providing the Privilege of Becoming a Naturalized Citizen of the United States to all Immigrants Having a Legal Right to Permanent Residence. H. Rept. 634, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 4 pp.

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ISA WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Eliot B. Coulter

It is generally considered under international that permission to enter a country is a privi- e granted to an alien as distinguished from a ht to which he is inherently entitled. The ited States Government under its general sover- n and constitutional powers, has enacted nu- rous laws relating to the entry and departure aliens.

Under the laws of the United States, jurisdic- n in immigration matters is vested in the De- tment of State and its officers abroad over ns before they arrive in the United States. is jurisdiction is exercised in general through issuance or refusal by consular officers abroad visas which are permits to apply for admission port of entry to the United States. In gen- l, the Department of Justice and the officers of Immigration and Naturalization Service have sdiction over aliens after they arrive in the ted States.

n general, consular officers and officers in diplo- ic missions are responsible for making findings act under the law in visa cases, for evaluating facts and for reaching conclusions of law re- ng to the qualification of applicants for visas. Department has supervisory responsibility issuing regulations and for seeing that officers onsular offices and missions properly discharge r responsibilities under the law and for in- cting them, when occasion arises, regarding law and questions pertaining to uniform visa edure and standard practice.

riefly, the Visa Division has the function of nulating and coordinating policy and action in all matters pertaining to (*a*) alien visa control; (*b*) the issuance of exit permits; (*c*) the control of immigration quotas; and (*d*) collaboration with other divisions of the Department and other agencies of the Government concerning the control of travel of aliens to and from the United States.

Aliens Required by Law To Have Visas or Other Documentation

Section 30 of the "Alien Registration Act, 1940" provides in part that:

> Any alien seeking to enter the United States who does not present a visa (except in emergency cases defined by the Secretary of State), a reentry permit, or a border crossing identification card shall be excluded from admission to the United States.

Under the foregoing provision of law, visa requirements may be waived in individual cases arising at a port of entry involving an emergency, as in the case of a nonimmigrant arriving without a transit visa or a returning resident alien arriving without a visa or reentry permit, provided justifiable reasons of an emergency character exist for his failure to obtain such documentation. A number of general emergency waivers of nonimmigrant documentation have been granted. For example, a waiver exists for Canadian citizens and British subjects domiciled in Canada who enter the United States temporarily for a brief period. This waiver is in effect because of the great volume of travel across the Canadian border with which available consular visa facilities are unable to deal adequately, thus constituting an emergency. The

general waivers granted for nonimmigrants are covered in the Visa Regulations, which are published in the *Federal Register* from time to time and are subsequently incorporated in Title 22 of the *Code of Federal Regulations.*

GENERAL PROCEDURE

In general, aliens are required to obtain visas or other specified documentation from American diplomatic or consular officers abroad and to present such documentation when they apply to the immigration authorities at a port of entry in the United States for permission to enter for such period and under such conditions as the Immigration and Naturalization Service may impose under the applicable immigration laws and regulations.

ADVANTAGE OF VISA DOCUMENTATION

The visa documentation required by law is helpful to the United States Government by reducing detention costs at ports of entry, by providing an orderly procedure for determining the classification of an alien and his qualifications under the immigration laws and by providing suitable security screening before he comes to the United States. It is also helpful to the alien himself since the possession of a visa facilitates examination and possible admission at the port of entry. The refusal of a visa to an unqualified applicant obviates a useless journey to a port of entry in the United States and the expense, hardship, and embarrassment incident to such a trip.

Classification of Aliens

All aliens coming to the United States are classified under the provisions of section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, as "immigrants" unless they come within an excepted category of "nonimmigrants" specified in that section.

NONIMMIGRANTS

The categories of nonimmigrants enumerated in section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, are briefly as follows:

(1) government official, his family, servants and employees;

(2) tourist or visitor for business or pleasure;

(3) transit alien passing through the United States;

(4) an alien lawfully in the United States who goes in transit from one part of the United Stat to another through foreign contiguous territor

(5) seaman (or airman) entering the Unit States in pursuit of his calling;

(6) treaty alien entering the United Stat solely to carry on trade between the United Stat and the country of which he is a national und the provisions of a treaty of commerce and na gation and his wife and his unmarried childr under 21 years of age;

(7) representative of a foreign government or to, or an officer or employee of, an internatio organization designated by executive order purs ant to the International Organization Immuniti Act and the family, attendants, servants and e ployees of such representative, officer or employ

Visa Documentation of Nonimmigrants

A diplomatic visa is granted to a diplomatic consular officer of a foreign country or to a p son coming within a limited category of indivi uals specified in the diplomatic visa regulatio Such a visa is granted to the alien as a nonimm grant under section 3 (1), 3 (3) or 3 (7) of t Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, if the al is coming to the United States on official busin for his government, or as a nonimmigrant unc section 3 (2) of the act if he is coming to t United States for personal reasons.

An official visa is granted to an official of foreign government (other than a person entitl to a diplomatic visa) as a nonimmigrant unc section 3 (1) of the act if coming to the Unit States on official business for his government as a nonimmigrant under section 3 (2) or 3 (3) the act if he is coming to the United States personal reasons.

A passport visa is granted to a tourist or tem rary visitor as a nonimmigrant under section 3 of the act; to a transit alien as a nonimmigra under section 3 (3) of the act; to a treaty alien a nonimmigrant under section 3 (6) of the act; a to an international-organization official as a n immigrant under section 3 (7) of the act.

A limited entry certificate is granted to an al seeking to enter the United States as a tourist or a temporary visitor for a period not exceeding days, with the intention of departing through port of arrival, as in the case of a through p senger on a vessel, landing temporarily for sig seeing purposes while the vessel is in port.

A nonresident alien's border-crossing identifica-
n card is issued to a Canadian citizen or British
ject domiciled in Canada or to a Mexican citizen
o has occasion to make frequent visits to the
ited States not to exceed 29 days each, as in the
e of persons residing in border communities.

A transit certificate is issued to an alien seeking
enter the United States on a single occasion in
tinuous transit to a foreign destination.

A crew list visa is granted on a crew list to cover
alien members of the crew of a vessel or air-
ft, seeking to enter the United States solely in
suit of their calling.

cedure To Be Followed
Nonimmigrant Visa Applicant

An alien desiring to come to the United States
a nonimmigrant may apply to the American
sular officer in the district where the applicant
esiding for a suitable visa or other documen-
on. The burden of establishing admissibility
laced by section 23 of the Immigration Act of
4 upon the alien. An alien is therefore re-
red to show by appropriate evidence that he
es within the nonimmigrant category claimed
him, that he intends and will be able to proceed
ome country other than the United States upon
termination of the temporary period for which
immigration authorities may admit him, and
t he holds valid documentation which will
ble him to enter the country to which he intends
roceed after departing from the United States.
applicant must also show that financial pro-
on has been made to cover the expenses of his
rney and return abroad.

nporary Employment
he United States

An alien may not accept employment while in
United States as a temporary visitor unless
mission has been obtained from the immigra-
n authorities. He may not obtain a visa for the
pose of accepting temporary employment un-
he establishes that he is a person of outstanding
inction in his line of work and is coming to
emporary position calling for ability of such
inction.

nestic Servants

An alien seeking to enter the United States as a domestic servant is generally regarded as an immigrant but may be granted a nonimmigrant visa when coming to the United States under section 3 (1) of the Immigration Act of 1924 as a servant in the household of a foreign-government official, or under section 3 (7) of the Act as a servant in the household of an international-organization official, or under section 3 (2) of the Act as a visitor when accompanying an employer who is coming to the United States on a temporary visit, provided the servant will depart from the United States with or before his employer.

Students and Trainees

Students and trainees under a recognized training program may accept employment after permission in each case has been obtained from the immigration authorities.

Exchange Visitors

Under the provisions of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, an existing United States agency or reputable institution, public or private, may file application on Form DSP–37 with the Department of State for designation of a program under its sponsorship as an "Exchange Visitor Program." If the application is approved, a serial number is assigned to the program and the American consular offices concerned and the Immigration and Naturalization Service are notified. An exchange visitor under a designated program, whether a student, trainee, teacher, guest instructor, professor, or leader in a field of specialized knowledge or skill, may then apply to a consular officer for a visitor's visa under section 3 (2) of the Immigration Act of 1924.

Passports

A nonimmigrant alien is generally required to present a passport issued by the government of the country to which he owes allegiance and which is valid for at least 60 days beyond the expiration of the period for which he seeks entry. If a passport is not obtainable, as in the case of a "stateless" person, he may present a travel document in lieu of a passport, or if such document is not obtainable, any other travel document in lieu thereof, which is valid for entry into a foreign country after a stay in the United States.

Validity of Passport Visa

Diplomatic, official, and ordinary passport visas are generally granted to be valid for use in applying to the immigration authorities at a port of entry in the United States on one or more occasions during a period of 12 months from the date of issuance, provided that the alien's passport or other travel document continues to be valid for such period; but the visa may under certain circumstances be limited to use for one entry. On a reciprocal basis, visitors' passport visas may be made valid for use during 24 months from the date of issuance if the country of which the alien is a national grants a similar privilege to American citizens.

The period of validity of a visa does not relate to the length of an alien's stay in the United States. This stay is determined in the first instance by the immigration authorities at the time of arrival. Application for an extension of temporary stay may be made to the immigration authorities, usually in the district of the alien's residence.

Revalidation of Visas

Under certain conditions, a visitor's visa may be revalidated by the office of issuance for use in making an application for admission during a further period.

Registration and Fingerprinting

Section 30 of the "Alien Registration Act, 1940" provides, in part, that "No visa shall hereafter be issued to any alien seeking to enter the United States unless said alien has been registered and fingerprinted in duplicate . . ." Section 32 of the Act provides, in part, that "No foreign government official, or member of his family, shall be required to be registered or fingerprinted . . ." The same exemption is granted to international-organization officials and the members of their families. Section 31 of the act provides, in part, that "It shall be the duty of every alien now or hereafter in the United States, who (1) is fourteen years of age or older, (2) has not been registered or fingerprinted under section 30, and (3) remains in the United States for thirty days or longer, to apply for registration and to be fingerprinted before the expiration of such thirty days . . ."

Under the above requirements, all visa applicants other than foreign government officials, international-organization officials, and the membe of their families are required to be registered an fingerprinted in connection with their individu visa applications. Applicants for transit certi cates, limited entry certificates, alien's nonreside border-crossing cards, and aliens included in co lective or crew list visas, as seamen or airmen, a not required to be registered and fingerprinte prior to entry but are subject to such requireme if they remain in the United States for 30 day

Refusal of Nonimmigrant Visas

A consular officer may refuse nonimmigra documentation in any one of the following case

1) if the alien fails to establish nonimmigra status;

2) if the alien is coming to the United Stat for the purpose of engaging in activities whi will endanger the public safety;

3) if the alien's entry would be prejudicial the public interest, under the wartime regulation

4) if the alien's entry is forbidden by the A of October 16, 1918, as amended; (This act relat to Communists or other aliens who advocate who are members of organizations which belie in the overthrow of the Government of the Unit States by force or violence or are or have ev been members of organizations which so advocate

5) if the alien has been deported or remov from the United States and permission has n been granted to him to reapply for admission.

If an alien is not subject to refusal of a visa one of the above grounds but is believed to inadmissible into the United States under sectio 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, amended, as for example, an alien who is illitera or has an excluding medical, mental, moral, physical defect, the consul may grant a visa a warn the alien and advise the transportation li that he appears to be inadmissible into the Unit States and may be excluded at a port of ent unless authorization for temporary entry has be granted by the Attorney General.

The Attorney General has discretionary autho ity under the ninth proviso to section 3 of the a of February 5, 1917, as amended, to admit, te porarily, an excludable alien if he arrives at port of entry seeking temporary admission. the Attorney General, upon the petition of interested person, authorizes the temporary ent of an alien, as in the case of an alien afflicted wi

berculosis who desires to come to the United ates for treatment, the Department of State is vised and in turn notifies the consul who, if isfied that the alien is a *bona fide* nonimmigrant, y grant a visa.

MIGRANTS

The categories of "nonquota" immigrants which e exempt from the numerical restrictions of the ota and are enumerated in section 4 of the Imgration Act of 1924, as amended, are briefly as lows:

(*a*) member of immediate family of United ates citizen wife, husband by marriage prior to n. 1, 1948, and unmarried minor child of a ited States citizen; (A petition on Form I–133 st be filed by the citizen with the Commissioner Immigration and Naturalization in these es.)

(*b*) returning resident alien previously law-ly admitted to the United States for permanent idence, returning from a temporary visit road;

(*c*) native of Western Hemisphere country, en born in Canada, the Canal Zone, or an indeident country of the Western Hemisphere; his fe and unmarried children under 18 years of e;

(*d*) minister or professor who has carried on vocation for two years immediately preceding application and who is coming to the United ates solely for the purpose of carrying on his cation.

(*e*) student (Although classified as an "immiint," a student at least 15 years of age may be mitted into the United States for a temporary iod only for the purpose of study at an educanal institution approved by the Attorney Genl.)

(*f*) former United States citizen woman who her citizenship by reason of her marriage to alien or the loss of United States citizenship her husband or by marriage to an alien and idence in a foreign country.

Other special categories of aliens not subject to numerical restrictions of the quota are briefly follows:

(1) alien born in Puerto Rico, Guam, American moa, or the Virgin Islands;

(2) certain Spanish Nationals Returning to erto Rico; (Act of May 26, 1926, 44 Stat. 657)

(3) certain former United States citizens who served in the armed forces of a foreign state;

(4) Philippine citizens coming within the provisions of section 231 of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946.

Preference Quota Immigrants

Section 6 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, provides that within the immigration quota preference status shall be accorded, as follows:

First preference, up to 50 percent of the quota to

(*a*) members of family of United States citizen husband by marriage on or after Jan. 1, 1948, and parents of a citizen who is 21 years of age or over; (A petition on Form I–133 must be filed by the citizen with the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in these cases.)

(*b*) skilled agriculturists in quotas of 300 or over;

(2) Second preference, within the quota, after providing for the first preference, to

(*a*) member of immediate family of lawful resident alien wife and unmarried minor child but not the husband;

(3) Within the Chinese racial quota and the Indian quota, preference up to 75 percent is granted to persons born and residing in China and India, respectively.

Nonpreference Quota Immigrants

Quota immigrants who are not classified by law as "preference quota immigrants" are "nonpreference quota immigrants." Any quota numbers remained after first and second preference quota demands have been satisfied are available for qualified nonpreference applicants in the order of their priority. Priority among nonpreference quota immigrants is granted by regulation as follows:

(1) First priority

(*a*) alien member of United States Armed Forces, alien who served honorably in the United States Armed Forces between Sept. 1, 1939, and Dec. 31, 1946;

(*b*) certain relatives of United States veteran citizens who served honorably in the United States Armed Forces between Sept. 1, 1939, and Dec. 31, 1946; (Widow, parents, un-

married minor child, and unmarried minor stepchildren.)

(*c*) Seamen who served honorably for at least 1 year on vessels of countries of the United Nations engaged in sailing to and from ports of the United States during the period Sept. 1, 1939 and Dec. 31, 1946, such persons not having voluntarily abandoned such service so long as they were not physically incapacitated for such service and provided that the seamen filed a registration form at a consular office on or before Dec. 31, 1947.

(*d*) Aliens recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff as persons whose admission is highly desirable in the national interest.

(2) Second priority

(*a*) Aliens who filed BC Form of preliminary visa applications with the Department of State between July 1, 1941 and June 30, 1945, under the wartime visa review procedure, provided that the alien informed a consular officer prior to Dec. 31, 1948, that he desired to immigrate into the United States.

(3) Nonpriority nonpreference quota immigrants are those not entitled to first or second priority.

Procedure To Be Followed by Intending Immigrants

Aliens desiring to obtain immigration visas may apply to the immigration-visa-issuing consular office of the United States nearest to their place of foreign residence. In the case of an alien chargeable to an oversubscribed quota, application should first be made for registration on the waiting list of the appropriate quota. The applicant must then wait until his turn is reached and he is called by the consul to make formal application for a visa.

Documents To Be Submitted

Under the provisions of section 7 (*c*) of the Immigration Act of 1924 the applicant, when requested by the consul, must present a valid passport or travel document in lieu thereof, two copies of his birth certificate, police certificate, prison record if any, and of all other public records concerning him kept by the government to which the alien owes allegiance, as may be required by the consul, if the documents are "available." If the documents are not "available," which means obtainable or procurable by the exercise of reaso able effort and diligence, the consul may requi some other suitable and available documentati in lieu thereof.

The applicant may also be required by the co sul to present any other documents necessary f the determination of the facts in his case, such evidence of his assurance of support, marria certificate, or divorce decree.

Applicants May Not Be Granted Visas Out of Turn

Applicants may not be granted immigrati visas out of their proper turn within the respecti categories, since such action would amount to t granting of unauthorized preference.

Removal of Name of Intending Immigrant From Quota Waiting List

The registration of a quota immigrant is ca celled, and his name is removed from the waiti list in the following cases:

(1) if the registrant dies or abandons his i tention to immigrate;

(2) if the registrant enters the United Stat unlawfully or in a temporary status, except in t latter case when he enters the United Stat as a nonimmigrant under one of the followi categories:

(*a*) government official under section 3 (of the "Immigration Act of 1924";

(*b*) temporary visitor under section 3 (of the act if he is engaged in a business profession which by its inherent nature r quires him to enter the United States;

(*c*) seaman or airman under section 3 (of the act in pursuit of his calling;

(*d*) treaty alien under section 3 (6) of t act;

(*e*) international-organization official u der section 3 (7) of the act.

An alien who finds it necessary to come to t United States as a nonimmigrant in transit as a visitor for urgent reasons and who establish the facts of the urgency to the consular offic and is granted such documentation and who name has been removed from the waiting li may, upon prompt departure after the termin tion of the emergency, apply to the consul f reinstatement of his name on the waiting list und the original registration date.

termination of the Quotas

Section 11 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as ıended, provides that the annual immigration ota of any nationality shall be a number which ırs the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of ıabitants in continental United States in 1920 ving that national origin whose birth or an- try is attributable to a particular geographical a bears to the number of inhabitants in conti- ıtal United States in 1920, but that the mini- ım of any quota shall be 100. This ratio is own as the national-origin basis for determining quotas. A Presidential proclamation is re- red to establish new quotas after changes in litical boundaries have occurred and are recog- ed by the United States. (A list of the present migration quotas is given in the appendix.)

TA NATIONALITY

Section 12 (*a*) of the Immigration Act of 1924 vides that (quota) nationality shall be deter- ıed by the country of birth, treating as sepa- e countries the colonies, dependencies, or f-governing dominions, for which separate ımeration was made in the United States census 1890, except that:

(*a*) a child under 21 years of age shall be rged to the quota of the native country of the ompanying parent or of the father when both ents accompany the child, regardless of the ntry of the child's birth unless the child was n in a nonquota country. A minor child desir- to accompany a parent who is entitled to non- ta or preference status may be charged to the ta for the country of the child's birth rather n to that of the parent's birth if such action l enable the child to accompany the parent;

(*b*) a wife may be charged to the quota of her band if the monthly quota to which she would inarily be chargeable is exhausted, provided is accompanying him, he is entitled to an immi- tion visa, and the monthly quota to which he hargeable is not exhausted;

(*c*) an immigrant born in the United States has lost his United States citizenship shall be sidered as having been born in the country of ch he is a citizen or subject, or if he is not a zen or subject of any country, then in the coun- from which he comes, which means the country ıis residence or domicile.

ın alien husband who is a lawful permanent resident of the United States may go abroad in order to confer upon his wife and his minor children the benefits of his quota nationality if they are to accompany him to the United States.

An alien has the burden of establishing facts which will enable a consular officer to determine his correct quota classification.

An alien of the Chinese race, regardless of the country of birth is chargeable, if a quota immigrant, to the Chinese racial quota.

An alien of a race indigenous to India, if a quota immigrant, is chargeable to the quota for India, regardless of the country of birth. The Chinese wife of an American citizen, however, a returning resident alien as defined in section 4 (*b*) of the Immigrant Act of 1924, a Chinese or Indian minister or professor as defined in section 4 (*d*) of the act, or a Chinese or Indian student as defined in section 4 (*e*) of the act, is entitled to nonquota status.

The term "Chinese person" signifies any person who has as much as one-half Chinese blood and who is eligible to naturalization under section 303 of the Nationality Act of 1940. The term "persons of races indigenous to India" means any person who has as much as one-half of the blood of a race indigenous to India and who is eligible to naturalization under section 303 of the Nationality Act of 1940.

The act also provides that any quota immigrant who is of one-half Chinese blood and one-half the blood of a race indigenous to India shall, if born in India, be chargeable to the quota for India; if born in China, to the quota for the Chinese, or if born in neither of these countries, to whichever of the quotas has the least applications for visas against it at the time the application for a visa is made.

MONTHLY LIMITATION ON THE ISSUANCE OF QUOTA IMMIGRATION VISAS

Section 11 (*f*) of the Immigration Act of 1924 provides that there shall be issued not more than 10 percent of the immigration visas issuable under any quota of 300 or more in any calendar month.

ALLOTMENT OF QUOTA NUMBERS

Consular officers throughout the world report to the Department quarterly the number of qualified applicants under the various quotas according to the dates of registration, without giving the names, except in preference cases. These re-

ports furnish information on the total number of qualified applicants under the various quotas throughout the world. As quota numbers become available, they are allotted to consuls for the issuance of visas to qualified applicants who registered prior to a basic date applicable to all consular offices. Therefore, in effect, quota immigration visas are issued on a world-wide priority basis and applicants having the same registration date at any office are considered at the same time.

Refusal of Immigration Visas

Section 2 (*f*) of the Immigration Act of 1924 provides that:

> No immigration visa shall be issued to an immigrant if it appears to the consular officer, from statements in the application, or in the papers submitted therewith, that the immigrant is inadmissible to the United States under the immigration laws, nor shall such immigration visa be issued if the application fails to comply with the provisions of the Act, nor shall such immigration visa be issued if the consular officer knows, or has reason to believe, that the immigrant is inadmissible to the United States under the immigration laws.

GROUNDS OF INADMISSIBILITY

The immigration laws (particularly section 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended) list various categories of excludable aliens, including the following:

(1) mentally defective aliens; (Insane persons, idiots.)

(2) paupers and vagrants;

(3) diseased persons; (Persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease.)

(4) mentally or physically defective aliens, the physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of the alien to earn a living;

(5) aliens who have been deported from the United States or those who have departed to avoid or evade training or service in the armed forces of the United States;

(6) aliens who applied for exemption from military service in the armed forces of the United States;

(7) criminals; (Persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed, a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude.)

(8) polygamists;

(9) anarchists, Communists and other polit cally undesirable aliens; (Aliens who at any tim shall be or have been a member of any of the class excluded under this category, regardless of the present classification.)

(10) prostitutes and procurers;

(11) contract laborers; (Persons induced, a sisted, encouraged, or solicited to migrate by offe or promises of employment. The contract labo clause applies to persons coming to accept emplo ment predominantly involving manual labor.)

(12) public charges; (Persons likely to becom public charges.)

(13) persons deported, unless authorizatio shall have been granted for them to reapply fo admission;

(14) persons financially assisted; (Perso whose ticket or passage is paid for with the mone of another unless it is affirmatively shown that th persons do not belong to any of the foregoing ex cluded classes and persons whose ticket or passag is paid for by a corporation, association, societ municipality, or foreign government.)

(15) stowaways;

(16) children unaccompanied, not coming one or both parents; (Such persons may be a mitted in the discretion of the Attorney Gener if in his opinion the child is not likely to becom a public charge.)

(17) natives of the Asiatic Barred Zone, exce where permitted under special legislation;

(18) illiterates; (Except as indicated in th act in the case of certain relatives of persons in th United States.)

(19) aliens applying for admission from fo eign contiguous territory; (Unless the line whic brought them to such territory entered into ce tain agreements with the immigration authoriti or unless the aliens have lived in such territory fo 2 years.)

(20) aliens removed from the United States the expense of the United States; (Unless permi sion to reapply for admission is granted to the by the Attorney General and the Secretary State.)

(21) aliens ineligible to citizenship; (But suc persons may apply as nonimmigrants, or as retur ing resident aliens under sec. 4 (*b*) of the Imm gration Act of 1924, or as ministers or professo under sec. 4 (*d*), or as students under sec. 4 (*e*) the act.)

(22) aliens whose entry would be contrary

public safety or prejudicial to the public in-
est.

visos

ENTH PROVISO TO SECTION 3
OF FEBRUARY 5, 1917, AS AMENDED

Under the seventh proviso, the Attorney Gen-
l may admit an excludable alien who is re-
ning after a temporary absence to an unrelin-
shed domicile of seven consecutive years in the
ited States.

TH PROVISO TO SECTION 3
OF 1917, AS AMENDED

Under the ninth proviso the Attorney General
authority to prescribe regulations to admit
excludable alien temporarily.

TH PROVISO TO SECTION 3
OF 1917, AS AMENDED

Under the tenth proviso accredited officials of
eign governments, their families, suites, and
sts are exempt from the excluding provisions
he act. This exemption does not apply to offi-
s entering the United States for personal rea-
s. The benefits of this proviso have been ex-
ded to international-organization officials.

time Regulations

Wartime regulations governing the entry and
arture of aliens have been issued under the au-
ity of the Presidential Proclamation No. 2523
November 14, 1941, issued under statutory
ority of the Act of May 22, 1918, as amended
he Act of June 21, 1941. In general, these reg-
ions provide for the exclusion of aliens whose
y into the United States would be prejudicial
he public interest. The regulations also pro-
for denial of permission to depart from the
ted States in certain cases.

N SPOUSES AND ALIEN
OR CHILDREN OF CITIZEN MEMBERS
HE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

he Act of December 28, 1945, authorized for
riod of three years the admission without doc-
nts of the alien spouses and minor children of
en members of the United States Armed
ces. The act exempted the aliens from ex-
ion as physically or mentally defective aliens
s aliens ineligible to citizenship. The act ex-
d on December 28, 1948.

FIANCÉES OR FIANCÉS OF MEMBERS
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES

The Act of June 29, 1946, as amended, authorized the issuance of visitors visas to the alien fiancées or fiancés of members of the armed forces of the United States, provided the alien was not subject to exclusion from the United States under the immigration laws and that a bond was furnished to cover the cost of deporting the alien if the marriage should not take place within three months after the date of the entry. The act was extended and amended by the Act of April 21, 1949. As amended, the act provided that the fiancé or fiancée should not be racially ineligible to citizenship, should arrive in the United States on or before September 21, 1949, should be destined to the United States citizen whom she or he personally met before the issuance of the visa and who served honorably in the armed forces of the United States during World War II, and should be otherwise admissible under the immigration laws. The act expired on September 21, 1949.

Aliens in the United States

An alien who is in the United States and who entered illegally may not file a registration form at an American consular office.

An alien chargeable to an oversubscribed quota may not spend his waiting time for an immigration visa in the United States and may not, therefore, have his priority determined by a date earlier than his last departure from the United States. This provision applies except when an alien who entered the United States lawfully as a nonimmigrant prior to September 10, 1946, and who has remained in the United States and was permitted to register at an American consular office prior to July 1, 1949. If such alien subsequent to September 10, 1946, proceeded abroad on an urgent and brief visit and reentered the United States as a nonimmigrant, his last entry is considered to be the date on which he last entered the United States prior to September 10, 1946.

An alien in the United States who is the beneficiary of a petition for first preference status as the parent or husband of an American citizen may not have his first preference priority antedate his departure from the United States unless he comes within one of the excepted classes of aliens whose names may be retained on a waiting list while in the United States.

Displaced Persons

The Displaced Persons Act of June 25, 1948, superseded the previous displaced persons program based on the President's directive of December 22, 1945, and his directive of October 31, 1946.

The Displaced Persons Act provides for the establishment of a Displaced Persons Commission and authorizes the issuance of immigration visas to 205,000 displaced persons during the period from July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1950, and for the adjustment of status of a maximum of 15,000 displaced persons in the United States. The act also provides for the use of one-half of the German and Austrian quotas during the period indicated for the issuance of immigration visas to certain persons of German ethnic origin.

ELIGIBLE DISPLACED PERSONS

(*a*) Two hundred thousand displaced persons who are eligible under the International Refugee Organization Constitution, who entered Germany, Austria, or Italy between September 1, 1939, and December 22, 1945, and who on January 1, 1948, were in Italy or in the American, British, or French zones of Germany or Austria; or sectors of Berlin or Vienna, or who having resided in Germany or Austria, were detained or had to flee as a result of persecution by the Nazi Government and were on January 1, 1948, in Germany or Austria and who have not been firmly resettled. Visas issued to these persons will be charged to the quota for the countries of their birth up to 50 percent of the current quotas. Up to 50 percent of the quotas for future years may be used as needed.

(*b*) Two thousand natives of Czechoslovakia who fled that country since January 1, 1948, as a direct result of persecution or fear of persecution and who on June 25, 1948, were in Italy or the American, British, or French zones of Germany or Austria, or sectors of Berlin or Vienna. Visas issued to these persons will also be charged to the quota of the country of their birth as indicated in (*a*) above.

(*c*) Three thousand displaced orphans, under the age of 16 at the time of application for a visa, to be issued nonquota immigration visas, who on or before June 25, 1948, were in Italy or in the American, British, or French zones of Germany or Austria or sectors of Berlin or Vienna.

The spouse and unmarried dependent children under 21 years of age of an eligible displaced person may also be qualified as eligible displac persons.

CONDITIONS TO BE MET BY DISPLACED PERSONS

Applicants for visas as displaced persons m qualify under the immigration laws except for t provisions of the Immigration Act of February 1917, relating to the exclusion of persons who contract laborers and persons whose transpor tion is paid by another person or by any corpo tion, society, or foreign government. They also exempt from head tax and visa fees.

Assurance must be given to the Displaced P sons Commission that the displaced person will suitably employed without displacing some ot person from employment, that he and the memb of his family accompanying him will not beco public charges, and that they will have safe sanitary housing without displacing some ot person from such housing.

NUMERICAL RESTRICTIONS, PREFERENCES AND PRIORITIES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

(1) Not less than 40 percent of the visas sh be available exclusively to eligible displaced p sons whose place of origin or country of national has been *de facto* annexed by a foreign pow (This group includes nationals or natives of Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

(2) Within the quota, preference is to be gi to the following categories:

(*a*) first, persons previously engaged agricultural pursuits who will be employed the United States in agricultural pursuits their wives and unmarried children under years of age; (It is provided that not than 30 percent of the visas issued under act shall be "made available exclusively" such persons.)

(*b*) second, persons who are househo construction, clothing and garment work and other workers needed in the locality the United States in which they propose reside; and persons possessing special edu tional, scientific technological, or professio qualifications.

(*c*) third, persons who are the blood r tives of citizens or permanent resident ali within the third degree of consanguinity cording to the rules of the common law.

(3) Within the preference groups priority in issuance of visas is to be accorded:

(*a*) first, to persons who during World War II bore arms against the enemies of the United States and are unable or unwilling to return to the country of their nationality because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions;

(*b*) second, to eligible displaced persons who on January 1, 1948, were located in displaced persons camps and centers. Only in exceptional cases may visas be issued to persons located outside of displaced persons camps and centers "upon a showing of special circumstances which would justify such issuance."

CEDURE IN DISPLACED PERSONS CASES

'he Displaced Persons Commission, 815 Conticut Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C., has scribed regulations relating to displaced pers under the act. The Commission is responsifor certifying to the consular officers that an ividual is an eligible displaced person, that general requirements of the act have been met, that the preference and priority stipulations e been met.

'nly after an individual has been formally cerd by the Displaced Persons Commission as a laced person, will a consular officer examine under the general immigration laws, and if alien is found qualified, issue a visa.

ll preliminary inquiries regarding displaced ons, and the furnishing of assurances on their alf should be made to the Displaced Persons mmission.

STMENT OF STATUS OF LACED PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES

he Displaced Persons Act provides for the adment of status to that of permanent resident displaced persons in the United States on il 1, 1948, who entered the United States as immigrants under Section 3 or as nonquota igrant students under section 4 (*e*) of the igration Act of 1924 to the number of 15,000.

UNDS OF INELIGIBILITY ECEIVE VISAS

he Displaced Persons Act provides that the following persons shall be ineligible to receive visas under that act:

(*a*) any person who is, or has been, a member of, or has participated in, any movement which is or has been hostile to the United States or the form of Government of the United States;

(*b*) any person who wilfully makes a misrepresentation for the purpose of gaining admission into the United States as an eligible displaced person.

This applies to displaced persons and to persons of German ethnic origin.

PERSONS OF GERMAN ETHNIC ORIGIN

The Displaced Persons Act provides that between July 1, 1948, and June 30, 1950, 50 percent of the German and Austrian quotas shall be available exclusively to persons of German ethnic origin who were born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, or Yugoslavia and who on June 25, 1948 resided in Germany and Austria. This provision of the Displaced Persons Act is administered solely through the Department of State.

In order to qualify for an immigration visa under the "German ethnic origin" portions of the German and Austrian quotas, the burden of proof shall be upon each applicant to establish that he is not subject to exclusion from the United States under any provision of the immigration laws and to establish the following qualifications as a person of "German ethnic origin" as intended by Congress in enacting the provisions of section 12 of the Displaced Persons Act of June 25, 1948:

1. that he was born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, or Yugoslavia; (The statute specifically requires this as an element of classification.)

2. that he resided in any part of Germany or Austria on June 25, 1948, when the Displaced Persons Act became effective; (This is also a specific statutory requirement.)

3. that he does not come under the jurisdiction of the International Refugee Organization;

4. (*a*) that he is a German expellee, or the accompanying wife or minor child of a German expellee, pursuant to the Potsdam Agreement of August 1, 1945, from Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary, or (*b*) that he is a refugee, or the accompanying wife or minor child of a refugee from

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, or Yugoslavia, or (*c*) a person of Germanic origin born in any of the five countries mentioned, or the accompanying wife or minor child of such a person, who is unable to return in safety to his former home district in Germany.

5. that he is characteristically Germanic, a status which is to be determined upon the basis of the following combination of factors, the presence or absence of any particular one of which will not, in itself, be considered as conclusive, but any combination of which may be considered as providing satisfactory evidence of German ethnic origin:

(*a*) antecedents emigrated from Germany,

(*b*) use of any of the German dialects as the common language of the home or for social communications,

(*c*) resided in the country of birth in an area populated predominantly by persons of Germanic origin or stock who have retained German social characteristics and group homogeneity as distinguished from the surrounding population,

(*d*) evidences common attributes or social characteristics of the Germanic group in which he resided in the country of his birth, such as educational institutions attended, church affiliation, social and political associations, and affiliations, name, business or commercial practices and associations, and secondary languages or dialects.

6. any person who fails to qualify under 1 or 2 is statutorily ineligible to receive an immigration visa under the "German ethnic origin" clause in section 12 of the Displaced Persons Act, but such person may apply in the usual manner for an appropriate immigration visa under the quota of the country of his birth, at such time as his turn is reached on the waiting list, and his priority on such waiting list shall be determined as of the date of his registration for an immigration visa under the "German ethnic origin" program.

APPENDIX

Reciprocal Visa Fee Agreements and Arrangements

List of countries and areas for whose nationals, and in some cases residents, passport visa fees have been reciprocally reduced or waived. Notices of changes in the list appear from time to time in the *Federal Register*, Title 22.

Country or Area	*Fee*
Argentina	Gra
Austria [3 4]	Gra
Bahama Islands [3 4]	Gra
Barbados [3 4]	Gra
Belgium (not including Belgian Congo) [3 4]	Gra
Bermuda [3 4]	Gra
Brazil [1]	Gra
Bulgaria	$2.
Canada [3 4]	Gra
Chile	$1.
China	$2.
Colombia	Gra
Costa Rica	Gra
Cuba [3 4]	Gra
Denmark [3 4]	Gra
Dominican Republic	Gra
Ecuador	Gra
Egypt	$2.
El Salvador [3 4]	Gra
Finland	Gra
France [5]	
3 (2) 12 months	$3.
3 (2) 24 months	$6.
3 (3) 1 journey	$2.
Great Britain [2]	$2.
Greece	Gra
Guatemala	Gra
Guiana (British) [3 4]	Gra
Haiti	Gra
Honduras	Gra
Honduras (British) [3 4]	Gra
Hungary	Gra
Iceland [3]	Gra
India	$2.
Iran	Gra
Iraq	$2.
Ireland [3 4]	Gra
Italy [3 4]	Gra
Jamaica [3 4]	Gra
Leeward Islands, B.W.I. [3 4]	Gra
Liberia [3]	Gra
Liechtenstein [3 4]	Gra
Luxembourg [3 4]	Gra
Mexico	$2.
Miquelon [5]	
3 (2) 12 months	$3.
3 (2) 24 months	$6.
3 (3) 1 journey	$2.
Morocco (French) [3 4]	Gra
Netherlands [3 4]	Gra
Netherlands East Indies	Gra
Netherlands West Indies [3 4]	Gra
New Zealand [3]	$2.
Nicaragua	Gra
Norway [3 4]	Gra
Panama [3]	Gra
Peru	Gra
Siam [3 4]	Gra
St. Pierre [5]	
3 (2) 12 months	$3.
3 (2) 24 months	$6.
3 (3) 1 journey	$2.
Surinam [3 4]	Gra
Sweden [3 4]	Gra
Switzerland [3 4]	Gra
Trinidad [3 4]	Gra
United Kingdom [3 4]	Gra
Venezuela	$2.
Windward Islands, B.W.I. [3 4]	Gra
Yugoslavia	$2.

[1] Reduction applies only to citizens of Brazil domiciled in Brazil.

[2] Reduction applies to all holders of British passports not otherwise exempt from the payment of nonimmigrant passport visa fees.

[3] Passport visas may be granted for an initial period of 24 months only to nonimmigrant aliens who are proceeding to the United States as temporary visitors within the meaning of sec. 3 (2), Immigration Act, 1924, as amended.

[4] Visas are not required for American citizens entering country or area for temporary stay.

[5] French nationals resident in Metropolitan France, Andorra, Alge Morocco, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guiana, Réunion, Tunisia, and Te tory of the Saar, and French members of delegations representing war-vete organizations temporarily visiting the United States will be granted gr nonimmigrant passport visas, and such French nationals who are proceed to the United States as temporary visitors within the meaning of sec. 3 Immigration Act, 1924, may be granted nonimmigrant passport visas v for 24 months. All other French nationals are subject to the prescribed

untries Under Section 3 (6) of the Act of 1924 th Which the United States Has Treaties of mmerce and Navigation

ENTINA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed July 27, 1853; art. II.

LGIUM: Treaty of commerce and navigation, signed Mar. 8, 1875; art. I.

LIVIA: Treaty of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed May 13, 1858; art. III.

NEO: Treaty of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed June 23, 1850; art. II.

INA: Immigration treaty, signed Nov. 17, 1880; art. II.

OMBIA: Treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce, signed with New Granada, Dec. 12, 1846; art. III.

TA RICA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed July 10, 1851; art. II.

NMARK: Convention of friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed Apr. 26, 1826; arts. II and VI.

SALVADOR: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed Feb. 22, 1926; art. I.

ONIA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed Dec. 23, 1925; art. I.

IOPIA: Treaty of commerce, signed June 27, 1914; art. I.

LAND: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed Feb. 13, 1934; art. I.

AT BRITAIN: Convention to regulate commerce and navigation, signed July 3, 1815; art. I.

ECE: Treaty of establishment, signed Nov. 21, 1936; art. I.

NDURAS: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed Dec. 7, 1927; art. I.

LAND (Eire): Convention to regulate commerce and navigation, signed with Great Britain, July 3, 1815.

VIA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed Apr. 20, 1928; art. I.

ERIA: Treaty of commerce and navigation, signed Oct. 21, 1862; art. II.

WAY: Treaty of commerce and navigation, signed with Sweden and Norway July 4, 1827; article I. Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed June 5, 1928, and additional article, signed Feb. 25, 1929; article I, article XXIX, 3d par., and additional art.

AGUAY: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, signed Feb. 4, 1859; art. II.

AND: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular rights, signed June 15, 1931; art. I.

M: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, final protocol, signed Nov. 13, 1937; art. I and art. XVI.

IN: Treaty of friendship and general relations; signed July 3, 1902; art. II.

TZERLAND: Convention of friendship, commerce, and extradition, signed Nov. 25, 1850; art. I.

KEY: Treaty of establishment and sojourn, signed Oct. 28, 1931; preamble and art. I.

OSLAVIA: Treaty of commerce and navigation, signed with Serbia Oct. 2/14, 1881; art. I.

portant Immigration Laws

of February 5, 1917 (39 Stat. 875; 8 U. S. C. 132)

The Immigration Act of 1917, a basic immigration act, lists in sec. 3 many categories of aliens who are excluded from the United States.

of May 26, 1924 (43 Stat. 153; 8 U. S. C. 201)

The Immigration Act of 1924, a basic immigration act, provides for the numerical limitation of immigrants according to quotas for various countries established according to "national origins."

Act of May 22, 1918 (40 Stat. 559; 22 U. S. C. 223; 55 Stat. 252, Act of June 21, 1941)

This act relates to the prevention in time of war of the departure from or entry into the United States of aliens contrary to the public safety.

Act of October 16, 1918 (40 Stat. 1012; 8 U. S. C. 137)

This act relates to the exclusion and expulsion of alien anarchists and similar classes.

Act of February 25, 1925 (43 Stat. 976; 8 U. S. C. 202)

This act authorizes the President in certain cases to modify visa fees for nonimmigrants.

Act of March 24, 1934 (48 Stat. 456; 48 U. S. C. 1232, Philippine Independence Act)

Act of June 28, 1940 (54 Stat. 675; 8 U. S. C. 458, Alien Registration Act, 1940)

Act of June 20, 1940 (55 Stat. 252; 22 U. S. C. 223)

This act authorizes the refusal of visas to aliens whose admission into the United States would endanger the public safety.

Act of December 17, 1943 (57 Stat. 600; 10 U. S. C. 903)

Act to repeal the Chinese exclusion acts and to establish an immigration quota for Chinese.

Act of December 28, 1945 (59 Stat. 659; 8 U. S. C. 232)

This act provides for the entry of the spouses and children of service personnel for a period of 3 years.

Act of December 29, 1945 (59 Stat. 669; 22 U. S. C. 288)

International Organizations Privileges and Immunities Act provides privileges and immunities for members of and representatives to international organizations designated by the President and provides a special nonimmigrant status, sec. 3 (7) which is similar to that of foreign government officials, sec. 3 (1).

Act of April 30, 1946 (60 Stat. 128)

An act to rehabilitate the Philippines and provides nonquota status for certain Philippine nationals.

Act of June 29, 1946 (60 Stat. 339; 50 U. S. C. 1851)

This act provides for the admission under bond as nonimmigrant temporary visitors of alien fiancées of service personnel. The act as extended expired Dec. 31, 1948.

Act of July 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 417; 8 U. S. C. 2126)

This act provided for the establishment of an Indian immigration quota.

Act of January 27, 1948 (62 Stat. 6; 22 U. S. C. 1431 Note)

United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 provides for the admission as exchange visitors of students, teachers, etc. from foreign countries on a reciprocal basis.

Act of June 25, 1948 (62 Stat. 1009; 50 App. U. S. C. 1951, The Displaced Persons Act)

Act of April 21, 1949 (Public Law 51, 81st Congress)

Amending and extending the Fiancée Act of June 29, 1946 (Public Law 471, 79th Congress).

Clarity of UNESCO's Central Purpose Needed in Peacemaking of United Nations

by George V. Allen, Chairman of the United States Delegation[1]

Mr. President: The General Conference of Unesco, meeting here in Paris at its fourth annual session, returns after an interval of 3 years to the headquarters of the organization and to the scene of its first meeting. Three years is a short time in the life of a man; it is a still shorter span in the life of an organization such as Unesco which, we are confident, is destined to far outlive every one of us and to exercise an enduring influence on the welfare and the fate of mankind.

Three years ago Unesco was newborn, with all the innocence and all the perfections of the newborn child. Now, at the age of 3 years, it is a healthy child, with both the imperfections and the vitality of the young.

I must report to you, Mr. Chairman, that in the United States there has been considerable criticism of Unesco. It is not an unpopular pastime in my country, and perhaps elsewhere, to deride the large number of projects Unesco is engaged in, or to inquire how this, that, or the other activity contributes to peace. The multifarious nature of Unesco's projects, some having apparently little relation to the general purpose of the United Nations, has caused one well-meaning critic to refer to Unesco as "that organization in search of a purpose."

Unesco's primary need, it seems to me, is to integrate itself more closely into the general United Nations structure. This would emphasize that Unesco is the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization. Unesco's very specific assignment, in the general Unite Nations structure, is to try to create enough under standing and friendship among the peoples of th world to give the rest of the United Nations chance to succeed. At the present moment, th outstanding task of the whole United Nation with all its special agencies, is to eliminate inter national warfare. As long as the horrible possi bility of modern war haunts our lives, the problem of peace far outweighs any other question of ou time.

Unesco, then, must contribute its part to a worl system strong enough to keep the peace. Some en thusiastic "Unescans" appear to believe that inter national understanding by itself will prevent wa I do not subscribe to this belief. World organi zation must have a political structure. Unesc has a vital role in helping to make that possibl but we should make every effort to avoid any im pression that we in Unesco are trying to "go alone."

Skeptics doubt that Unesco can mobilize enoug international understanding to make any real di ference in the present world situation. I woul be inclined to agree if Unesco were the entir United Nations. But as one part of a larger stru ture, Unesco's contribution may mean the diffe ence between success and failure. I doubt tha the United Nations can succeed unless Unesc does. On one thing all delegates to this confe ence are agreed: that Unesco has a priceless ass in the vision, vigor, and ability of its Directo General, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet. Last April w held in the United States a national conference o Unesco which was attended by 2,500 delegat from the 48 States of our Union, and by some 6,00

[1] Made in Paris, at the fourth session of the General Conference of Unesco on Sept. 20, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation on the same date. Mr. Allen is Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

sitors from the Cleveland community. It was ır pleasure to have with us the Director General. e has left with us an enduring imprint, an en- ıring memory, and an enduring inspiration.

We sometimes are told that a country gets the ıders it deserves; the same thing is true of or- ınizations. I can have no doubts as to the merits Unesco if it has deserved Dr. Torres Bodet.

I have read with great interest the Director ɜneral's report on activities of Unesco in the months since he entered into office. I can well ıderstand the difficulties which he has faced, and hich he describes in the first pages of his report. any of us here have experienced the difficulty of cruiting competent staff for a national opera- ɔn. How infinitely more complex are the prob- ns of securing the services of an able secretariat, awn from many countries, to perform new tasks an international character requiring knowl- ge and skills of a different order from those of national service. We earnestly hope that the oblems of recruitment and continuity in the cretariat will be satisfactorily solved.

Dr. Torres Bodet has given to us an enlighten- g review of the problems of Unesco as he sees em from his point of vantage as the Director ɜneral of our organization. He has told us that nesco must simplify its program. I heartily d emphatically agree. I admit that I find con- lerable difficulty in understanding all the impli- tions of the bountiful resolutions which were ssed at the last session of the General Confer- ce. I have given considerable study to them, t I am frequently embarrassed by being asked explain some obscure item which I have either t noticed or not understood. Probably this dif- ulty arises in part from defects in the way in ıich we formulate some of our resolutions. We ve not always made clear precisely what contri- tion to Unesco's central purpose each project is pposed to make, nor does the program as a whole ɜm to be guided by a central purpose. I have id what I believe it should be. The program tivities of Unesco must be simplified, concen- ıted, and pointed always with certainty toward ɜ development of foundational understanding eded in the peacemaking of the United Nations. I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. world community of minds with peace as the ıtral aim will not be developed by a single oject or a single program. Unesco's efforts must mmand the active participation of intellectuals d the masses of the people everywhere. This versity of effort is required. But I am quite nfident that the best results will be obtained— d good results must not be delayed—by focusing ɜ educational, scientific, and cultural coopera- n Unesco fosters on the issues, concepts, and oblems crucial to the nations efforts to build an during peace.

The Executive Board has submitted to us a suggested code of policy consisting of 18 general directives, which is intended to help remedy the present difficulty of diffusion and confusion. While the policy code is an excellent beginning, I must confess that these 18 directives do not appear to the delegation to accomplish fully the fine purpose intended. Rather than adopt these directives as they are now presented to us, we would prefer that they be referred back to the Executive Board for redrafting in the light of the revised program which we expect to have presented to us at the next session of the General Conference.

From what I have already said you will understand my delight when I noted the Director General's assertion that our difficulty is not merely one of expressing more clearly and simply what we are trying to do. It goes deeper than that. We have still to agree upon basic objectives and a plan of work. We must continue to clarify our aims. No complete and final definition is likely to be formulated. Great philosophers continue year after year to try to explain the aims of education, and no one is ever completely satisfied with the explanation, including the philosophers themselves. This fact, however, does not absolve us from the responsibility for a renewed effort to clarify our goal. Certainly I agreed with the Director General that it is not so much the mere number of activities of Unesco that induces confusion as it is the absence of one or more clearly discernible plans. Thus, I hope there will be general agreement that, at the next session of the General Conference, a drastic revision of the program of Unesco should be presented, organized around a relatively few major projects. We must, indeed, concentrate and integrate the activities of Unesco.

But I trust we can agree on more than that, for it is not enough to concentrate and integrate in a vacuum. We must firmly establish the frame of reference with vital purposes within which we concentrate and integrate the program. I venture to make two or three suggestions which I hope will be considered when the Executive Board and the Director General refashion the program for our consideration.

First, let us recall that while Unesco draws its mandate from the will of the peoples of the world, it must be operated, as I have said, as part and parcel of the system of the United Nations. A world community is needed, with sufficient cohesion to enable international justice and an international political organization to function. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are the best expressions in institutional form which the world community now possesses. Unesco exists to strengthen that community, and in particular to strengthen the system of the United Nations.

How can Unesco best serve the United Nations? I hope that this question will be thoughtfully considered by every delegate who proposes a project to be undertaken by Unesco, or who votes on a

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budget estimate during this conference, and by the Executive Board and the Director General as they reflect on the future program of UNESCO. UNESCO can command, to a degree unparalleled by any other organization, the interest and support of educators, scientists, and scholars; it can exert an immense influence through radio, press, and films.

Would it not be well for the Director General to invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the heads of the other eight sister agencies to submit for his consideration three or four projects which UNESCO, as the educational arm of the United Nations, might well undertake, in order to advance the interests of the whole system? Could he not, by such a request, at once make clear that UNESCO accepts this responsibility to the world community, and at the same time insure the support and cooperation of these other organizations?

UNESCO is designed as a major agency of the cultural revolution of the twentieth century. This is a revolution like the French Revolution and other great revolutions of history, in the sense that it aims to spread possession of the instruments of power among all the people. Scholarship, education, and art are instruments of power in the modern world. Held closely in the hands of a fortunate elite, they may be exploited to buttress privilege and block the growth of democracy. But when all the people have access to knowledge and skill and may share in the cultural riches of mankind, tyranny and aggression become increasingly difficult, if not impossible. This cultural revolution, asserting the right of all human beings to education and to the benefits of research and artistic creation, is vigorously under way. UNESCO was created to facilitate the revolution as necessary to the spread of international understanding and the growth of the world community. UNESCO is not for the few. It is for the many. It is for all.

This is why UNESCO must proceed with a vigorous and expanded program of education of the masses of the people of the world. That is why the delegation supports an energetic campaign of fundamental education not only as a part of the program of UNESCO but also as an essential part of the program of technical assistance for economic development. This is why, too, the United States delegation urges that still more effective use be made of the means of mass communication—the radio, the film, and the printed word.

A great deal has been heard recently of the proposed technical assistance program for the so-called "backward areas of the world." A distinguished member of the American delegation has asked, "What is to be done to help the areas that are going backward?" I hope UNESCO can assist in reversing that retrograde movement and that all the world can advance together in peace and human dignity.

UNESCO must cling firmly and unflinchingly to the ideas of free inquiry, freely carried on and freely communicated.

The United States has signed the convention to facilitate the international interchange of audio visual materials of an educational character; it is our earnest hope that other nations will do likewise and that this convention, the first to be negotiated under UNESCO's auspices, will be rapidly brought into effect. While we urge the adoption of the present convention, we favor continuing efforts to enlarge its scope to include other educational materials.

The delegation of the United States reaffirms its faith and confidence in UNESCO. We are proud of the efforts which have been made by our national commission to win support for UNESCO in our own country. I do not know to what extent we may be considered to have failed to take action on specific tasks proposed to us by the Director General. No doubt we, like other member states have been remiss to some extent.

I wish to give this pledge to the Director General, as the representative here of the United States delegation of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and of the Government of the United States: the United States will, during the coming year, redouble its efforts to bring into service of UNESCO our learned groups, our great civic and cultural organizations, and our media of mass communication. We shall welcome recommendations from the Director General. We shall do all in our power to carry them out. If we are negligent we shall gladly accept his reproof. We shall bear in mind that peace is made in the villages, the towns, in the schools, the homes; and when it lies in our power to build the peace, we will put forward our utmost strength.

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[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

[October 1–7]

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The General Assembly's 59-member *Ad Hoc* Po-cal Committee completed consideration of the ɔblem of the independence of Korea on October ·ith the adoption of the joint proposal of the ited States, Australia, China, and the Philip-es to continue the existence of the U.N. Com-ssion on Korea with increased powers, includ-the authority to "observe and report any de-ɔpments which might lead to or otherwise in-ve military conflict in Korea." The vote was n favor to 6 opposed (Slav bloc), with 5 absten-ıs. The Commission retains 6 of the 7 present nbers (Australia, China, El Salvador, France, lia, the Philippines) and adds Turkey to re-ce Syria which did not feel able to continue its resentation on the Commission. A Soviet pro-al to terminate the Commission immediately ; rejected by 44 opposed to 6 in favor (Slav c).

ian Colonies

General debate on how the United Nations uld dispose of the former Italian colonies in ·ica is nearing conclusion in the General Assem-'s Political and Security Committee, with gen-l agreement that Libya should be granted in-endence, though views as to the procedure y. Divergent views have also been expressed o a solution for Eritrea and Somaliland.

Dr. Philip C. Jessup of the United States told Committee on the opening day of debate that delegation would support the establishment of independent and unified Libya (composed of enaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan) at a defi-date in the near future. With regard to Eri-, the United States considered that the best so-on would be the incorporation of all but the tern province into Ethiopia with the western vince going to the Sudan. Italian Somaliland uld be "assisted toward the goal of independ-e through the trusteeship system of the United ions," with Italy assigned the administration he trusteeship.

The British views coincide with those of the ited States, as do the French general views, though the French delegate suggested that pending independence of Libya, separate governments should be organized for Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan. The Soviet proposal would grant Libya immediate independence with withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel and the liquidation of all military bases there within 3 months. The Soviet proposal for Eritrea was independence after 5 years, during which period it was to be administered by the Trusteeship Council through an administrator assisted by an advisory committee, to include among others the Soviet Union. Ethiopia was to receive a part of Eritrea providing her with an outlet to the sea. The same trusteeship arrangement were envisaged in the Soviet proposal for Italian Somaliland as for Eritrea.

Count Carlo Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, proposed a "unitary structure" for Libya which could preserve the common historical heritage of its past, with an "apposite Federal Council" to be set up to protect the common interest of the independent states to be formed. Tripolitania should have immediate independence, he said. He also proposed independence for Eritrea and Italian trusteeship over Somaliland until that country is ready for independence.

After completion of the general debate, the subcommittee, set up to examine requests for hearings made by various political parties and organizations interested in the former Italian colonies, will report to the full Committee. Consideration of specific proposals made during the general debate will follow.

Technical Assistance

Approval of an expanded technical assistance program for underdeveloped areas of the world has been widely expressed by United Nations members in debate before the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee of the proposed program drawn up by the Economic and Social Council. Representatives of certain countries have stressed their need of technical assistance and capital, as well as the importance of safeguards against political or economic pressure. Representatives of economically developed countries ex-

pressed willingness to contribute to the expanded program of technical assistance as well as to economic development of the receiving countries. Most of the representatives agreed that the program as adopted by the Economic and Social Council represented a practical and constructive approach to the problem.

Thus far, opposition has been expressed only by representatives of Poland and Byelorussia. They contended among other things that the program is not practical as it now stands, and that it would lead to exploitation of other countries by American and British interests.

Human Rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania

A proposal to request an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in connection with the alleged violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania was presented to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the General Assembly on October 4 by Benjamin V. Cohen of the United States. The proposal was embodied in a resolution jointly sponsored by Bolivia, the United States, and Canada. Mr. Cohen stressed that the United States was concerned only with the observance of human rights, not internal policies. In a review of events in the three countries, Mr. Cohen confirmed previously made charges of Rumanian religious repressions against Christians and Jews, recounted the "single-list" ballot and "purely mechanical election" in Hungary and Bulgaria, and told how all political or press opposition in these states had ceased to exist. Not only was the judiciary perverted for political purposes but the Communist regime in Hungary, "having no further democratic opposition to destroy, is now busily engaged in widespread purges of Communist collaborators who have become suspects." He outlined the failure of United States and United Kingdom efforts to get cooperation in using treaty procedures against the violators. The accused governments sought to justify their conduct on legal grounds, Mr. Cohen added, and therefore the United States, Bolivia, and Canada urged that the General Assembly request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on the legal questions regarding the applicability and functioning of th treaty procedure. He pledged United States ac ceptance of the opinion of the Court as binding stating that the United States felt, as a treat signatory, that it was entitled to an authoritativ determination of this important issue.

Thus far in the general debate, most of th spokesmen have expressed support for the propo sal to request an advisory opinion of the Interna tional Court of Justice. The United Kingdon representative gave a detailed indictment agains three countries for their repression of civil liber ties.

Australia proposed direct General Assembly ac tion by the appointment of a committee to inves tigate and report on the situation in Bulgaria Hungary, and Rumania and contended that a opinion of the International Court of Justic would prove of little assistance toward a solution.

The Polish representative, contending that th interpretation of the peace treaties was clearly out side the scope of the United Nations and that th United Nations had no authority to intervene i matters which are within the domestic jurisdictio of any state, devoted almost an hour-long state ment to an attack on the "moral qualifications" o Australia, the United States, the United Kingdon and Bolivia, stating that the "accusers" were guilt of numberless violations of human rights.

U.N. Postal Administration

On the question of the establishment of a Unite Nations Postal Administration, the General A sembly's Administrative and Budgetary Commi tee on September 30 adopted, by a vote of 34 to with 8 abstentions, a resolution requesting the Se retary-General "to continue the preparation o necessary arrangements for the establishment" o such an administration and to submit a new repo to the next regular session of the Assembly. Th idea of establishing a Postal Administration wa approved "in principle" by the last General A sembly. The United Nations Assistant Secretar General for the Department of Conference an General Services pointed out to the Committe that the whole question needed further investig tion and advice before being initiated and that could not in any case be put into effect before th United Nations moved to its permanent headqua ters in New York.

Observance in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

N. doc. A/985
ated Sept. 23, 1949

*etter from the U.S. Representative
the United Nations to the Secretary-General*

NEW YORK, *20 September 1949.*

Under instructions from my Government, I have ne honor to refer to the General Assembly reso-ution of 30 April 1949 (272 (III))[1] on the ques-on of observance in Bulgaria and Hungary of uman rights and fundamental freedoms. In this esolution the General Assembly noted with satis-action that steps had been taken by several sig-atories of the Treaties of Peace regarding the harges made against the Governments of Bulgaria nd Hungary and expressed the hope that measures ould be diligently applied, in accordance with ne Treaties, in order to ensure respect for human ghts and fundamental freedoms. The Assembly rew the attention of the Governments of Bul-aria and Hungary to their obligations under the eace Treaties, including the obligation to coop-rate in the settlement of the question and decided retain the question on the agenda of the fourth ssion. On 20 August 1949, the Government of ustralia proposed for inclusion on the agenda of ne fourth session the question of observance of ndamental freedoms and human rights in umania.

As one of the signatories to the Treaties of Peace ith Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania the United tates has instituted measures referred to in the ove-mentioned resolution of the General As-mbly.

1. In its notes of 2 April 1949 (Annexes 1, 2 nd 3),[2] the Government of the United States rmally charged the Governments of Bulgaria, lungary and Rumania with violations of the re-ective clauses of the Peace Treaties obligating em to secure to their peoples the enjoyment of uman rights and fundamental freedoms. The United States Government requested that remedial measures be taken by the three Governments. The Governments of Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania replied in notes delivered on 8, 21, and 18 April 1949, respectively (Annexes 4, 5 and 6.)[3]

2. Since in these notes the three Governments denied that they had violated the Treaty provisions and indicated their unwillingness to adopt the requested remedial measures, the United States Government informed them that in its view disputes had arisen concerning the interpretation and execution of the respective Treaties of Peace. In the notes delivered by the American Legations in Sofia, Budapest and Bucharest on 31 May 1949 (Annexes 7, 8 and 9),[4] the United States Government invoked the relevant Treaty Articles providing for the settlement of such disputes by the Heads of Diplomatic Missions of the United Kingdom, Soviet Union and United States in the three capitals (Article 36 of the Treaty with Bulgaria, Article 40 of the Treaty with Hungary, Article 38 of the Treaty with Rumania). The United States Chiefs of Mission in the three capitals requested their Soviet and British colleagues to meet with them to consider the disputes, in accordance with the procedure specified in those Articles (Annexes 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15).[5] The Ministers of the United Kingdom expressed their willingness to comply with this request (Annexes 16, 17 and 18).[6] However, the Soviet Government declined, in a note of 11 June 1949, to authorize its representatives to discuss the matter (Annex 19).[7] The Soviet Government rejected a further request by the United States Government to reconsider its position (Annexes 20 and 21).[8] On 27 July 1949, the Government of Bulgaria addressed a note to the United States Government setting forth its view that the settlement procedures provided for

[1] BULLETIN of May 15, 1949, p. 613.
[2] BULLETIN of Apr. 10, 1949, p. 450.
[3] BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 755.
[4] BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 756.
[5] Not here printed. For a statement by Acting Secretary Webb on these notes, see BULLETIN of June 12, 1949, p. 759.
[6] Not here printed.
[7] Not here printed. For a statement by Acting Secretary Webb on the Soviet note, see BULLETIN of June 26, 1949, p. 824.
[8] BULLETIN of July 11, 1949, p. 29.

in Article 36 of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria were not applicable (Annex 22).[1]

3. As a result, the Government of the United States found it necessary to invoke the additional Peace Treaty procedure which envisages the establishment of commissions composed in each case of one representative of each party to the dispute and a third member chosen by mutual agreement of the two parties from nationals of a third country. In its notes delivered on 1 August 1949 (Annexes 23, 24 and 25) the Government of the United States requested the Governments of Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania to join with it in naming these commissions.[4] The three Governments rejected this request in their notes dated 26 August, 1 September and 2 September 1949, respectively (Annexes 26, 27 and 28).[5] On 19 September 1949, the United States addressed further notes to the Governments of Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania in which it restated its views on the disputed issues (Annexes 29, 30 and 31).[6]

I am attaching in the Annex copies of the notes exchanged in this matter, with a request that you, Mr. Secretary-General, be kind enough to circulate copies of this communication and of the notes to all members of the General Assembly in connection with the impending consideration of this matter in the fourth session of the General Assembly.

WARREN R. AUSTIN

U.S. Supports Resolution for Conciliation Commission for Greece

Statement by Benjamin V. Cohen[2]

The United States delegation supports the proposal of the Australian delegation that we make a new effort through the principal officers of this Committee and the General Assembly to obtain by conciliation a pacific settlement of the existing differences between Greece and her northern neighbors. It is our hope that this effort may be made before we proceed to discuss the details of the Balkan Committee's report. We hope that the chances of success of the proposed conciliation committee will not be prejudiced by provocative debate on the substantive issues.

Last year's report of the Balkan Committee as well as this year's report of that Committee has fully familiarized us with the issues.[3] Although some of the states concerned continue to ignore the Charter of the United Nations and the recommendations of the Assembly and continue to endanger peace by aiding and fomenting guerrilla activity against the independence and territorial integrity of Greece, thanks to the courage of the Greeks and the support given to Greece by states which do respect the Charter and the recommendations of the Assembly, the danger to peace in the Balkans has been substantially reduced. It is happily becoming apparent that the Charter and the recommendations of the Assembly cannot b treated as if they were mere scraps of paper.

Last year's Assembly President, Mr. Evat stated on May 19 that "an early attempt [by th Conciliation Committee] to complete its wor might well be successful." The Balkan Committe in its 1949 supplementary report also recom mended that during the fourth session of th General Assembly "an effort be made . . . to reac a pacific settlement of existing differences" betwee Greece and her northern neighbors. Under thes circumstances, we believe it is our duty to mak another good faith effort to bring about a solutio through conciliation. We can trust the princip officers of our Committee and of the Assembl to accomplish this if it is possible and to see th the terms of the settlement carry provisions ad quate to insure their observance.

But it is only fair to say that if the states co cerned genuinely desire a pacific settlement c their differences, that settlement should be reache without undue delay.

It should not need to be reiterated that the neig bors of Greece have no right to interfere in h internal affairs. Good neighbors do not indul in civil warmongering. If we really want to gi Greece the opportunity to reconstruct in freedo her war-shattered political and economic life, must see that the external threats which have e dangered her security are removed.

[1] Not here printed.

[2] Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Sept. 28, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Cohen is a U.S. delegate to the General Assembly.

[3] For additional information on Greece see BULLETIN of Sept. 19, 1949, p. 407.

[4] BULLETIN of Aug. 15, 1949, p. 238.

[5] Not here printed. For a summary of the notes, s BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 456.

[6] BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1949, p. 514.

Nor should it need to be reiterated that inter-ational treaties regulate the boundaries of Greece nd her northern neighbors. Under the Charter ney are not subject to change by force or threat f force. In our view, it cannot advance the cause f conciliation and peaceful settlement to intro-uce at this time extraneous territorial issues.

The terms of reference of the counciliation com-ission proposed by Australia are broad and flex-le enough to enable the Commission to fulfill its sk if all the states concerned are genuinely de-rous of seeing that task fulfilled.

The United States interest in Greece is an inter-est in peace. The United States has no special interests in Greece which in any way threaten the security of the Balkan countries or any other country.

We certainly shall do all in our power to assist the Conciliation Commission to bring about a peaceful settlement if it is set up by this Committee.

Of course, it is our view that if the Conciliation Commission is unable to effect a pacific settlement within the time proposed in the Australian draft, this Committee should proceed to consider and act upon the Balkan Committee's report. We should not conclude the present session without taking some effective measures to prevent the continued fomenting of guerrilla warfare against Greece in violation of the Charter.

tomic Energy: A Specific Problem of the United Nations

y Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

Tonight we honor Trygve Lie because of his chievements as the chief administrative officer an international organization whose universality rings together races and states having differing stoms, habits, and historical background. He as had the courage, intrinsic honesty, balanced dgment, and diplomatic poise to maintain an xclusively international character in the perform-nce of his responsibilities as Secretary-General. e has commanded the respect of the member na-ons for the principle that his office and his staff all not be influenced in the discharge of their sponsibilities by national pressure.

Additional functions also are entrusted to him y the Security Council, the Economic and Social ouncil, the Trusteeship Council, and the General ssembly. In the performance of their duties, the ecretary-General and his staff have the difficult le not only of maintaining impartiality, but of voiding even the appearance of partiality. They all not seek nor receive instructions from any overnment or from any other authority external the organization. They shall refrain from any tion which might reflect upon their position as ternational officials responsible only to the rganization.

It is a great pleasure for me to speak of the haracter of this great man. As one who has had opportunity to observe him in his achievements, I join this popular organization of the American Association for the United Nations in attesting to his impartiality, his sound judgment, and his devotion to the great principles of the Charter.

The General Assembly is expected to be the guardian and expounder of the purposes and principles of the organization. The Secretary-General, under the Charter, has the special duty of acting in all meetings of the General Assembly as its chief administrative officer. His service throughout the brief life of the United Nations has been steadily directed by these great lights: to maintain peace, to develop friendly relations among nations, to achieve cooperation, and to make the United Nations a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.

Secretary-General Lie, by deed and by public utterances, has been an expounder of principles which have been effective to some degree to maintain peace in every dispute and situation that might have caused war of international character if it had been allowed to continue. These principles have prevailed by reason of their intrinsic virtue and because of the perseverance of men and women in the United Nations in their application. They have not been made to prevail by force or by threat of force. They have been successful to a marked degree notwithstanding the absence of sanctions and the lack of peace forces.

Now, they have not worked perfectly, and the structure of the United Nations is not yet completed. But under the patient and firm leadership

[1] Address made before the American Association for the nited Nations in honor of Trygve Lie, Secretary-General the United Nations on Sept. 29, 1949, and released to the ress by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on e same date.

of Secretary-General Lie the United Nations has advanced despite all obstacles, toward the completion of its structure and the perfecting of its service in maintaining peace.

Control of Atomic Energy

However, I do wish to mention a matter that occupies the attention of all people at this very moment, namely, the control of atomic energy.

After nearly 3 years of work, the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission developed a plan for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the international control of atomic energy. It provides for an international agency which will have power adequate to enforce the prohibition of atomic weapons while at the same time assuring to all nations an equitable distribution of the peaceful benefits of atomic energy. The plan was presented to the General Assembly at its session in Paris last fall. After careful study and exhaustive debate, 46 nations voted their approval of that plan. The only votes against it were those of the Soviet Union and the five states then associated with it.

Many of us hoped that this decisive judgment of the international community would prove to be a decisive step on the road toward securing agreement on an effective and enforceable system of international control. At the very least, we hoped that the small minority in opposition would negotiate on the basis of the plan approved by so large a majority of the General Assembly. But the record since then has not sustained those hopes.

The Soviet representative on the Atomic Energy Commission has refused to negotiate except on the basis of the Soviet proposals which both the Commission and the General Assembly found to be wholly inadequate, if not dangerous.

The Soviet plan provides that nations shall continue to own explosive atomic materials. The majority believes that under such conditions it would be impossible to prevent the secret diversion of explosive atomic materials into weapons.

The Soviet plan provides that nations shall continue to own, operate, and manage plants for making or using atomic materials. The majority believes that no system of checking or inspection could prevent the secret diversion of explosive materials from plants that are nationally owned and nationally operated.

The Soviet plan provides only for periodic inspection that is limited to declared facilities, with inspection of secret facilities permitted only when there is evidence that such facilities exist. But no means are provided for the gathering of such evidence.

The Soviet plan provides that the suggested international agency would be required to refer its recommendations for action to the Security Council where the power of the veto could be exercised upon them. The majority is unable to conceive of effective enforcement under such a plan.

The Soviet representative was unwilling to negotiate in the Atomic Energy Commission on the basis of any but these Soviet proposals which the majority found wholly inadequate.

As a result, the Atomic Energy Commission reported to the Security Council and General Assembly that it felt unable to do anything practicable or useful at the Commission level until the six powers, namely, Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States, have found through consultation that a basis for agreement exists. These are the states which originally sponsored the Atomic Energy Commission. These are the states which, as permanent members of the Security Council, have primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, plus Canada, which has played a leading role in the development of atomic energy.

The consultations among these six powers are now in progress. Their eighth meeting took place this very day. Because the group is small, because it brings together those on whom responsibility must weigh most heavily, and because it works in private, it is our hope that it will achieve better exchange of ideas than is possible in the public meetings of the larger Commission.

I speak not only on behalf of the United States policy but I am sure I voice the earnest desire of all mankind when I express the hope that the Soviet Union, in these new negotiations, will take a more realistic approach to this grave problem.

The United States, from the time of the three-power declaration in 1945, has striven for a system of international control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The plan approved by the General Assembly appears to us to be the only plan yet devised which would be likely to prevent atomic war, stop national rivalries in atomic materials and weapons and at the same time protect the interests of all nations, whether large or small, in the development and equitable distribution of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Notwithstanding this belief, we are at all times ready to consider seriously and objectively any proposal that is directed to the same purpose.

In awareness of the grave tasks that lie ahead I reassert my faith in the growth and success of the United Nations. Its great principles command the allegiance of the people of the world. In the matter of atomic energy, as in other problems which beset the world, no nation can for long insist on traditional concepts of national sovereignty when they find themselves opposed to the interests of mankind.

S. Delegation to the Fourth Regular Session of the eneral Assembly of the United Nations

presentatives

n G. Acheson, Secretary of State and Chairman of delegation
rren R. Austin, United States Representative to the United Nations and Representative in the Security Council, Ambassador
lip C. Jessup, Ambassador-at-Large
s. Franklin D. Roosevelt
n Sherman Cooper

ernate Representatives

jamin V. Cohen
rles Fahy
son M. Compton
n D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs
s. Ruth Bryan Rohde

visers

Gordon Arneson, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, Department of State
rding F. Bancroft, Chief, Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State
e Admiral Bernard H. Bieri, United States Navy, United States Representative on the Military Staff Committee, United States Mission to the United Nations
es W. Bond, Acting Chief, Northeast Asian Affairs, Department of State
jamin H. Brown, Chief of Reporting and Documentation Division, United States Mission to the United Nations.
lip M. Burnett, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
n Cabot, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
n C. Campbell, Assistant Chief, Division of Southeast European Affairs, Department of State
mund H. Kellogg, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
dolph A. Kidder, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
is H. Klesson, Division of Research for Europe, Department of State
Samuel K. C. Kopper, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State
Edward P. Maffitt, Foreign Service Officer, Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations
John Maktos, Assistant Legal Adviser for International Organization Affairs, Department of State
Leonard C. Meeker, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Political Affairs, Department of State
Frank C. Nash, Deputy United States Representative on the Commission for Conventional Armaments, United States Mission to the United Nations
Harley A. Notter, Adviser to the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, Department of State
Charles P. Noyes, Deputy United States Representative on the Interim Committee, United States Mission to the United Nations
Frederick H. Osborn, Deputy United States Representative on the Atomic Energy Commission, United States Mission to the United Nations
George H. Owen, Division of North and West Coast Affairs, Department of State
A. Ogden Pierrot, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
David H. Popper, Assistant Chief, Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State
G. Hayden Raynor, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State
John C. Ross, Deputy to the United States Representative to the United Nations, United States Mission to the United Nations
Charles Runyon, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State
William B. Sale, Division of Southwest European Affairs, Department of State
Joseph W. Scott, Office of European Affairs, Department of State
William I. Cargo, Assistant Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State
Lewis Clark, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
Dr. Frank P. Corrigan, Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations
Boyd Crawford, Clerk and Administrative Officer, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States Congress
Lt. Gen. W. D. Crittenberger, United States Army, United States Representative on the Military Staff Committee, United States Mission to the United Nations
Samuel De Palma, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

John C. Dreier, Chief, Division of Special Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
Gerald Drew, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
Edward Freers, Foreign Service Officer, Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations
David M. French, International Administration Staff, Department of State
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William O. Hall, Director, Office of Management and Budget, Department of State
Haldare Hanson, Executive Director, Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Department of State
Lt. Gen. H. R. Harmon, United States Air Force, United States Representative on the Military Staff Committee, United States Mission to the United Nations
Harry N. Howard, Division of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, Department of State
James N. Hyde, Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations
Louis K. Hyde, Jr., Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations
Joseph S. Sparks, Acting Assistant Chief, Division of South Asian Affairs, Department of State
Eric Stein, Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State
Leroy D. Stinebower, Deputy United States Representative in the Economic and Social Council, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State
Jack B. Tate, Legal Adviser to the Delegation, Deputy Legal Adviser, Department of State
Paul B. Taylor, Division of United Nations Political Affairs Department of State
John E. Utter, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
David M. Wainhouse, Associate Chief, Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State
H. Bartlett Wells, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State
Francis G. Wilcox, Chief of Staff, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Congress.
Fraser Wilkins, Assistant Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State
Charles Yost, Special Assistant to the Ambassador-at-Large, Department of State

Principal Executive Officer

David H. Popper, Assistant Chief, Division of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State

Assistants

Elizabeth A. Brown, International Administration Staff, Department of State
Betty C. Gough, International Administration Staff, Department of State

Assistants to Representatives

Lucius Battle, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of State
William H. A. Mills, Special Assistant to the United States Representative to the United Nations, United States Mission to the United Nations
Neil Potter, Assistant to Mr. Compton
Josephine V. Thompson, Assistant to the United States Representative to the United Nations, United States Mission to the United Nations
Malvina Thompson, Assistant to Mrs. Roosevelt

Secretary-General

Richard S. Winslow, Secretary-General, United States Mission to the United Nations.

Deputy Secretary-General

Thomas F. Power, Jr., Deputy Secretary-General, United States Mission to the United Nations

Special Assistants

Albert F. Bender, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary-General, United States Mission to the United Nations
Lee B. Blanchard, Special Assistant to the Secretary-General, United States Mission to the United Nations

Information Officer

Porter McKeever, Public Information Adviser, United States Mission to the United Nations

Assistants

Arthur Kaufman, Division of International Broadcasting Department of State
Frederick T. Rope, United States Mission to the United Nations
Mrs. Jeanne Singer, United States Mission to the United Nations
Marshall D. Shulman, United States Mission to the United Nations
Gilbert W. Stewart, United States Mission to the United Nations
Chester S. Williams, United States Mission to the United Nations

Senate Confirms Nominations of U.N. Representatives

Unesco

On Septembr 21, 1949, the Senate confirmed the followin nominations to be representatives of the United States o America to the fourth session of the General Conferenc of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultura Organization:

George V. Allen
Milton S. Eisenhower
Miss Martha B. Lucas
Reinhold Niebuhr
Luther H. Evans

General Assembly

On September 26, 1949, the Senate confirmed the follov ing nominations to offices in the United Nations:

Representatives of the United States of America to th fourth session of the General Assembly of the Unite Nations:

Warren R. Austin
Philip C. Jessup
Mrs. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt
John Sherman Cooper

Alternate representatives of the United States of Ameri to the fourth session of the General Assembly of the Unit Nations:

Wilson M. Compton
Benjamin V. Cohen
Charles Fahy
John D. Hickerson
Mrs. Ruth Rohde

urth Session of South Pacific Commission

The Department of State announced on Sep-mber 28 the United States delegation to the urth session of the South Pacific Commission, heduled to be held at Nouméa, New Caledonia, ctober 22–November 5, 1949. The United States legation is as follows:

ting Senior Commissioner

lton Shalleck, attorney, New York, New York

ting Commissioner

sen N. Nielsen, American consul general, Sydney, Australia

lvisers

lna H. Barr, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State
indsor G. Hackler, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State

Claude G. Ross, American consul, Nouméa, New aledonia, Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anropology at Stanford University and regular nited States senior commissioner, and Dr. Karl Leebrick, vice president of the University of awaii and regular United States alternate comissioner, are unable to attend the fourth session. r. Shalleck, regular commissioner, and Mr. Nieln, regular alternate commissioner, will particiite as acting senior commissioner and acting mmissioner respectively.

The major items on the provisional agenda for e fourth session of the Commission include: (1) proval of the annual budget; (2) implementaon of the Commission's work program; (3) the pointment of associate members and arrangeents for the second meeting of the South Pacific esearch Council (a subsidiary body of the Comission); (4) study of a technical assistance proam for underdeveloped areas; and (5) arrangeents for the South Pacific Conference which is to held at Suva, Fiji Islands in April 1950.

The South Pacific Commission was established May 1948, as a regional advisory and consultave body on social and economic matters to the overnments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The territorial scope of the Commission comprises 15 non-self-governing territories in the Pacific Ocean which are administered by these participating governments and which lie wholly or in part south of the Equator and east from and including Netherlands New Guinea. The Commission is designed to encourage and to strengthen international cooperation in advancing the economic and social rights of the inhabitants of these territories. The third session was held in May 1949 at Nouméa, the headquarters of the group.

IRO: Sixth Session of Executive Committee and Fourth Session of General Council

The Department of State announced on September 30 that the President has appointed George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State, as United States Representative to the Sixth Session of the Executive Committee and the Fourth Session of the General Council of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Appointed as alternate representative was Alvin J. Roseman, United States representative for Specialized Agency Affairs at Geneva. The meetings are scheduled to convene at Geneva, October 6 and 11, respectively.

The following have been named by the Department of State to serve as advisers on the United States delegation:

Col. H. T. Brotherton, United States Forces, Austria, Vienna, Austria
Ugo Carusi, Chairman, United States Displaced Persons Commission
Eric M. Hughes, Headquarters, European Command for the Commander-in-Chief, Heidelberg, Germany
Paul J. McCormack, Headquarters, European Command for the Commander-in-Chief, Heidelberg, Germany

The purpose of these meetings is to finalize decisions made by the Council at its meeting in June with respect to the completion of the IRO program and the termination of IRO services on the target date of June 30, 1950, or as soon thereafter as possible.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act Approved

Statement by the President

[*Released to the press by the White House September 26*]

I have today approved the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949, which extends until 1951 our trade-agreement program, free of the crippling restrictions imposed on it in 1948 by the 80th Congress. Through this wise and far-seeing legislation, the United States reaffirms its intention of pressing forward toward expanded world trade at a time when such action is most urgently needed.

In the first phase of our postwar foreign economic policy, we gave our primary attention to restoring the productive capacity of our friendly neighbors in the world community. In this task we have already gone a long way. But the process of postwar readjustment brought an inevitable growth of restrictive trade and financial measures throughout the world. We cannot permit these barriers to remain and thus stifle a progressive rise in standards of living throughout the world, which would provide our best insurance of a peaceful future.

As we have carried out temporary programs of financial assistance, we have increasingly sought adjustments tending to break down artificial trade barriers and to lead toward the reestablishment of expanding and competitive world trade, the permanent objective of our international commercial policy. We envisage a reestablishment of economic balance in the world which will permit our neighbors now receiving our assistance in securing needed imports to become self-supporting through a liberal expansion of the international exchange of goods in competitive world markets. Only in such a world economy can we foresee the maintenance of adequate and rising standards of living when our programs of financial assistance terminate.

Earlier this month, representatives of our gov ernment came to agreement in Washington wit British and Canadian representatives on certai courses of action which will be of considerable im mediate assistance in easing international financia maladjustments. But it was recognized by al that further steps are needed to open the way fo the sound expansion of international trade so es sential to a lasting solution of basic internationa economic maladjustments. From the long-rang standpoint, it is clear that only by a large expan sion of our purchases of foreign goods will th needed readjustment in international economi relations be possible, on a basis consistent with liberal world-trading system, and the richer worl it offers. We must reduce our own barriers, whe ever possible, to permit our people the freest acces to the foreign goods they may want to buy. Th maintenance and the enlargement of our expor markets are impossible without a substantial ex pansion of our imports. As the world's greates creditor nation, it is our special responsibility t welcome imports.

Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Ac we negotiated and put into effect 2 years ago th General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a com prehensive agreement by 23 countries for the re duction of tariffs, and other trade barriers. B this agreement, we made substantial reductions i our tariffs in return for commensurate tariff co cessions by the other 22 countries. In the pa several months the countries which are now parti to the General Agreement have been negotiatin with 10 additional countries at Annecy, Franc The enactment of the Trade Agreements Extensio Act of 1949 will make possible the early conclusio of these negotiations and the accession of the additional countries to the General Agreemen Thirty-three countries carrying on approximate 80 percent of the world's trade will then be parti to a mutual undertaking to reduce trade barrie and expand international commerce. Beyond co

eting the Annecy negotiations, I intend to use e authority given me by this legislation to pro- ed with negotiations under the General Agree- ent to make it an even more effective document. The Trade Agreements program has been carried rward by this government since 1934 under au- ority of a series of temporary enactments. A ar and a half ago, we completed, with representa- ve of over 50 other countries, a text of a perma- nt charter for an International Trade Organiza- on, which will carry forward and elaborate the inciples underlying the Reciprocal Trade pro- am into a permanent world economic policy. have placed the charter before the Congress and ged our adherence. Prompt action by the Con- ess to carry out this recommendation will con- itute the firmest assurance to the world that the nited States recognizes its position of world onomic leadership and is prepared to do its share reestablishing world economic relations on a und competitive basis for the mutual well-being all peoples.

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press September 27*]

Yesterday the President signed the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949 which extends his authority to enter into trade agreements with other countries. This Congressional action is of the greatest importance in expanding world trade. We can now conclude the trade agreements negotiated this summer at Annecy and continue negotiation of further trade agreements. It comes at a time when the need for expanded world trade is more evident than ever before. It shows the world that the United States is prepared to play its full part in putting world trade on a sound competitive basis. That basis includes substantial exports from the United States, but it must also include the increased imports into the United States which alone can make such exports possible.

I hope that we may now accept membership in the International Trade Organization so that this organization may be promptly established, and the member nations can begin to work more effectively together under agreed rules to solve the difficult trade problems which confront us all.

ouse Hearings on Point 4 Legislation

tatement by Acting Secretary Webb[1]

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Commit- ee: The Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, had pected to present the views of the Department H. R. 5615, which is entitled "A bill to pro- ote the foreign policy of the United States and authorize participation in a cooperative en- eavor for assistance in the development of eco- omically underdeveloped areas of the world." e was deeply disappointed when he found he uld not be here today, because he considers this gislation of vital importance and deep signifi- nce. So does the President, who described it in ese words: "We must embark on a bold new pro- am for making the benefits of our scientific dvances and our industrial progress available for e improvement and growth of underdeveloped eas. . . . we should make available to peace- ving peoples the benefits of our store of technical nowledge in order to help them realize their pirations for a better life. And, in cooperation ith other nations, we should foster capital in- estment in areas needing development. Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens."

As this Committee so well understands, the principal objective of United States foreign policy today is the establishment of conditions throughout the world which will permit us, along with others, to enjoy security against external aggression, to preserve and strengthen the concept of the dignity and freedom of the individual, and to participate in a prosperous and expanding world economy. We Americans have adopted a number of policies and programs in recent years which are designed to enable us in various ways to advance toward this objective. Some of these are primarily in the political field, some are primarily military, and others are economic in nature. They are all, however, closely inter-related and in most cases mutually supporting. The new program which you are considering today was advanced by the President in the words which I have quoted as the fourth foreign policy point of his inaugural address last January. It also is designed as a major step toward accomplishing our objective of

[1] Made before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on pt. 27, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

stable world conditions. It should be noted that the program divides itself into two parts. One part relates to the elimination of those uncertainties which retard the flow of investment capital into underdeveloped areas, and is now under study by the Banking and Currency Committees of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The second part relates largely to the cooperative exchange and supply of technical assistance to these areas, and is the basis for the legislation before you today.

In your consideration of this legislation, I believe the following facts are pertinent:

Two-thirds of the world's population live in underdeveloped areas. For these hundreds of millions of people, economic conditions contrast startlingly with those in the more economically advanced countries. The average per capita income of these people is less than $100 a year. Their life expectancy is some thirty years, or about one-half that in more advanced countries. The incidence of disease is several times greater. Their food supply so meagerly covers their bare subsistence needs, that malnutrition is widespread and actual famine is a constant threat.

The people in the underdeveloped areas are increasingly aware of the possibilities for human advancement through modern technology and economic organization. They have strong aspirations for a better life. They are increasing their pressure on their own governments and in international organizations, for action in the political, social, and economic fields to improve the conditions under which they live. The General Assembly of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council, and the appropriate specialized agencies have recently been giving greater attention to the insistent appeals for action in the field of economic development.

There are many reasons why the United States should participate in a cooperative effort to supply part of the assistance needed. Our people have traditionally shown a spirit of friendliness and neighborliness toward other peoples. This program gives us a unique opportunity to make available to those peoples who seek them, and without loss to ourselves, the scientific and technical skills which have flourished here and helped to build our strong democratic institutions.

It is important to us, and to the rest of the world, that people in these areas realize that through perseverance, hard work, and a little assistance, they can develop the means for taking care of their material needs and at the same time can preserve and strengthen their individual freedoms. Democracy is most secure where economic conditions are sound. In the interests of world security, as well as world progress, this cooperative technical assistance program holds out great promise.

Another result expected of the program is the strengthening of the United Nations. It is to the United Nations and its specialized agencies that many of the underdeveloped countries are looking for leadership and assistance. The handling of large parts of this program through the United Nations will strengthen its influence and increase its ability to solve other international problems.

There also are many practical economic benefits which will accrue generally from the development of these areas. The flow of capital investment from this country will make available dollars which will be spent here largely for the purchase of capital goods and equipment. This will be more and more important as our programs of emergency foreign aid decline.

In addition to the flow of exports attributable directly to the investment process, the development of productive facilities in these areas will itself have a stimulating and beneficial effect on world trade. These areas cannot acquire the necessary foreign exchange with which to increase their purchases abroad, in the absence of foreign credits or grants, unless they increase their own productive capacity and consequent ability to export. As the productive capacity of these areas is increased, international trade will expand and achieve a better balance. We and other exporting countries will be able to share in a constantly increasing volume of trade.

Our own economy and those of many of the more developed countries are dependent upon the import of many basic minerals and raw materials. The present sources of a number of these commodities are limited and in some cases are approaching exhaustion. The underdeveloped areas have additional sources of supply which, with technical assistance under this program, they would be able to develop. The development of such sources would be of general benefit by increasing the world's supply of important materials and at the same time expanding the purchasing power of the countries of origin.

We all know that the success of the European Recovery Program depends to a great extent upon the opening up of greater markets for European exports and at the same time upon the development of more extensive sources of supply of minerals, raw materials, and other products needed by European countries.

In essence the program laid down by the President as his 4th point of foreign policy involves a cooperative effort with other interested nations to exchange technical knowledge and skills and to foster the international flow of capital investment. The cost to the Government of such a program is very small when we consider the large benefits which it will produce. The exchange of persons and ideas does not require heavy expenditures as do supply programs. Moreover, technical know

ge and skills can be shared without loss to those o now possess them. In fact, those who do share em will themselves learn much through seeing w they can be adapted to different conditions d through learning about the skills developed in ner parts of the world. The necessary capital uipment can in large part be procured without e use of Government funds, if efforts to stimulate e flow of private investment are successful.

The idea of exchanging knowledge and skills not new. We have been participating with other tions in such programs for years. Educational titutions, missionary groups, and a large num- of other private agencies have long been en- ged in such activities. Participation by the vernment in activities of this type has been tered and coordinated by the Interdepartmental mmittee for Scientific and Cultural Coopera- n for more than ten years. Under the Smith- ndt Act and Fulbright Act, citizens of other ntries have been coming here and our citizens ve gone to other countries, under government spices, both to learn and to teach. Of particu- significance in this field were programs initiated ring the war through the Coordinator of Inter- nerican Affairs. The United Nations, its re- ed specialized agencies, and other international ganizations also have been active in helping to velop and impart useful techniques. The new d essential factor in the present proposal is its phasis on the great importance of economic velopment in underdeveloped areas and on the cept of an expanded and coordinated approach the stimulating of technological exchange and ital investment.

Point 4 generally has been received abroad with at enthusiasm. A basic element of the pro- sal is that wherever practicable, programs shall carried out through the United Nations and er international agencies. It will be our policy participate in programs only where they are tiated and approved by the governments con- ned. The initiative and the greater part of the rk of planning and carrying forward programs economic development must come from the derdeveloped areas themselves. We and the ernational agencies can help, but we cannot d should not assume the primary responsibility. It is intended that the technical assistance pro- ms in which the United States Government rticipates without the assistance of other inter- ional organizations shall be carried on for the st part by the appropriate agencies of the Gov- ment rather than by the State Department. e of the most important aims of the proposed gram is to integrate closely and maintain a per balance among various types of develop- nt projects. For example, no gain would be ieved if agricultural production in a certain area were increased but no transportation facilities were developed in order to take the food to market. It is considered essential for the success of the effort that there be adequate coordination of the development of programs to be undertaken by the United States Government in cooperation with other countries and that these programs be related specifically to those of the international agencies. It is contemplated, therefore, that the President will delegate to the Secretary of State authority for exercising general direction over and coordination of activities on behalf of the United States. As a member of the National Advisory Council he will work with the Treasury Department and other governmental agencies concerned with the capital investment aspects of the program and can relate technical cooperation activities to our efforts to stimulate the flow of capital.

It is anticipated that in technical cooperation as well as investment, private organizations will play a major role. These organizations, both profit and nonprofit, possess vast stores of knowledge and skill and the ability to teach them to others. Every effort will be put forth to obtain extensive participation by nongovernmental organizations.

Although the bill which is before you makes a general declaration of policy on the part of the United States to promote the development of economically underdeveloped areas of the world, the activities specifically authorized are limited to the technical cooperation aspects of the program. However, technical knowledge and skills must be combined with new capital investment if maximum results are to be achieved. Even though savings are relatively low in underdeveloped countries, we anticipate that a large part of the financing of new capital needed will be obtained in those countries themselves. Most developmental projects involve a large element of local resources and labor which cannot be effectively introduced from outside. Furthermore it would not seem wise from the standpoint either of the borrower or of the lender to encourage the formation of too heavy an external debt by these countries. It is hoped that technical assistance can be given where needed to help them channel domestic savings into productive enterprises.

However, a substantial amount of foreign capital also will be needed. Major emphasis in the program is placed upon stimulating an increased flow of private investment to the underdeveloped areas, although it is recognized that private capital may not be available for certain types of projects such as public utilities, transportation and communications, and that public loans will therefore be required. To supply such funds the International Bank is of course available for sound loans for developmental purposes. We anticipate that the Bank will play an increasingly important role in making loans for developmental projects for which private capital is not available. In many cases, the establishment of basic public serv-

ices and facilities through such loans is essential before private enterprises can be established. The Export-Import Bank will also continue to make loans to foreign countries for developmental purposes.

The stimulating of private investment not only opens up potentially large sources of capital beyond that which can be made available through public agencies but also has the advantage that private investors bring with their investment an incentive and "know how" for securing the most effective use of the facilities developed.

Our citizens are likely to invest abroad only when they feel that there is an opportunity for a reasonable return on their investment and that the risks involved are not excessive in comparison with similar investments in this country. The assurances which are needed cannot be obtained through one device alone. Cooperative efforts on the part of capital exporting nations and of the underdeveloped countries is needed. We have explored a number of possible methods of approach and have developed several which should be helpful. We propose to familiarize prospective investors with investment opportunities in the underdeveloped areas by expanding existing facilities for disseminating information on economic conditions generally and on specific opportunities for investment in those areas. Technical assistance itself, by making available a healthier and better trained force of workers, and helping to establish more effective government and business practices in underdeveloped areas, opens the way for private investment.

Two general lines of action are now contemplated to reduce the risks not ordinarily encountered in a business enterprise at home, although as the result of experience and further study, other measures may be devised. As a matter of particular significance, we propose to intensify our efforts to secure treaties with other countries which will give greater confidence to investors. These proposed treaties will seek to secure assurance of nondiscriminatory, reasonable, fair, and equitable treatment for our investors, no less favorable than that accorded to the nationals of other countries. Assurances also are sought of reasonable freedom to operate, control, and manage enterprises and of prompt, adequate, and effective compensation in the event of the expropriation of the investor's property. The treaties deal also with the ability of an investor to withdraw earnings and capital investment. They attempt to limit the conditions under which exchange restrictions may be imposed on such withdrawals.

Although these treaties should do much to encourage investment, they can be only a partial solution of the problem. Some of the risks involved, such as the possible inability of the investor to convert the proceeds of his investment into dollars, stem from difficulties which foreign governments may not be able to control despite their most sincere efforts to do so. It is proposed, therefore, that the Export-Import Bank be authorized to guarantee United States private capital newly invested in productive enterprises abroad against risks peculiar to foreign investment. Hearings have been held before both the Senate and the House Banking and Currency Committees on legislation for this purpose.

While we understand that an investor must insist on certain assurances before risking his money abroad, at the same time we recognize that the underdeveloped countries on their part have the right to expect that foreign enterprises will be so conducted as to benefit the area whose resources and labor are involved. Foreign investment like domestic investment should be prepared to bear its fair share of local taxes, should provide adequate wages and working conditions for local labor, should not waste local resources—should in short, maintain the same standards of conduct which enlightened business is following here at home.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that the President's challenging proposal for helping the masses of people of the world to improve their living conditions has aroused great interest, great enthusiasm, and great hope throughout the world. There already is evidence that many people in many countries have been quick to grasp its implications and its potentialities. As the originators of the proposal, we in the United States are being looked to for constructive leadership in carrying it forward. The technical cooperation activities authorized in the bill before you are basic to the orderly and rapid process of economic development. Although the program recommended is modest, it marks the beginning of a movement that can reach far into the future and in time change civilization profoundly for the better. It is not charity. It is an enlightened, businesslike attempt to solve one of the most crucial problems with which our world is confronted.

I urgently recommend your favorable action on the proposed legislation.

sition on Claims of Sabalo Transportation Company ainst Mexican Government

ANSWER TO CHARGES OF REPRESENTATIVE WOLVERTON AGAINST ASSISTANT SECRETARY MILLER

ased to the press September 28

he following letter to Representative John , Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Af- s, is in response to his request for information he charges made by Representative Wolverton inst Assistant Secretary Edward G. Miller. Wolverton's remarks have been reported in the s in the United States and Mexico.

September 16, 1949

Y DEAR MR. KEE: I appreciate your concern, xpressed in your letter of September 14, about remarks made in the House on August 26 in rd to Assistant Secretary Edward G. Miller,

n Representative Wolverton's remarks as re- ted in the *Congressional Record* of August 26, 9, under the caption "Case of Mexican Oil elopment" he referred to the fact that the law of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which Mr. Miller been a member, had acted as counsel to Sabalo nsportation Company in connection with the er's claim against the Mexican Government that this firm had made representations to the mittee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce he House of Representatives with respect to claim. He also made a statement to the effect shortly after Mr. Miller was sworn in as istant Secretary of State, a document was smitted to Mexico setting forth the conditions er which the United States Government would ceed in the matter of an oil loan to Petroleos icanos. He then stated: "There may be no nection between the events that I have stated, it is interesting to note that although months sed without any formal answer being made to ico, that an answer was made so shortly after appointment of Mr. Miller to the post of As- nt Secretary in Charge of Latin American irs."

The implication that Mr. Miller has not acted properly in this matter is fully refuted by the facts. Mr. Miller had been until his nomination for the position of Assistant Secretary of State on May 27, 1949, a member of the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, New York. I understand that his firm was retained by the Sabalo Company in early 1948 as counsel to present its claim against the Mexican Government to the Department of State. This Department and the American Embassy in Mexico City have for many years been aware of the circumstances whereby the Mexican Government as early as 1937, and prior to the expropriation decree of 1938, interfered with the exploitation by the Sabalo Company of valuable oil rights of Sabalo in the Poza Rica field. Although you will appreciate that I personally have not followed the Sabalo matter at first hand, the following represents in substance my understanding of the background of the case.

The Sabalo Company (which I understand is wholly owned by United States citizens), beginning in 1937, endeavored to obtain redress against the Mexican Government through legal proceedings for the violation of its contractual rights. After the matter had been pending without action in the Supreme Court of Mexico for many years, the Company through its legal counsel presented its claim to the Department based on a denial of justice. This department agreed that a denial of justice had occurred and also agreed that the Sabalo Company had a legally valid claim against the Mexican Government. As early as April 1948 the Department instructed the American Embassy at Mexico to make official representations about the matter to the Mexican Government. These representations were met with the assertion on the part of the Mexican Foreign Office that the claim of the Sabalo Company had been expropriated by the 1938 expropriation decree. This contention which had also been made by Pemex in

defending Sabalo's law suit, was finally rejected when the Supreme Court of Mexico eventually made an interim decision in the case last February when the Court also upheld the contention of Sabalo that the Mexican petroleum laws did not grant Pemex a monopoly in the petroleum industry. No further action in this case has been taken by the Mexican Supreme Court although the Department is informed that recently (but prior to Mr. Miller's nomination) the executive branch of the Mexican Government has expressed its willingness to commence discussions with Sabalo looking to a settlement of the case.

In addition, there are a number of smaller claims of American nationals, primarily for royalties, which have been pending against the Mexican Government for many years and which this Department felt should properly be referred to before any final position could be taken on the application of Pemex for financial assistance.

When the Sabalo Company learned of the proposed discussions with the Mexican Government concerning the possibility of financial assistance, it took the position with this Department that no such financial assistance should be granted except on terms that would protect the rights of bona fide American claimants against the Mexican Government in the petroleum industry. After considering these representations on the part of Sabalo and having in mind the position of the other American claimants against Mexico in the petroleum industry, this Department through Assistant Secretary of State Thorp and other officers mentioned several times informally to Senator Bermudez the matter of claims, pointing out that the fairness of the treatment which the Mexican Government might accord to private American claimants in the petroleum industry was one of the elements which this Government would take into account in evaluating the good faith of the Mexican Government in its efforts to create a satisfactory atmosphere toward private capital. There representations were made long before Mr. Miller was nominated or took office and, so far as this Department is aware, Senator Bermudez never objected to the action of the Department in bringing up the matter of claims during the loan discussions. The Department has not at any time, however, taken the position that the settlement of claims was a condition precedent to the granting of financial assistance. On the other hand, the officers of this Department were, in my opinion, entirely justified in having brought up during the loan discussions the subject of unsettled private claims in the petroleum industry since this Government might open itself to severe criticism if it should aid with public funds a foreign government to develop an industry in which the rights of our nationals are disregarded by such foreign government. Furthermore, the suspension of th loan discussions on the part of the Mexican Go ernment appears to have been related entirely t questions other than the settlement of priva claims and we are still hopeful of reaching agre ment with Mexico on the basis of which it will b possible for us to aid the Mexican oil industr financially.

On May 28, 1949, Mr. Miller was nominated f Assistant Secretary, it being my intention at th time to designate him, as I subsequently did, to b in charge of American Republic Affairs. He is person of outstanding qualifications in his field ar in both public and private life has earned th respect of Latin Americans throughout the Hem sphere. Prior to accepting this nomination, M Miller discussed with officers of the Departmen including the Under Secretary, his private conne tions, including his firm's representation of t Sabalo Company, and we decided that these co nections did not disqualify Mr. Miller from accep ing the position any more than, for examp a nominee for Justice of the Supreme Cou would be disqualified because he had in priva practice represented clients who might be litigan before the Court. Immediately after being no inated, and without awaiting confirmation by t Senate of his appointment, Mr. Miller resigned a member of his law firm and after May 28, 19 earned no income whatever from that firm. A co of his agreement of resignation has been placed the records of the Department. You may be int ested in order to know the complete scrupulousn with which this resignation was effected that, though Mr. Miller's partnership agreement p vided in the event of resignation for liquidation his interest in the firm over a three-year period, agreement of resignation provided for one lu sum payment to be made to him immediately up his resignation despite the adverse consequences such procedure from the standpoint of perso income tax. Thus Mr. Miller, having had his terest in his former firm valued and paid to h in full, had no further interest in that firm as fr May 28, 1949. It follows from this that he has further personal interest whatever in the outco of the Sabalo case.

Nevertheless, as further evidence of Mr. Mill good faith, immediately after being nominated May 28, he sent a message to the Department the effect that upon assuming office he would wish to participate in any manner whatever in consideration of the Sabalo case. This posit was reduced to writing by Mr. Miller immedia after his assuming office at the end of June i memorandum which is placed on the file in Department in which he disqualified himself fr any further consideration of the Sabalo case.

Early in July, the Department communicate the Mexican Ambassador its final position in c nection with the Mexican loan discussions. T position had been entirely cleared within the

rtment and elsewhere in the Government prior Mr. Miller's assuming office and Mr. Miller did no time participate to any extent whatever in e preparation thereof, nor was Mr. Miller pres- t at the meeting at which Under Secretary of ate Webb finally communicated to the Mexican mbassador our conclusions with respect to the scussions. This position, including the sugges- ons which were made concerning the settlement claims, was in any event the position taken by is Department as a whole after long study of all the factors involved and I can assure you that is Department's decisions are not subject to influence according to the personal interests of any officer.

I have known Mr. Miller intimately since 1941 and during the period 1941 to 1946 he was a loyal subordinate of mine in numerous capacities. He is known to me to be a person of honor and I believe that his conduct in connection with the Sabalo matter as outlined above more than justifies the confidence that I have placed in him in returning him to Government service.

I trust that this information will clarify the situation for you and I appreciate your desire to make it available to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON

ubber—A Problem of Mutual Interest to Ceylon and the United States

Joseph C. Satterthwaite[1]

Rubber is a strategic material vital to the defense the United States, and hence is one of the im- rtant items being stock piled by the Munitions ard. Without foresight at the outset of the last ar, we would have been without the 1942 stock le of approximately 600 thousand long tons. kewise without the greatest of effort and the ap- ication of the highest technical and engineering ills we would have been unable to establish our nthetic rubber industry which, by the end of the ar, was producing at an annual capacity of 1 illion long tons at a cost of 7 billion dollars for uipment and facilities. Without our stock pile natural rubber and our success in producing nthetic rubber, we might well have lost the war.

Ceylon has just three products which account for proximately 96 percent of its export trade. ese three are tea, coconut products, and rubber. f these three, rubber accounts for 15 percent of a tal export trade amounting to 283 million dollars 1948, but for more than 44 percent of Ceylon's llar earnings. Thus during 1948 rubber was le to contribute 21 million dollars to the sterling ol. It is estimated that Ceylon contributed ap- oximately 25 million dollars to the sterling pool excess of its dollar needs.

Rubber is also of great importance to Ceylon be- use of its contribution to the employment of the habitants of the country. Unfortunately, a rge part of Ceylon's rubber costs more to produce than that of other major areas and recent price declines in natural rubber have resulted in wage cuts on the rubber plantations. These cuts would be very disturbing in any country, and in the Far East where living standards are not high, they may produce serious repercussions.

Ceylon made an outstanding contribution to the Allied war effort in connection with rubber supplies. During the war the major rubber producing areas, particularly the two most important ones—Malaya and Indonesia—were entirely cut off by Japanese occupation, and other areas of lesser importance in the Far East such as Thailand and Indochina were also unavailable to us. In an effort to make the maximum contribution, Ceylon increased its production of rubber from 49 thousand long tons in 1938 to an average of about 100 thousand long tons per year during the war.

Ceylon also finds rubber of special significance to its economy. Because of the relatively high costs of production in Ceylon, major adjustments appear to be inevitable, but it is necessary that Ceylon should have time to make such adjustments in a reasonable fashion. Meanwhile, it is hoped that the expanding world consumption of all rubber products will provide a more than adequate market for both synthetic and natural rubbers.

In this situation our national policy with respect to rubber is of especial interest to the Government of Ceylon. As I understand it, this policy may be defined as support for the free movement of rubber in international trade, combined with support of our synthetic rubber industry to the extent necessary for national security. Meanwhile, we

[1] Excerpts from an address delivered before the annual eeting of the 330th Field Artillery Association, Detroit, ich., on Oct. 1, 1949, and released to the press on the same te. Mr. Satterthwaite is Ambassador to Ceylon.

are stock piling natural rubber against the eventuality that natural rubber-producing areas might be denied us in the case of an emergency.

Our synthetic rubber policy is based on the Rubber Act of 1948 which provides that the government may require the use of synthetic rubbers. Under this act it is estimated that we required in 1948 the consumption of approximately 276 thousand long tons of synthetic rubbers and used an additional 166 thousand long tons voluntarily. Although it is true that in 1948 the United States consumed 627 thousand long tons of natural rubber, a quantity in excess of the amount consumed prior to the war, nevertheless, with the price of natural rubber below immediate prewar levels, foreign producers tend to think in terms of markets which are being denied them. This has been particularly delicate in the case of the producers of Ceylon because of their recollection of the indispensable role they played in supplying rubber to the United States and other Allied areas during the war. Furthermore, a part of this great contribution was made possible only through the use of slaughter tapping.

It has been difficult as well for Ceylon to understand our rubber policy because the high rate of use of synthetic rubber has been achieved in large part by government directive. Of course, the essential element has always been the security interest of the United States in accordance with Congressional enactment. In this connection, recent action by the Secretary of Commerce amending Rubber Order R–1 to permit a wider area of competition between natural and synthetic rubbers should be particularly helpful in our foreign relations. The former requirement of a 45 percent average general purpose synthetic rubber content in a wide range of passenger tires has been reduced to 35 percent. The requirement of 80 percent usage in farm implement tires has been reduced to 75 percent. The requirements with respect to the use of butyl rubber (for use of inner tubes) have been suspended with the provision that required usage of butyl rubber will be reinstated if voluntary consumption falls below 15 thousand long tons a year.

This action was made possible by the adoption a week ago of the policy that the total amount of general purpose synthetic rubber produced and used in the United States should be 25 percent of the total usage of general purpose and natural rubber as contrasted with the previously required percentage of 33⅓ percent. This action arose out of our agreement with the British at the time of the recent American, British, and Canadian economic discussions to open to natural rubber a substantial additional area of competition. It should result in a reduction of the mandatory use of synthetic rubber to the extent of 50 thousand long tons based on 1950 estimates.

Although it is impossible to tell how much additional natural rubber will be consumed as a result of this action, it is nevertheless believed that substantial benefit will accrue to the natural producing areas in terms of both increased markets for natural rubber and a more favorable price level. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, in announcing the recent reduction in the mandatory use of synthetic rubber, said: "By this action we hope to strengthen the world-wide security of the United States by assisting in the stabilization of the economy of Europe and the Far East rubber producing countries."

What of the future? Ceylon is faced with very serious problems. It is a relatively high-cost producer and, I am told, some rubber plantations are badly located. Only a small proportion of the existing rubber trees are of high yielding strains and, therefore, a major program of replanting must be carried through. I believe that plans are underway to improve the situation, including the elimination of rubber production from marginal areas by government purchase of land.

The United States Government for its part is in the process of formulating a position for the future with respect to synthetic rubber. The framework of its present policy is provided by the Rubber Act of 1948 which expires next June. An interagency committee is actively considering recommendations with respect to new legislation. In this connection it is believed that it will be essential to enable the government to continue support of the synthetic rubber industry in the interest of protecting the national security. The sentiment in this country is unmistakable that never again should we permit ourselves to be caught in the helpless position in which we found ourselves in 194. It is, however, highly desirable that the United States should balance realistically all of the relevant policy considerations in determining and administering its future rubber policy.

Prime Minister of India Visits U.S.

[*Released to the press September 28*]

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, will arrive in Washington on October 11. While in Washington the Prime Minister will be the guest of the President at Blair House and later stay with his sister, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Ambassador of India, at the Embassy.

Upon departure from Washington on October 15, the Prime Minister will go to New York where he will remain until October 22, when he will depart for Ottawa via Niagara Falls. After visiting in Canada for several days the Prime Minister will go to Chicago on October 26. On October the Prime Minister will fly to Knoxville, Tenn. see to make an inspection of the TVA installatio

n October 30, the Prime Minister will fly to San rancisco where he will remain until November On November 4 he will visit the University of isconsin at Madison and thence proceed to New ork en route to London.

teps Taken for Release of U.S. ommercial Vessels Detained in China

eleased to the press September 30]

The Department of State has instructed the merican Chargé d'Affaires at Canton, Rob- t C. Strong, to take up with the National overnment the question of the interception and tention of the *Flying Independent* and the *Fly- g Clipper* while proceeding on an outbound ssage from Shanghai.

The two vessels were intercepted by two Chinese val craft and were instructed to anchor at the trance of the Yangtse River.

It has been further reported to the Department at the *Flying Trader* on inbound passage for anghai was similarly instructed to anchor.

The Chargé has been instructed to ascertain om the Nationalist Government facts surround- g the detention of the three vessels and its in- ntions with regard to their early release. After is information has been obtained, the United ates Government will decide what steps might propriately be taken.

The Department authorized the publication to- ght of the following telegram to the Isbrandtsen o., Inc., 26 Broadway, New York, N. Y., on eptember 16:

Reference your telegram dated September 14, 49 concerning the intentions of your company dispatch vessel *Flying Independent* into anghai. As you are already aware the United ates Government does not recognize the Chinese ationalist Government's purported blockade of hinese ports. The Department of State has, wever, attempted to make available to United ates shipping companies, ship operators, and asters all reports indicating the nature and ex- nt of interference with foreign shipping by the hinese Navy. The Department's purpose in sup- lying this information is and has been to enable ipping companies and masters to formulate the st decisions. The Department wishes to make ear that it considers the decision to move vessels to Chinese ports to rest entirely with the ship- ing companies and masters.

It is not the policy of this Government to con- y commercial shipping into Shanghai or other Chinese ports. In consequence, you are advised that no naval escort will be provided for the projected movement of the *Flying Independent* into Shanghai. The Department of Navy concurs.

DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State

The Department this evening sent the following telegram to the Isbrandtsen Company:

September 30, 1949

With reference to the conversations in Department today, Department continues to concur in message sent you by Chief Naval Operations September 29 stating in part "in reply your telegram of 29 September you will appreciate the employment of U.S. Naval forces under present circumstances is not in accord with U.S. Government policy." American Embassy office at Canton has today been instructed to ascertain from National Government facts surrounding detention *Flying Independent* and *Flying Clipper* and its intentions with regard to their early release. After this information has been obtained the U.S. Government will decide what steps might appropriately be taken. Department has no basis for estimating length time required for National Government reply or nature of reply which may be made. The Department of opinion that decision regarding issuance by you instructions to masters *Flying Independent* and *Flying Clipper* is for you to make which is in conformity with Department statement in its telegram to you of September 16 that it considers the "decision to move vessels into Chinese ports to rest entirely with the shipping companies and masters," which decision on your part was taken in full knowledge of Chinese National Government closure order and presumably in knowledge of interception and detention of two British flag vessels departing Shanghai.

Air Transport Agreement With the Union of Burma

A reciprocal bilateral air transport agreement was concluded today in Rangoon by the United States Government and the Government of Burma. Ambassador J. Klahr Huddle signed on behalf of the United States, and U. E. Maung, Burmese Foreign Minister, signed for Burma.

The pact is the first bilateral air transport agreement concluded by the Government of Burma. It provides for the establishment of a route for Burma to the United States, should Burma one day inaugurate international airlines of her own.

The United States, in turn, is granted the right to designate United States carriers to conduct scheduled services to and through Burma. At present Pan American Airways and Trans World Airlines are certificated for such services.

The agreement just signed follows closely the standard form agreement developed at the International Civil Aviation Conference of 1944, adapted along the lines of the Bermuda air transport agreement concluded by the United States and the United Kingdom. It is the forty-first bilateral agreement concluded by the United States.

For text of the agreement, see Department of State press release 740 of September 27, 1949.

U.S.S.R.–U.S. Agree on Return of Icebreakers and Frigates

[*Released to the press September 27*]

The Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the United States agreed today on procedures for the return to the United States of 3 icebreakers and 27 frigates which had been loaned to the Soviet Government during the period of the war under lend-lease. The memorandum of agreement was signed by Ambassador Panyushkin and Assistant Secretary Thorp today.

Under the agreed procedure all of the vessels will be returned to American naval authorities not later than December 1, 1949. The icebreakers will be returned to the port of Bremerhaven, Germany, and the frigates to the port of Yokosuka, Japan.

Diplomatic Relations With Paraguay To Be Continued

[*Release to the press September 29*]

The United States Government has decided to continue normal diplomatic relations with Paraguay. Upon instruction the American Chargé d'Affaires in Paraguay, Archibald R. Randolph, today replied to a note dated September 12 addressed to him by the Foreign Minister of the new government. The text of the note follows:

I have the honor to refer to your note of September 12 informing my Government that Mr. Federico Chaves has been elected provisional President of Paraguay in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the national constitution.

My Government has instructed me to assure your Excellency of its intention to continue normal diplomatic relations with the Government of your Excellency and to reiterate its desire to extend and strengthen the bonds of friendship between our nations.

This decision is in accordance with the policy with respect to recognition discussed in Secretary Acheson's speech before the Pan American Society on September 19.[1]

Letters of Credence

Colombia

The newly appointed Ambassador of Colombia, Señor Dr. Don Eduardo Zuleta-Angel, presented his credentials to the President on September 26, 1949. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 733 of September 26, 1949.

Rumania

The newly appointed Minister of the People's Republic of Rumania, Mihail Magheru, presented his credentials to the President on September 26, 1949. For texts of the Minister's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 734 of September 26, 1949.

Nepal

The newly appointed Minister of Nepal, General Shanker Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, presented his credentials to the President on September 27, 1949. For texts of the Minister's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 737 of September 27, 1949.

Ethiopia

The newly appointed Ambassador of Ethiopia, Ras H. S. Imru, presented his credentials to the President on September 27, 1949. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 738 of September 27, 1949.

Union of South Africa

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Union of South Africa, Gerhardus Petrus Jooste, presented his credentials to the President on September 28, 1949. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 742 of September 28, 1949.

[1] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 462.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

ıfirmations

ı September 21, 1949, the Senate confirmed the fol-
ng nominations to be American Ambassadors Ex-
rdinary and Plenipotentiary to the country indicated
ı their respective names: Stanton Griffis to Argentina,
ert D. Murphy to Belgium, and Joseph C. Satterthwaite
eylon.

ignations

he President on August 16, 1949, accepted the resig-
on of Felix Cole as American Ambassador to Ceylon.
text of the President's letter to Mr. Cole, see White
se press release of September 7, 1949.

THE DEPARTMENT

ıfirmations

ı September 27, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomina-
of W. Walton Butterworth to be an Assistant Secre-
of State.

THE CONGRESS

;islation

eries of Reports Made by the Commission on Organi-
on of the Executive Branch of the Government. Mes-
from the President of the United States transmitting
atement on the series of reports made by the Commis-
on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Gov-
nent. H. Doc. 176, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 3 pp.
hird Report to Congress of the Economic Cooperation
ıinistration. Message from the President of the United
es transmitting the third report of the Economic Coop-
ion Administration for the quarter ended December
1948. H. Doc. 179, 81st Cong., 1st sess. xi, 159 pp.
upplemental Estimate of Appropriation for Assistance
reece and Turkey, Communication from the President
ne United States transmitting supplemental estimate of
ropriation for the fiscal year 1950, in the amount of
000,000, for additional assistance to Greece and Turkey.
Doc. 181, 81st Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Energy Resources of the World. Pub. 3428. 128 pp. $2.25 a copy.

The study is primarily a compilation of data on the energy resources of the world: their occurrence, production, processing, trade, and utilization. Includes maps and charts in color.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1887. Pub. 3481. 8 pp. 5¢.

Between the United States and Other Governments, Protocol for the Accession of Signatories of the Final Act of October 30, 1947—Signed at Geneva September 14, 1948; entered into force September 14, 1948.

Foreign Service List, July 1, 1949. Pub. 3539. 116 pp. 30¢ a copy. Subscription price $1.50 a year domestic; $2 foreign.

Includes the posts of assignment, the index of persons, and the geographic index.

Relief Supplied and Packages for Austria: Duty-Free Entry Payment on Transportation Charges. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1922. Pub. 3544. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Austria—Effected by Exchange of Notes signed at Vienna February 3 and 11, 1949; entered into force February 11, 1949.

Seventh Report to Congress on Assistance to Greece and Turkey for the Period Ended March 31, 1949. Economic Cooperation Series 21. Pub. 3594. 43 pp. 20¢.

Quarterly report on U.S. military assistance to Greece and Turkey covering the period from January 1, 1949, to March 31, 1949.

U.S. National Commission UNESCO News, September 1949. Pub. 3619. 12 pp. 10¢ a copy. Subscription price $1 a year domestic; $1.35 foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Harmony To Save Succeeding Generations From the Scourge of War. International Organization and Conference Series, 35. [BULLETIN Reprint] Pub. 3622. 4 pp.

Address made by Ambassador Warren R. Austin at the Berkshire Musical Festival at Lenox, Mass., on Aug. 12, 1949.

The United Nations: 4 Years of Achievement. International Organization and Conference Series III, 36. Pub. 3624. 35 pp. 15¢.

Major actions taken through the United Nations over the 4 years of the postwar era are summarized briefly.

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The Department of State

bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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NALYSIS AND EFFECTS OF THE ELECTIONS N WESTERN GERMANY

y Otto Kirchheimer and Arnold H. Price

NTRODUCTION

The West German elections for the first Bundes-g, held on August 14, 1949, with a better than verage participation, resulted in the emergence f the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) and the ocial Democratic Party (SPD) as the two major roups that obtained respectively 31.0 percent and 9.2 percent of the total vote. The Free Demo-atic Party (FDP), with 11.0 percent, has become e third strongest group; most of the other seven arties represented in the Bundestag obtained less an 5 percent each of the total vote.

The election system, combining the single-mem-er district with proportional representation, un-oubtedly favored the three major parties and orked to the disadvantage of some of the smaller roups, among them especially the Communists nd still more the independent candidates, most f whom represented refugee interests. Yet use of system of straight proportional representation ould not have changed the essential outcome of e elections: i.e., the plurality of the combined ote of the CDU/CSU and the FDP over the So-al Democrats.

While the Communist Party (KPD) lost both number of absolute votes and still more in the ercentage of the total votes cast and has been re-uced to the status of a minor party, the two major arties were able to increase their vote about one illion each. However, in the light of an increase f seven million votes, both of these parties lost their share in the total vote, because of the trans-er of a large part of the refugee vote to the FDP, e smaller rightist groups, and especially the in-epends. In the case of the CDU/CSU, the formation of the Bavarian and the German Parties and a partial shift of protestant votes away from the CDU/CSU also seem to have been contributory factors.

On balance, the combined share of the SPD and KPD in the total vote has remained the same since 1928 (about 36 percent), and the SPD's position as the major working-class party has been confirmed. Whether the remainder of the vote can be assigned to the center and rightist groups remains problematical; neither the character nor the future course of any of these groups can as yet be clearly defined. Whether the CDU/CSU will be able to continue as the major interdenominational middle-class group or will again become predominantly Catholic will depend on its continued ability to keep a substantial part of the non-Catholic voters from shifting to the more radical rightist groups. The future of the other center and rightist groups, including the growing but not very homogeneous Free Democratic Party, is still more uncertain. It will depend primarily on their ability to serve the interests of refugees, bombed-out people, the urban lower middle class, and small landowners and peasants.

In spite of the so-called anti-Socialist victory,

Note on abbreviations:

CDU—Christian Democratic Union
CSU—Christian Social Union
SPD—Social Democratic Party
KPD—Communist Party
FDP—Free Democratic Party
BP—Bavarian Party
WAV—Economic Reconstruction Party
DP—German Party
DRP—*Deutsche Rechtspartei*

Table 1: A Comparison of the 1949 Western German election with 1928 and 1946 elections

Area	Year	Eligible	Voters participating	Percent of eligibles participating	Percent of invalid	In percentage to valid votes cast													
						KPD [1]	SPD [2]	CDU/CSU [3]	Center [4]	Liberal [5]	BP [6]	DP [7]	WAV [8]	DKP/DRP [9]	SSW [10]	Nazi [11]	Other [12]	Refugee [13]	Independent [14]
Baden	1928 [15]	707, 678	429, 776	60. 7	1. 6	4. 9	17. 3	48. 8	. .	14. 5	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 6	17. 9	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	674, 276	455, 032	67. 5	3. 5	7. 6	17. 6	60. 4	. .	14. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3. 6	. .
	1949	815, 221	570, 238	69. 9	4. 8	4. 2	23. 7	51. 1	. .	17. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	6. 5	29. 3	. .	. .
Bavaria	1928 [15]	4, 003, 537	2, 999, 294	74. 9	1. 3	3. 4	23. 8	31. 7	. .	5. 8	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
	1946 [17]	3, 884, 158	2, 785, 661	71. 7	2. 3	5. 3	28. 9	58. 3	. .	2. 5	. .	. .	5. 0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. 1
	1949	5, 980, 683	4, 851, 319	81. 1	2. 5	4. 1	22. 7	29. 2	. .	8. 5	20. 9	. .	14. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Bremen	1928 [15]	269, 555	212, 609	74. 9	n. a.	9. 9	43. 6	2. 5	. .	26. 3	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 0	16. 7	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	307, 485	250, 745	81. 6	. .	11. 4	47. 9	19. 2	. .	16. 9	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4. 6	. .	. .
	1949	379, 639	304, 368	82. 0	2. 3	6. 7	34. 4	16. 8	. .	12. 9	. .	17. 9	. .	. .	. .	. .	2. 3	. .	9. 0
Hamburg	1928 [15]	1, 134, 326	905, 292	79. 9	1. 0	16. 8	38. 0	1. 6	. .	24. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2. 5	16. 7	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	968, 454	765, 008	79. 0	. .	10. 4	43. 1	19. 2	. .	16. 9	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 7	. .	. .
	1949	1, 130, 655	926, 411	81. 9	2. 3	8. 5	39. 6	19. 8	. .	15. 8	. .	13. 1	. .	1. 2	. .	. .	1. 5	. .	. 5
Hesse	1928	2, 184, 551	1, 539, 973	70. 5	1. 4	8. 5	39. 6	19. 8	. .	16. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3. 1	25. 2	. .	. .
	1946 [17]	2, 174, 759	1, 559, 027	71. 7	5. 2	8. 8	33. 1	13. 4	. .	8. 1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. 6	. .	. .
	1949	2, 907, 297	2, 125, 266	77. 3	5. 4	9. 8	44. 3	37. 2	. .	28. 0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. 3	. .	11. 5
Lower Saxony	1928 [14] [15]	2, 074, 738	1, 590, 853	77. 9	1. 0	6. 7	32. 1	21. 4	. .	28. 0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3. 6	33. 0	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	3, 349, 133	2, 293, 965	68. 5	. .	4. 2	36. 0	8. 2	. .	14. 9	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. 9	. .	. .
	1949	4, 408, 190	3, 365, 497	78. 0	2. 2	5. 1	41. 9	22. 5	2. 0	8. 2	. .	19. 4	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 2	. .	8. 1
North Rhineland-Westphalia.	1928 [15]	6, 994, 050	5, 232, 126	74. 8	1. 9	3. 1	33. 4	17. 6	3. 4	7. 5	. .	17. 8	. .	8. 1	. .	. .	20. 3	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	7, 167, 820	5, 336, 647	74. 5	. .	13. 7	21. 8	30. 7	. .	12. 1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 4	. 8	. .	. .
	1949	8, 678, 335	6, 906, 019	79. 6	2. 7	9. 4	33. 4	46. 0	6. 1	4. 2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2. 4	. .	. .
Rhineland-Palatinate	1928 [15]	1, 709, 719	1, 209, 972	70. 8	1. 6	7. 6	31. 5	36. 9	8. 9	8. 6	. .	. .	. .	1. 8	. .	3. 6	19. 5	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	1, 569, 091	1, 237, 850	78. 9	5. 6	5. 6	21. 2	36. 5	. .	13. 6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
	1949	1, 902, 150	1, 513, 842	79. 6	5. 5	7. 4	30. 4	54. 7	. .	7. 5	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. 3
Schleswig-Holstein	1928 [15]	933, 388	721, 310	77. 3	1. 5	6. 2	28. 6	49. 1	. .	15. 8	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
	1946 [16]	1, 409, 891	994, 841	70. 7	. .	6. 6	35. 7	1. 0	. .	19. 0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4. 2	34. 2	. .	. .
	1949	1, 730, 060	1, 430, 905	82. 7	2. 3	5. 1	41. 0	37. 3	. 1	6. 0	. .	. .	. .	1. 3	8. 3	. .	. .	. .	. 8
Württemberg-Baden	1928 [15]	1, 861, 162	1, 241, 912	66. 7	1. 4	3. 1	29. 6	30. 7	. 9	7. 4	. .	12. 1	. .	1. 9	5. 4	. .	1. 3	. .	7. 6
	1946 [16]	1, 771, 337	1, 208, 481	68. 2	3. 9	9. 3	27. 1	16. 0	. .	17. 1	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2. 7	27. 7	. .	. .
	1949	2, 519, 244	1, 747, 995	72. 5	4. 2	10. 0	32. 3	40. 9	. .	16. 8	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Württemberg-Hohenzollern.	1928 [15]	670, 920	443, 828	66. 2	n. a.	7. 4	25. 3	31. 0	. .	18. 2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	16. 7	. .
	1946 [16]	616, 492	429, 920	69. 7	4. 3	3. 5	17. 1	36. 4	. .	12. 2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2. 2	28. 6	. .	1. 4
	1949	727, 948	469, 518	64. 5	3. 4	6. 8	19. 8	63. 1	. .	10. 3	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total	1949	31, 179, 422	24, 490, 752	78. 5	3. 1	5. 3	18. 8	59. 1	. .	15. 3	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1. 5	. .
						5. 7	29. 2	31. 0	3. 1	11. 9	4. 2	4. 0	2. 9	1. 8	. 3	. .	1. 0	1. 3	3. 6

See footnote on page 565.

ıe outcome of the elections does not indicate a ear-cut decision for a free market as against a lanned economy. On the other hand, it will make ore difficult the reconstruction of the civil service ong democratic lines, and will make less probable ıy early federal action on socialization or eco- ›mic codetermination of work councils and trade ıions. Although the weak parliamentary in- ıence of the Communists and the rightist groups ill make for smoother relations between the erman Government and the Western Allies, it ill not essentially change parliamentary pres- res for maximum concessions from the Western llies.

ARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS ND INVALID VOTES

Over-all participation in the August 14 elec- ›ns for the Parliament of the West German state ıs higher than that in any Western German ›ction since 1945 and conformed to the pattern evailing during the 1924–28 period of stability der the Weimar Republic (table 1). The ımber of votes cast was 78.5 percent of the total ›ctorate, or 24,491,000 of 31,179,000. During the eimar period participation ran from 77.4 per- nt in May 1924 to 75.6 percent in May 1928.

Only in the actual years of crisis, during the establishment of the Republic in 1919–20 and during the final crisis of 1930–33, did participation run up to 80 percent and above.

Regional participation in the August elections ran considerably lower, particularly in predominantly rural regions such as Baden (69.9 percent) and Württemberg-Hohenzollern (64.5 percent) which have not yet experienced any appreciable influx of refugees. Participation running above average occurred in predominantly urban areas such as Hamburg (81.9 percent), Bremen (82.0 percent), and North Rhineland-Westphalia (79.6 percent); and those semirural areas, such as Schleswig-Holstein (82.7 percent) and Bavaria (81.1 percent), that have a higher-than-average number of refugees. The higher vote in the latter areas is probably due both to the higher participation of refugees and to general intensification of political issues caused by the omnipresence of the refugee problem.

An increase of approximately 7 million occurred in the number of votes since 1946 (table 2). These new voters were divided roughly as follows: 1.5 million newly enfranchised voters by coming of age; 2 million refugees voting for the first time; .5 million Germans from the Eastern zone who have fled to Western Germany; 1 million prisoners of war who have returned to Germany since 1946; and another 2 million voters who had not exercised their right to vote, had been unable to vote because of residence requirements, or had been temporarily disenfranchised as Nazis.

Totaling 762,000, the invalid vote has everywhere been considerably smaller than in other elections since 1945. Nevertheless, with an aver-

Table 2. Comparison of numerical voting strength by party, 1946 and 1949 elections

Party	1946	1949
	Thousands	*Thousands*
CDU/CSU	7, 337	7, 358
SPD	5, 941	6, 932
KPD	1, 333	1, 360
FDP	1, 066	2, 789
DP	454	940
Center Party	368	727
WAV	225	682
BP	. . . . .	987
Independents	. . . . .	845
Refugee lists	. . . . .	318
Other	242	747
Total	16, 966	23, 685

References: *Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 16, 1949, *Frank- ›ter Rundschau*, August 18, 1949.
Note: Results are preliminary and approximate.
Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands.
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.
1928: Zentrum, *Bayrische Volkspartei.*
946/9: *Christlich-Demokratische Union, Christlich-So- le Union.*
Zentrum (1946/9).
1928: *Deutsche Demokratische Partei, Deutsche Volks- ›tei.*
946/9: *Freie Demokratische Partei, Bremer Demo- ›tische Volkspartei, Deutsche Volkspartei.*
Bayernpartei.
1946: *Niedernsaechsische Landespartei.*
949: *Deutsche Partei.*
Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung.
Deutsche Konservative Partei; Deutsche Rechtspartei.
1946: *Suedschieswigsche Vereinigung; Sozialdemo- ›tische Partei Flensburg.*
949: *Suedschleswigsche Waehlervereinigung.*
1928: *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.*
1928: *Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Wirtschafts- ›tei, Deutsche Bauernpartei, Landbund, Landvolk, ›ksrechtspartei, minorities*, etc.
946/9: *Arbeiterpartei, Radikal-Soziale Freiheitspartei, ›inische Volkspartei*, and others.
1949: *Notgemeinschaft, Sammlung zur Tat.*
Independent candidates.
Reichstag elections, July 1928.
Kreis or *Buergerschaft* elections, October 13, 1946.
Constitutional assembly elections, June 30, 1946.
Province of Hanover only.

age of 3.1 percent, it is still considerably higher than the pre-1933 invalid vote, which generally was around 1 percent. The invalid vote has been uniformly highest in those regions where ultra-rightist groups did not run candidates of their own—for instance, in the French zone, where the Rhineland-Palatinate area ran an invalid vote as high as 5.5 percent; Württemberg-Baden (4.2 percent); and Hesse (5.4 percent). It thus seems justifiable to conclude that a considerable percentage of the invalid vote was among rightist groups. (See table 1.)

THE ELECTION SYSTEM

The combination of single-member districts with the system of proportional representation gave the two big parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), an advantage over all other parties. (See table 3.) The Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the four parties with a regionally concentrated following—the Bavarian Party (BP), the German Party (DP), the Economic Reconstruction Party (WAV), and the Center Party—fared approximately as well as they would have under a system of straight proportional representation. At a grave disadvantage were those parties like the Communist Party (KPD) and the German Rightist Party (DRP), with a scattered following distributed over several regions, and especially the independent candidates, whose votes could not be combined to obtain seats on the regional reserve list. However, in both cases, additional factors not necessarily inherent in the working of the combination between single-member districts and proportional representation contributed heavily to the losses of these latter groups: in the case of the KPD and the DRP it was the provision of the election law excluding any group not obtaining a minimum of 5 percent of the total regional vote from the distribution of regional reserve seats; in case of the independents it was the earlier refusal of Military Government to recognize refugee organizations as political parties, thus depriving them of participation in reserve-list distributions.

A system of straight proportional representation, however, would not have given political results much at variance with those produced under the present system. The main difference would have been that under proportional representation 12 more independents and 8 more Communists would have won seats with a corresponding smaller number of SPD, CDU, and FDP seats. The formation of a middle-right combination would have been slightly more difficult since initial cooperation of two instead of one of the smaller rightist groups would have been necessary. In any case the final outcome of the elections—i.e., the relatively weaker position of the SPD as compared with the combined CDU and FDP vote—would not have been substantially altered under a system of proportional representation.

It is not possible to calculate exactly how the individual parties would have fared if the election system had been based only on single-member districts, with the election outcome decided by straight pluralities without reserve lists. In such a case, the parties would have been forced in many instances to agree on a common candidate. However, since CDU and FDP combinations or combinations of one or the other with smaller rightist parties would have been fairly frequent, where SPD-KPD combinations would have been practically nonexistent, such a system would probably have resulted in a straight CDU-FDP majority and a correspondingly weaker SPD.

The question may also be raised to what extent the exclusion of Western Berlin from participation in the elections influenced the political complection of the Bundestag. Assuming that the voting pattern would have remained the same in the 1948 Berlin elections, in which the KPD did not participate, 15 SPD seats, 4 CDU, and 3 F

Table 3. Statistical analysis of the German election system

Party	Seats received	Seats under PR	Votes per seat received
CDU/CSU	139	125	52, 932
SPD	131	117	52, 918
FDP, BDV	52	48	54, 382
BP	17	17	58, 036
DP	17	16	55, 299
KPD	15	23	90, 667
WAV	12	12	56, 832
Center Party	10	12	54, 382
DRP/DKP	5	7	85, 790
Independents	2	15	422, 315
SSW	1	1	75, 387
Refugees	1	5	318, 418
Other	--------	4	--------
Total	402	402	[1] 59, 711

[1] Average number of valid votes for each seat.

ts would have been added to the present 402 ts of the Bundestag. This assumption would ve given the SPD a slight advantage over the DU and would have made it the strongest indi- ual party. Such an outcome would not have, vever, deprived the CDU and the FDP of the sibility of forming a government excluding the D and resting on the support of one minor htist group. Thus, whatever the election sys- , and with or without Berlin participation, the ponderance of the CDU-FDP combination uld have remained the deciding factor.

A different picture might have emerged only if whole Eastern zone, with its heavy working- ss vote, had participated in the elections. In s case, the SPD would probably have gained a vy enough plurality over the CDU/CSU—pos- ly approximating the combined CDU/CSU- P vote—to make an administration excluding dominant SPD politically unfeasible.

ALYSIS BY PARTIES AND GROUPS

e Communist Party

The KPD suffered the most severe losses at the ls. Since the last diet elections, it lost about ,000 votes in the various regions and its per- tage of the total votes cast declined from 9.5 5.7 percent. To some extent this decline was to the fact that the party is anathema to most the approximately 3.9 million refugee voters, well to the several hundred thousand of fugi- es from the Eastern zone and to the prisoners war, many of whom voted for the first time in a e election. This feeling accounts for the heavy ses of the KPD in many rural regions having a vy refugee vote. However, the losses of the D were equally telling in predominantly urban ions, in which the refugee vote scarcely counted l which have hitherto been considered main- ys of communism in Western Germany. The centage of the Communist vote continued to line in such places as Bremen, Hamburg, and rth Rhineland-Westphalia. When the party's sent status is compared with its pre-1933 ength—a comparison which in these areas is r because of the comparatively smaller influx of w elements—it becomes evident that the KPD is idly losing its position as a serious competitor the SPD for the working-class vote. For example, in North Rhineland-Westphalia, the biggest Communist center of Western Germany, its percentage of the total vote cast has since 1928—which was not a year of top Communist performance—declined from 13.7 to 7.6 percent. Comparable figures for Hamburg are 16.8 and 8.5 percent. A comparison of the present numerical voting strength of the SPD and the KPD in these regions tells the same story: 359,000 SPD voters in Hamburg are matched by only 77,000 KPD voters; and 2,108,000 SPD voters in North Rhineland-Westphalia by only 512,000 KPD voters.

The Social Democratic Party

The SPD emerged from the elections as the second strongest party. It gained about a million new votes as compared with earlier postwar elections, though its proportion of the total votes decreased from 35 to 29.2 percent. This decrease was due mostly to the shift of the refugee vote to independent and rightist groups. In regions where the refugee vote was not an especially significant factor (as in most urban areas and in the French zone), the SPD held its own, generally winning a substantial percentage of new votes and often absorbing the losses suffered by the Communist Party. The status of the SPD as the main German working-class party has thus been confirmed. On the other hand, it has not been able to maintain or to acquire the confidence of the majority in groups like refugees or bombed-out persons that have looked to the political parties and Land governments to mitigate their especially unfavorable situation. This failure is clearly demonstrated from the election returns in those regions where the SPD has carried the main burden of administrative responsibility since 1946—regions such as Hesse, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein (table 1). In these areas the SPD either made no gain or only imperceptibly increased its voting strength, thus leading to a substantial drop of its percentage in the total vote. It did much better in the Rhine-Ruhr area, proving incidentally that neither the alleged favoritism shown the SPD by the British Labor Party nor the alleged failure of the SPD to prevent British dismantling through its relations with the British Labor Party has seriously influenced the voters' judgment (tables 1 and 4).

The SPD now slightly exceeds its 1928 relative voting strength, which as a result of the short-

lived prosperity wave after World War I, was a singularly successful SPD election year. This improvement seems to be due to the fact that the SPD has at least kept its share of the refugee vote, that its campaign among the lower middle-class groups has found some response, and that the great majority of the workers—of the old and the new generation—have placed their confidence in the SPD more clearly than at any time since 1919.

Moderate Middle-Class Parties

With 7,358,000 votes and 31 percent of the total vote cast, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU/CSU) has emerged from the election as the largest single group. Nevertheless, as in the SPD voting pattern, its percentage in the total vote cast has diminished since the last diet elections: from 37.7 to 31.0 percent. The shift of refugee votes to the independents and to rightist groups, together with the emergence of a new particularist conservative group in Bavaria and the consolidation of an already existing one in northwestern Germany, is primarily responsible for this decline. In addition to this percentage decline, the CDU sa a direct transfer of the votes of former supporte to other groups in Bavaria, Hesse, and Hambu (tables 1 and 5). If, nevertheless, in spite of these adverse factors, the CDU/CSU came out the elections as well as it did because of the prese preponderance of woman voters in the Germ electorate. Separate tabulations according to se made in some individual election district Cologne, make it quite clear that at least Catholic regions women voters show a mark CDU/CSU preference. Equally the small le wing Catholic Center Party, bearer of the o Center Party tradition and operating mainly the Rhineland and Westphalia, kept togeth pretty well in this election and almost reached t percentage figure it obtained in the 1947 electio

The Free Democratic Party (FDP) receiv the support of 1.2 million new voters and increas its percentage of the total vote from 9.4 to 1 percent over the last diet elections. There is sharp regional difference in the strength of t party. The main gains of the FDP have not,

Table 4. Comparison between the 1947 and 1949 elections in selected districts of North Rhineland-Westpha

District	Year	Eligible	Percent of participation	Percent of invalid	KPD	SPD	CDU	Center	FDP	RVP	RSF	DRP
Euskirchen-Bergheim [1]	1947	107, 445	63. 7	7. 4	5, 015	19, 860	32, 661	2, 935	414	2, 522	------	------
	1949	117, 897	85. 0	3. 9	3, 017	33, 294	46, 037	3, 719	5, 631	3, 043	322	1, 213
Koeln (*Stadt Land*) [2]	1947	437, 824	58. 2	3. 8	41, 668	76, 210	111, 805	4, 091	9, 318	1, 860	------	------
	1949	497, 443	75. 8	n. a.	29, 508	125, 793	160, 221	3, 968	49, 257	979	1, 268	5, 497
Solingen-Remscheid [3]	1947	168, 799	68. 2	2. 8	31, 746	29, 400	26, 083	3, 905	19, 598	------	------	1, 098
	1949	180, 575	80. 3	2. 0	29, 760	35, 456	30, 454	3, 922	28, 404	358	11, 469	2, 284
Bielefeld [4]	1947	97, 387	67. 7	6. 1	5, 351	29, 098	20, 522	1, 651	5, 340	------	------	------
	1949	104, 423	82. 0	3. 3	3, 747	37, 509	23, 079	2, 349	9, 537	121	1, 941	2, 184
Warendorf-Beckum [5]	1947	111, 260	72. 5	4. 3	5, 488	29, 257	34, 607	14, 984	1, 810	------	------	------
	1949	120, 447	85. 9	2. 2	4, 114	23, 388	42, 216	20, 714	3, 015	234	340	------
Essen [6]	1947	381, 287	67. 6	3. 5	49, 135	79, 251	68, 531	39, 352	12, 293	------	------	------
	1949	410, 399	76. 0	2. 1	34, 116	105, 347	86, 946	42, 415	20, 764	653	10, 076	------
Muenster [7]	1947	112, 131	58. 1	3. 4	2, 334	13, 918	22, 106	20, 866	3, 743	------	------	------
	1949	123, 993	81. 7	1. 6	1, 927	21, 507	34, 464	30, 461	8, 965	173	468	1, 229
Lemgo [8]	1947	79, 832	67. 4	5. 4	3, 605	23, 774	18, 588	1, 253	3, 686	------	------	------
	1949	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	3, 028	25, 441	17, 581	901	8, 873	127	853	1, 745

[1] Consists of *Landkreise* Euskirchen and Bergheim (pop. 1939: 146,180; last: 183,141) and is mostly Catholic mixed rural and industrial.

[2] Consists of *Landkreis* and *Stadtkreis* Koeln (pop. 1939: 754,647; last: 678,969) and is mostly urban and Catholic

[3] Consists of Stadtkreise Remscheid and Solingen (pop. 1939: 244,254; last: 244,309) and is mostly industrial about two-thirds Protestant.

[4] Consists of the city of Bielefeld (pop. 1939: 129,466; last: 145,114) and is mostly industrial and Protestant.

[5] Consists of *Landkreise* Beckum and Warendorf (pop. 1939: 136,976; last: 191,996) and is mostly rural and Cath

[6] Consists of the city of Essen (pop. 1939: 666,743; last: 582,560) and is mostly industrial and Catholic.

[7] Consists of *Landkreis* and *Stadtkreis* Muenster (pop. 1939: 207,351; last: 194,276) and is mostly urban and Cath

[8] Consists of *Landkreis* Lemgo (pop. 1939: 91,533; last: 132,141) and is mostly rural and Protestant.

References: *Gesetz-und Verordnungsblatt fuer das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen*, May 7, 1947; July 8, 1949; *Die* Aug. 16, 1949.

ule, been obtained in northwestern Germany. cept for Bremen and Hamburg, in these regions emains a party of minor stature and obtains less n 10 percent of the total vote. It is strongest southern Germany; in some states, like Würtberg and Baden, this strength rests to some ent on its long-established liberal tradition ble 1). In other regions, especially in Hesse, FDP's success is attributable to its open alce with ultrarightist forces. Whether the ty can still be counted among the middle-of-road groups or whether it must be considered a way station for many voters in their movent toward the extreme right has yet to be seen. t the very fact that the party obtained its great-success through its rightist alliance in Hesse, reas it remains stationary in north Württemg-Baden under its old type of liberal leader-, gives some clues to its prospective elopment.

o what extent does the relative position of CDU and the FDP depend on religious affilia-? Generally speaking, the FDP is opposed giving religious organizations much voice in cational matters and does not appeal to Catho-voters. On the other hand, it would not be enly accurate to characterize the CDU as a Catho-party. The situation varies in different regions. the overwhelmingly Protestant regions of thwestern Germany the CDU has such a Protnt outlook that some Catholic voters in Schles-Holstein continued to vote for the Center ty as the real Catholic party, even though such s, according to the election law, were lost. The that the CDU in Lower Saxony and Schles-Holstein was not able to hold its 1946 posi-has little relation to religious issues. It was er caused by the emergence of the new rightg conservative German party, which throughnorthwestern Germany became the second ngest middle-class group, far outdistancing the Democratic Party. (See table 1.) In North neland-Westphalia the 9 percent drop of the U since 1946 is to some extent due to a reorition of the Catholic working-class vote, some hich is now going to the Center Party rather staying with the CDU.

both western and southern Germany there a shift of Protestants away from the CDU. ther in predominantly Catholic or predomily Protestant regions or in the many regions re no clear-cut majority of either denomination exists, everywhere the religious and educational issues are still or have become again much more alive than in the north. Therefore, although many Protestants voted for the CDU—a comparison of the Weimar Catholic parties, (the Center and the Bavarian People's Party, comprising 23.3 percent of the total vote in 1928) with the present combined vote of 39 percent for the CDU/CSU, the Bavarian Party, and the Center Party testifies to continued CDU support among Protestants—nevertheless, since the first postwar elections some Protestants, noticeably in southern and western Germany, have come to look upon the CDU as a strictly Catholic Party. This attitude may have been one of the reasons for the shift in votes from the CDU to the FDP, particularly in the Palatinate, Hesse, Württemberg–Hohenzollern, Baden, Bavaria, and the Rhineland. (See tables 1, 4, and 5.)

Bavarian Voting Patterns (Tables 1 and 5)

The party scene in Bavaria—where there were almost no refugee candidates running on an independent ticket—is characterized by the emergence, or rather affirmation, of two groups: Loritz' Economic Reconstruction Party (WAV) and the particularist Bavarian Party (BP). Discontent thus had two possible outlets: the majority of the refugees—about 60 percent—living mainly in the rural areas were attracted to the WAV (table 6); in the cities some dissatisfied native elements transferred their vote to the WAV, but those of Catholic origin turned to the BP. Thus, whereas there was a considerable WAV vote in Protestant cities, the corresponding social strata in Catholic urban areas inclined toward the BP, which has become the mouthpiece for expressing the dissatisfaction of the native Catholic middle class with the present administration. In the Catholic countryside, noticeably in Lower and Upper Bavaria, where the BP has become the strongest group, it serves as the political arm of the peasantry. The FDP, although remaining a minor party, did profit by the transfer of Protestant votes. The CDU and the SPD were the losers; the insignificant KPD sank to still lower levels. But although the CSU bore the brunt both of the splitting off of the particularist BP and the transfer of the refugee and to a smaller extent of the Protestant vote, the SPD, as evidenced by the difference in results from urban and rural areas, was the main loser in the transfer of at least part of the refugee vote.

Refugees, Independents, Ultrarightists and the Former Nazi Voters

The goal of absorbing refugees into the existing parties, which was the basis of Military Government's policy of refusing to license independent refugee groups, has been only partially achieved. A good third of the roughly three million refugee voters who went to the polls voted either for candidates of special refugee groups such as the *Deutsche Notgemeinschaft* operating in Württemberg-Baden, or the *Sammlung zur Tat* in Baden, or for wholly independent candidates that almost invariably represented refugee interests. Of the remaining 2 million refugee votes, about 300,000 to 400,000 went to the *Deutsche Rechtspartei* group operating in the British zone but most successful in Lower Saxony, with a slightly higher number going to the WAV. Allowing for invalid votes, the remainder of approximately 1 million, or one-third of the total refugee vote, went to the established parties, with the Free Democratic Party getting a proportionally larger share than the SPD and the CDU (table 6).

Where did the former Nazi vote go? The survivors of the approximately seven million Nazi voters in 1932 in Western Germany have contributed heavilly to the revival of the minor national and regional middle-class parties, one such example being a substantial part of the adherents of the Free Democratic Party. The WAV as well as the Rightist Party probably recruit from former Nazi voters; also, many new voters recruited by the CDU/CSU may be assumed to come from the same ranks. On the other hand, the election results make it seem unlikely that many former Nazis now appear in the ranks of the KPD, the SPD, or the Center Party.

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTION TRENDS

On one point German election trends show a remarkable degree of stability: i.e., the share of the left-wing groups in the total vote. As in 1928, the last "normal" election of the Weimar Republic, the percentage of the Social Democratic and Communist vote remains in 1949 between 35.5 and 36 percent, with a slightly increased SPD percentage making up for the Communist decline (table 7).

On the other hand, the distribution of the remainder among middle-of-the-road and rightist groups would presuppose the existence of a mor less exact boundary line between center rightist groups. Half a million of the inv votes and the entire vote for the German Righ Party and the WAV may with some degree certainty be classed as rightist votes, thus acco ing for about 7 percent of the total. But the q tion arises of how to classify the urban voter the Bavarian Party, who are as dissatisfied the present state of affairs as the correspond voters in Protestant areas, voting for the WA for the German Party, specializing, as it was antidenazification propaganda? Also, how split up the disparate elements of the FDP where to assign the 1 million independent v mostly cast as a protest against all existing man political organizations?

Obviously, to draw a rigid boundary line tween leftist and rightist groups would be of l value. Whether these millions of voters and t political representatives, both within and out the Bundestag, will reconcile themselves to political and social structure now developin the new Western state or will in the near fu turn out in numbers against it will depend on extent to which the new government is abl satisfy their claims. It is not possible to whether any of these groups will have more temporary existence or will mean much, or exist, 4 years hence.

The outlook is different with respect to CDU/CSU. The fact that the party has a n ber of sharply divergent wings—the Bavarian ticularists, the Hilpert faction in Hesse, the wing trade unionists around Arnold, and the nauer main bloc of the party—does not in i spell defeat for the organization. It puts on high premium on the skill of the leaders in re ciling the different wings. Whether the party be able to retain its appeal for non-Catholic vo may be a more serious consideration for the pa survival as a major political organization. Th perience both during the Empire and the Wei period has shown that the Catholic Center P kept together by its *Weltanschauung* rather by representation of specific interests, has tr tionally shown a high degree of stability eve the face of overwhelming odds. On the o hand, Protestant voters have shown much party loyalty. The question arises whether CDU/CSU, although lacking the denominati homogeneity of the old Center Party, will be

Table 5. Comparison of the 1949 elections with the 1946 and 1948 elections in selected Bavarian districts

District	CSU			SPD			WAV			KPD			FDP			BP	
	1946	1948	1949	1946	1948	1949	1946	1948	1949	1946	1948	1949	1946	1948	1949	1948	1949
ayreuth [1]	31. 9	28. 0	18. 0	47. 6	42. 2	39. 7	1. 9	----	6. 0	9. 3	5. 3	5. 9	9. 3	10. 7	15. 1	----	15. 3
of [2]	27. 3	25. 4	16. 4	46. 3	31. 7	35. 0	1. 8	. 1	13. 7	12. 7	7. 5	6. 1	11. 9	13. 8	14. 6	----	14. 2
arstadt [3]	74. 4	57. 1	54. 0	18. 1	16. 7	15. 9	1. 9	. 1	10. 3	3. 8	1. 9	2. 1	1. 8	1. 0	4. 2	----	13. 5
nsbach [4]	59. 8	50. 3	34. 9	20. 5	18. 0	17. 9	4. 8	----	13. 8	2. 7	1. 8	1. 9	12. 2	7. 4	24. 0	1. 4	7. 5
uernberg-Fuerth [5]	23. 3	13. 1	14. 6 / 13. 2	43. 7	38. 5	39. 6 / 37. 3	11. 5	5. 6	15. 8 / 19. 3	12. 1	13. 2	10. 4 / 9. 8	9. 4	13. 2	13. 7 / 13. 8	5. 0	4. 9 / 6. 6
uernberg-Oste [5]																	
uenchen-Nord [6]	35. 9	20. 9	18. 0	32. 5	24. 4	23. 9	14. 4	6. 9	14. 9	9. 7	10. 6	9. 1	7. 5	5. 9	12. 7	23. 6	21. 4
osenheim [7]	55. 6	30. 7	22. 9	23. 2	24. 6	18. 3	11. 2	1. 0	17. 6	6. 4	3. 8	4. 2	3. 6	1. 4	6. 5	28. 3	30. 5
assau [8]	61. 0	43. 3	33. 0	28. 3	17. 8	14. 7	5. 1	. 7	22. 7	3. 8	2. 2	1. 9	1. 8	. 5	2. 8	15. 4	24. 9
farrkirchen [9]	66. 7	44. 2	23. 9	21. 3	12. 2	8. 4	6. 8	. 5	24. 8	2. 6	1. 2	1. 1	2. 6	2. 0	2. 5	14. 1	39. 3
ham [10]	69. 7	48. 6	36. 3	23. 1	18. 2	22. 3	3. 3	----	7. 2	2. 8	1. 8	2. 6	1. 1	. 6	4. 1	6. 8	27. 5
empten [11]	68. 7	45. 2	43. 5	18. 7	15. 9	19. 2	4. 4	. 3	6. 6	2. 1	2. 7	2. 6	6. 1	2. 7	8. 9	8. 7	19. 2

Reference: *Bamberger Nachrichten*, Aug. 16, 1949.

Note: Figures following the names of *Kreise* in all footnotes indicate 1946 refugee percentage.

[1] Consists of *Stadtkreise* Bayreuth (18.4) and Marktredwitz (n. a.) and *Landkreise* Bayreuth (23.6) and Wunsiedel 3.3) and is mostly rural and Protestant.

[2] Consists of *Stadtkreise* Hof (16.0) and Selb (19.8) and of *Landkreise* Hof (20.4), Muenchberg (25.3), and Rehau 5.9) and is mostly rural and Protestant.

[3] Consists of *Landkreise* Bad Neustadt/Saale (15.8), Brueckeanu (20.2), Gemuenden (17.8), Hammelburg (18.9), arlstadt (14.2), and Lohr (19.2) and is mostly rural and Catholic.

[4] Consists of *Stadtkreise* Ansbach (13.8) and Rothenburg (n. a.), and of *Landkreise* Ansbach (24.2), Feuchtwangen 5.6), Rothenburg (20.9), and Uffenheim (23.6) and is mostly rural and Protestant.

[5] Consists of *Stadtkreise* Nuernberg (4.5) and Fuerth (12.7) is of urban industrial character and is about two-thirds otestant.

[6] Consists of parts of *Stadtkreis* Muenchen (6.0 for the whole city) and is mostly urban and Catholic.

[7] Consists of *Stadtkreis* Rosenheim (20.4) and *Landkreise* Bad Aibling (21.5), Ebersberg (25.2), and Rosenheim 0.4) and is mostly rural and Catholic.

[8] Consists of *Stadtkreis* Passau (21.1) and *Landkreise* Passau (27.4), Wegscheid (20.7) and Wolfstein (22) and is except r the city of Passau rural and is mostly Catholic.

[9] Consists of *Landkreise* Eggenfelden (24.2), Pfarrkirchen (25.9), and Vilsbiburg (29.2) and is mostly rural d Catholic.

[10] Consists of *Landkreise* Cham (24.1), Nabburg (22.8), Neunburg (22.1), Oberviechtach (16.2), Vohenstrauss (21.3), d Waldmuenchen (25.2) and is mostly rural and Catholic.

[11] Consists of *Stadtkreise* Kempten (17.6) and Lindau (n. a.) and *Landkreise* Kempten (17.6), Lindau (n. a.), and Sonofen (19.5) and is rural and mostly Catholic.

Table 6. Statistical analysis of the refugee vote (estimated)

State	1948 percent of refugees [1]	Refugee vote [2]	
		1949	1946
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
den	3. 5	3.6 refugee list	3 CDU [3]
varia	20. 6	12 WAV; 5 FDP	12 CDU; 6 SPD [3]
esse	15. 1	11.5 independents; 3 LDP [3]	12 SPD; [3] 2 ind.[3]
wer Saxony	25. 6	8 independents; 8 DRP; 8 SPD/LDP [3]	8 SPD; [3] 7 CDU; [3] 4 LDP [3]
rth Rhineland-Westphalia	8. 0	2.3 independents; 1.5 DRP; 3.5 SPD/LDP [3]	SPD/CDU
ineland-Palatinate	2. 3	0.3 independents	Independents; other
hleswig-Holstein	33. 6	3 independents; 1.7 DRP; 15 SPD; [3] 10 other parties [3]	20 SPD; [3] 10 CDU/LDP [3]
ürttemberg-Baden	17. 7	16.7 refugee list	7 SPD; [3] 10 CDU [3]
ürttemberg-Hohenzollern	4. 2	1.4 refugee list	Independents; other parties

[1] Percentage of refugees per total population in a given state as of October 1948.
[2] Percentages express percentage of valid votes and refer to the estimated portion of refugee votes only.
[3] Rough estimate.

Table 7. Over-all comparison between the May 1928 Reichstag elections and the 1949 West German elections [1]

Group or party	1928		1949	
		Percent		*Percent*
Labor	6, 005, 400	35. 9	8, 513, 700	35. 8
KPD	1, 433, 300	8. 6	1, 360, 400	5. 7
SPD	4, 502, 900	26. 9	6, 932, 300	29. 2
Minor labor groups [2]	69, 200	. 4	221, 000	. 9
Middle class	10, 784, 000	64. 1	15, 210, 900	64. 2
Christian groups [3]	3, 907, 400	23. 3	8, 084, 900	34. 1
Center	2, 962, 100	17. 7	727, 300	3. 1
CDU	. . . . .	. .	5, 977, 300	25. 2
CSU/BVP	945, 300	5. 6	1, 380, 300	5. 8
DDP,[4] DVP, FDP, BDVP	2, 258, 203	13. 5	2, 827, 900	11. 9
DNVP [5]	1, 579, 800	9. 5	. . . . .	. .
Other groups [6]	2, 320, 000	13. 9	3, 165, 100	13. 5
Rightist extremists [7]	649, 600	3. 9	1, 110, 000	4. 7
Invalid vote	264, 700	1. 5	766, 100	3. 6

[1] All figures are approximate and preliminary.
[2] 1928: Linke Kommunisten, USDP, Alte SPD; 1949: Radikal-Soziale Freiheitspartei, Arbeiterpartei.
[3] 1928: Center, Bayrische Volkspartei. 1949: CDU, CSU, Center.
[4] Deutsche Demokratische Partei, Deutsche Volkspartei. 1949: FDP, Bremer Demokratische Volkspartei.
[5] Deutschnationale Volkspartei.
[6] 1928: Wirtschaftspartei, Deutsche Bauernpartei, Landbund, Landvolkpartei, Volksrechtspartei, Evangelische Volksgemeinschaft, minority parties, and others. 1949: Bavarian Party, German Party, SSW, and others.
[7] 1928: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, Voelkisch-Nationaler Block, Deutsch-Soziale Partei. 1949: DRP/DKP, WAV.

to integrate its non-Catholic elements firmly into its organizational pattern. The present election results, showing a certain regional tendency toward reestablishment of the party's Catholic character do not provide an unequivocal answer to this question. The prospects of the German party system might to a large extent depend on whether the CDU/CSU is able to stay in business as a large interdenominational middle-class party or whether it will revert to its former exclusively Catholic character. Only in the first case is there any appreciable chance that the new state will find a firm basis in the coexistence of two preponderant groups, the SPD and the CDU/CSU.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE ELECTION

What is the impact of the election outcome on the German political situation? Those groups which stand unconditionally for the reconstruction of Western Germany on Western democratic patterns, i.e., the SPD and the CDU/CSU have a clear majority of 60 percent, and with the FD of over 70 percent of the total vote cast. Beyo this, the area of dispute and doubt would seem begin. Has the election really given a clear an Socialist mandate to the future Bundestag, as t defenders of Dr. Erhard's economic policy asser To answer this question positively would presu pose that the election campaign was fought clear around this issue and that the new Bundest considers the problem of a planned versus a fr economy as the focal political problem. But th is not the case. As matters now stand, the Bund stag will be pressed by many groups both fro among its components and from without, a issues will be fought and compromises conclud according to the need and the strength of t groups concerned. Only the future can tell what extent the new economic system that w arise from these pressures will have any similari to what its adherents call a free-market econom It remains also problematic to what extent refug representatives working through their parties as an intergroup will be able to take effecti action for their "constituents."

As to the future of German federalism, it is n likely that the elections have led to any substanti change of present positions. On paper, the par favoring greater decentralization of power a administration, the CDU/CSU, has come out the strongest group; yet by necessity its leade once established in the government, will have pursue centralizing policies to the extent that th can be made palatable to the CSU in Bavaria. this connection much will depend on the degree collaboration between the Bundestag and Bund srat. Close collaboration would enable the Länd to take an active part in the principal decisions the central administration, even though the comp tence of the Länder will in the near future suf new and inevitable restrictions. The problem the future participation of the SPD in Land go ernments thus gains increased importance. It likely that even after new diet elections have tak place in many Länder in 1950, the CDU/CSU w find it useful to continue associating the SPD wi the Land governments. Should this happen, t area of collaboration between the opposition a the government would be substantially increase and the latter would thus approximate a type "third force government," resting both on midd class and moderate labor's support.

On three major points, the election results se

early to foreshadow future policies. The hope f the trade unions to have economic codetermina- on, especially on a supra-enterprise basis, made legal right for the whole of Western Germany, as been considerably dimmed by the election out- ome. The same holds true of formal socialization hemes, to be enacted on an all-Western basis. n neither issue, however, is it yet clear whether e Länder, in the absence of Bund legislation, will e able to legislate on their own or whether the DU/CSU will from the outset, either by appro- riate Bund legislation or through its influence in e Länder, exclude such a possibility.

In addition, the elections have a vital bearing an issue which, though it did not loom large the election campaign, is of importance. The urality of the combined CDU/CSU-FDP, which on this issue will have the support of the majority of the rightist groups, means the definite strengthening of the higher bureaucracy which is likely to oppose the development of a more democratized type of civil service system that had been begun under Military Government auspices.

Western German relations with the Allies will scarcely be affected by the election outcome beyond the fact that the clear defeat of communism and the absence of a strong extreme right in the Bundestag will facilitate the work both of the German Government and the High Commissioners. Otherwise, whatever the party combination in power, it will inevitably be exposed to the necessity of following the path set by the opposition and of pursuing with the utmost vigor Germany's interests as against all foreign powers.

HE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN INTERESTS IN GERMANY

In accordance with one of the recommendations ade at the conclusion of the six-power discus- ons on Western Germany which were held in ondon from April 20 to June 1, 1948, representa- es of the Benelux countries, France, Great itain, and the United States met in Paris at the vitation of the French Government from October to November 10, 1948, to consider problems lating to the treatment of foreign interests in estern Germany. The United States was repre- nted by Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary r Economic Affairs, and Covey T. Oliver, then ting Chief of the Division of Economic Prop- y Policy, Department of State.

The report prepared by the Inter-Governmental oup for the Safeguarding of Foreign Interests Germany was submitted to the participating vernments for such further action as they might fit to take upon the thirty recommendations an- xed to the report. The Benelux countries and ance subsequently signified their acceptance of recommendations. The British Government s signified its acceptance thereof with three res- vations. On October 7 the United States trans- tted to the other interested governments a morandum indicating acceptance of the recom- ndations by the United States with certain comments. This memorandum has also been transmitted to the United States High Commissioner for Germany with instructions to take such implementing action as may be appropriate from time to time.

The full text of the report with the annexed recommendations prepared by the Inter-Governmental Group, together with the United States memorandum thereon, is reproduced below.

MEMORANDUM

The Government of the United States, having considered the Report of the Inter-Governmental Group for the Safeguarding of Foreign Interests in Germany which met in Paris in October and November 1948, accepts the recommendation prepared by the Group, subject to the following comments upon certain of the recommendations.

Recommendation 3

The Government of the United States accepts this Recommendation subject to such implementing instructions as have been or may be issued by the Joint Export-Import Agency or its successor organization.

Recommendation 4

In accepting this Recommendation, the Government of the United States wishes to point out, with regard to paragraph five, that early relaxation of current restrictions on transfer of Deutsche Mark earnings of existing property is not envisaged by the Occupying Powers. Thus, it is

the opinion of the United States Government that no worth-while purpose would be served by OEEC consideration of the question at this time.

Recommendation 6

The Government of the United States has already indicated to the Governments concerned its acceptance of paragraph one of this Recommendation and has explained to them the considerations which, after a complete review in Washington and by the Military Governor, have resulted in its inability to agree to the suggestions made in paragraph two thereof. The Government of the United States agrees, however, with the reservation in the memorandum of August 3, 1949, from the Government of the United Kingdom that the definition of United Nations' interests in Economic Council Ordinance No. 71A shall not necessarily be regarded as a precedent for any subsequent levies of that type and shall be without prejudice to revision in a peace settlement.

Recommendation 7

The Government of the United States reserves its position on the question as to whether United Nations nationals have been subjected to measurable, substantial discrimination by reason of the blocking of their bank accounts. In this connection the Government of the United States notes that for a considerable period prior to currency reform the value of Reichsmark currency and accounts had become so dubious by reason of the prevailing inflationary condition in Germany that the opportunities for United Nations holders of Reichsmark currency and bank balances to convert them into other interests not subject to currency reform would have been exceedingly limited, even if the proposed transactions were not otherwise objectionable.

Recommendation 8

This Recommendation is accepted by the United States Government with the understanding that "paramount necessity" shall arise only in instances where replacement of a piece of equipment removed as reparations from a particular plant is essential to the German economy and must be obtained from properties of United Nations nationals or companies owned or controlled by them, after every reasonable attempt has been made to get such replacement from German properties.

Recommendation 9

In regard to paragraph three of this Recommendation, it is the position of the Government of the United States that United Nations nationals should be free to dispose of their land holdings in Germany only to the extent that they do not thereby tend to defeat the economic and social objectives of land reform.

Recommendations 14 and 15

In regard to paragraph one of Recommendation 14, the Government of the United States notes that the non-German owners of Aachen coal mines are represented in the area by personnel who are in a position to study the economic situation of the properties, and that in fact the Governments concerned have already made certain economic presentations regarding the price of Aachen coal. Under the circumstances the Government of the United States entertains considerable doubt concerning the need at this time for additional experts to examine the matters covered by this part of the Recommendation, particularly in view of the fact that the representatives of the non-German owners of Aachen coal mines, are of course, free to undertake any studies and to offer such additional presentations as they may deem appropriate.

In regard to paragraph two of Recommendation 14 and to Recommendation 15, the Government of the Unite States declares that its policy will be to prevent any sit ation in which United Nations interests in these industrie whether they are to be affected by paragraph sevente of Military Government Law 75 or not, will be at a di advantage as compared with German interests respec ing relief from debts incurred to meet working capit shortages arising from coal pricing policy during t Occupation prior to August 18, 1948, and from steel pric policy if in fact a similar situation existed.

Recommendation 17

The Government of the United States reaffirms t position taken by its Delegation on the matters present under this heading. It is noted that there was agreeme among the Delegations in regard to the possibility further consideration being given prior to a Peace Trea to the question discussed in paragraph five of the Reco mendation. While upholding the position of the Unit States Delegation in this regard the Government of t United States desires to state that further considerati of the question concerned has not revealed any possibili of a solution within the forseeable future.

Recommendation 19

While accepting the principle of this Recommendati the Government of the United States feels it necessary point out that the implementation thereof in particu instances may, under present circumstances, encoun considerable difficulty, in view of the fact that the reco of the Konversionskasse are understood not to be av able to the authorities of the Western Zones of Germa The Government of the United States further desires record its understanding that this Recommendation primarily concerned with preventing the extinguishm by unilateral, official German action of the foreign cre tors' rights to be paid in accordance with the terms of pre-war contract, but that it does not necessarily requ the re-assumption by the German debtor of an obligat to pay in foreign currency where, pursuant to the form German regulations, he was required to make payme in local currency to the Konversionskasse in purpor discharge of the debt.

Recommendation 20

The Government of the United States reaffirms position of its Delegation on the question of the gold ma

Recommendation 24

While accepting this Recommendation, the Governm of the United States feels it necessary to state that it considerable doubt concerning the feasibility of inte measures to alleviate the situation of United Nations tionals who have claims against the German Governm in the field of social insurance.

Recommendation 27

In accepting this Recommendation, the Government the United States notes that the situation referred to is known to have arisen as yet and desires, furthermore state its understanding that the High Commissioners be free to consider on their merits such individual case may arise in the indicated period, provided that c panies wishing to resume business in Germany fur Military Government with satisfactory evidence that have available resources which they will use to mee full approved claims arising out of insured losses in many, during the two-year period.

commendation 28

n accepting this Recommendation, the Government of United States desires to record its understanding that term commerce as used in paragraph one thereof re- s to the merchandise trade and that the treatment to ccorded to exports and imports under the most favored ion rule of paragraph one is subject to internationally gnized exceptions, as set forth in the General Agree- t on Tariffs and Trade. The Government of the ted States wishes to point out furthermore that it erstands the provisions for national treatment in para- ph two of the Recommendation to apply only in areas usiness enterprise with respect to which Germany ac- led such treatment to non-German nationals, either in eral or of particular countries, in the period between rld War 1 and 1933, either as a matter of policy or by son of treaties and agreements concluded with other ntries during that period. The Government of the ted States believes that the views above set forth on Recommendation are in accord with the reservation he memorandum of August 15, 1949, from the Govern- t of the United Kingdom.

n conclusion the Government of the United States nes to state that in the period since the preparation ne Recommendations by the Inter-Governmental Group pending the formulation of the views of this and the r Governments thereon, this Government has sought never practicable to follow the Recommendations in nection with the specific cases and particular questions ccupation policy which have arisen and to which the ommendations are relevant. The following Recom- dations have been applied on an ad hoc basis in this nection: 1, 3, 4, 6 (1), 11, 12, 16, 18, 26, 29.

ORT ON THE SAFEGUARDING OF EIGN INTERESTS IN GERMANY

oduction

We were appointed as a result of the recommendation ne recent London Conference on Germany that:

"he principle of non-discrimination against Foreign ests in Germany be reaffirmed and that each Govern- should promptly study the problem of safeguarding gn interests in order that there may be subsequently lished as close to September 1st, 1948, as possible nter-governmental group to review the question and e recommendations to their Governments."

We met, at the invitation of the French Government, aris on 25th October and, as the result of discussions n on that date, we have prepared and agreed for sub- ion to our respective governments the recommenda- contained in the following report.

Throughout the whole course of our discussions, and aking our recommendations, we have borne in mind we are dealing with an interim condition and are not ged in the preparation of a peace settlement. Accord- we wish to place on record that our recommendations nade without prejudice to final decisions. These can be made in connection with such a settlement and ink it necessary to emphasise that we are concerned o prejudice rights which may be given to United ons and their nationals under a settlement or to to pre-judge the issues which will then be for ssion.

We have divided our report into eight sections each ng with a closely connected group of topics and all ing to discriminatory treatment, to the re-establish- of Allied (or foreign) property interests in Germany, their protection in the future. We have introduced each section with a short statement indicating the general problems raised therein while our detailed recommendations relating to items dealt with in these sections will be found in the Annex.

5. It will become apparent that both during the war and since the capitulation the interests in Germany of United Nations property owners have, in comparison with those of German property owners, been subjected to measures of discrimination and that over a wide field this has been true as well for companies constituted in Germany but owned by United Nations persons. One of the important causes of the discrimination which has occurred is the fact that during the war, property of United Nations nationals was subject in greater or less degree to the effects of German Trading with the Enemy legislation (naturally not applicable to the property of neutrals or ex-enemies) which provided, in general, for a replacement of the direct control of the owners by officials appointed by the German Reich. Other important examples of discrimination which we have examined are dfferent standards for payment of war damage compensation, and losses resulting from the improper application of wartime controls on other German legislation.

6. Since the war foreign interests in Germany have come under the general control of Military Government and for a considerable period their owners were unable to exercise the normal rights of a property owner and continued to be subject to restrictions in the exercise of those rights to which German owners of property were not subjected.

7. We should not wish it to be assumed that because a recommendation has been made no steps have been taken in that direction, or that in one zone or another the remedy suggested may not already be in force.

8. The general severance of ordinary commercial and financial ties caused by the war, the removal of property from the free and unrestricted control of its rightful owners for as long as nine years and the final collapse of the German economic system with its progressive re-establishment in a different pattern have given rise to problems of complexity unparallelled in this field. Consequently it is no matter for surprise that the greatest concern has been expressed about the re-establishment of property rights, and a measure of early redress for past prejudice, or that fears have been voiced about the future of those rights. We have endeavoured throughout our considerations to keep a fair balance between the interests of Germany and of foreign countries, to avoid subjecting the German economy to strains which it could not bear and to confine our Recommendations to a limited redress for past prejudice and discrimination available at the moment while seeking a proper protection for the future within the framework of the new German economic structure.

Section I

REMOVAL OF CONTROLS AND RESUMPTION OF OWNERSHIP RIGHTS (RECOMMENDATIONS 1, 4)

1. We have discussed at some length the general question of the resumption of the exercise of the rights of ownership by United Nations nationals over their property and interests in Germany, and we are of the opinion, which we believe is also held by the Military Governors, that subject to any compelling requirement in connection with the over-all economic position in Germany, United Nations property owners should resume to the fullest extent possible the control of their property and property rights in Germany. In this section of our report we deal with the following subjects:

(*i*) Decontrol of property;
(*ii*) Internal Restitution;
(*iii*) Precapitulation Contracts;
(*iv*) Re-investment and disposal of property.

2. *Decontrol of Property.*—Our proposals under this head are contained in recommendations which will be

found to deal with such questions as the appointment by the owners of the responsible management of enterprises, the free use of funds and similar matters. We have been informed that, in spite of the facilities which exist, there remain a considerable number of properties under control of which the Military Governors are anxious to be relieved. With a view to speeding this process we have made recommendations providing for lists of properties still held to be given to the Allied Missions and for publicity relating to the procedure of de-control.

3. *Internal Restitution.*—This relates to the return of property in German to the original owner in cases where by the exercise of improper means, title in that property has passed from the original owners. We recommend that the principle adopted in the United States zone of allowing appeals to a non-German body be followed generally.

4. *Prepaid contracts for goods.*—Difficulties have arisen in regard to the treatment of goods in Germany which were ordered before the capitulation or are in Germany for processing or in course of transit. Representations have been made that in these cases the owners are being required to pay once more for their own goods. We regard this as unjustifiable and we have made recommendations to deal with this problem.

5. *Re-investment and disposal of property.*—This is one of the major instances of foreign property owners receiving, in Germany, worse treatment than the Germans. During the war, Allied property owners (but not all foreigners) were denied the right to deal in their property and to invest their funds; since the capitulation, this has continued and has been extended to cover all foreign property owners. In accordance with the general principle of non-discrimination we have made a recommendation to the effect that this should cease and that, subject only to regulation in certain instances which appear in our recommendation, we consider that foreign property owners should be placed on a parity with Germans as concerns the investment and use of their property and funds. In this connection, we have made some observations concerning the transfer of profits.

Section II

WAR DAMAGE AND EQUALIZATION OF BURDENS (RECOMMENDATIONS 5, 8)

1. This section of our report relates to questions of payments to United Nations persons from schemes to compensate property owners for war loss and damage, to the treatment of their property in the event of the imposition of property taxes to meet war and similar charges, to the treatment of their blocked bank balances and to the reallocation of equipment under Ordinance 21.

2. *Compensation for War damage.*—Under German schemes, during the war, United Nations concerns were in the main precluded from benefitting from war damage compensation then being paid. We consider that future payments from any schemes which may be introduced should provide for equality of treatment.

3. *Equalization of burdens.*—We have given considerable thought to the question of the taxation of property in which there is a substantial United Nations interest, in the event of an imposition of taxation to meet charges arising out of the war. On the one hand it has been argued that the total exemption of such property from any property tax could be justified as providing a certain measure of immediate redress for past discrimination over a wide field which must otherwise await the long deferred peace settlement. On the other hand it has been pointed out that redress of this kind would be uncertain in its results, might involve the receipt of unwarranted windfalls and would not be justified in principle if the sole purpose of such a tax were for ordinary governmental expenditure. We have reached an agreed recommendation somewhat between these two positions. Stated generally it recognises the accepted principle that United Nations persons should not be responsible for taxation directed to meet w charges, reserves to Military Governors powers to lir taxation on United Nations property and invites their tention to the question of the treatment of companies wholly owned by United Nations interests but in wh they have a majority holding.

4. *United Nations Blocked Bank Accounts.*—We ha considered the position of United Nations persons who reason of the controls in force in Germany both during t War and after the capitulation were prevented from m ing use of their bank balances. Not merely did this me that they were deprived of the opportunity of employ these sums in a profitable manner but also that monet reform became effective there were greater sums subject conversion than there would otherwise have been if th liquid funds had been used in trade or industry. We ha taken note of this position which however we feel is which must await the peace settlement for treatment.

5. *Reallocation of Equipment within Germany.*—Or nance 21 in the Bizone provides, inter alia, that plant a equipment may be removed under orders of a Land G ernment from one concern to another. We consider t in principle this procedure should not be applied to plant and equipment of United Nations owned conce save in the most exceptional circumstances; where it d occur full compensation should be paid.

Section III

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND DE-CONCENTRATION (RECO MENDATIONS 9, 11)

1. The treatment of United Nations property un schemes for public ownership and agrarian reform or der the deconcentration of industries immediately rai questions of basic principle; for example, whether su property should be exempted from the scope of the schem and if not what conditions should be made to ensure t the property owners receive fair treatment in apply them. We have not taken the position that in itself presence of a United Nations' interest in property subj to measures of this kind is a sufficient reason for a co plete exemption of such property from the schemes. we do consider that foreign property owners have the ri to expect that in the application of any schemes of t kind their interests will receive protection, and, in so as they are deprived of property thereby, that they w receive proper compensation (or new interests) com rable to what they have lost. Our recommendations in t section (which relate to public ownership and land refo and de-concentration of industry other than mines, i and steel) will be found to relate to the safeguards wh we consider should properly be applied.

2. *Public Ownership and Land Reform.*—In connex with the acquisition of the property of any United tions person by a public authority in pursuance of scheme of public ownership we consider that prom adequate, and effective compensation should be provid

Land reform procedure presents certain features culiar to itself and it will be seen that we have ma some specific recommendations, including a recommen tion that United Nations nationals be permitted the selves to effect the reduction of their estates thereby p mitting the economy of the country to which they bel to retain its foreign interests intact.

3. *De-concentration in general.*—Under this heading are dealing with the breakdown of large economic un into smaller parts which will themselves remain in p vate ownership. The problems are therefore somewh different from those dealt with in the preceding pa graph. Under this heading, we are concerned to prov that United Nations interests shall themselves be giv an opportunity to suggest or to comment upon reorgani tion plans and that these plans should provide for prior to United Nations owners in securing holdings in the n entities comparable with those which they formerly h in the present group.

4. *De-concentration of I. G. Farben.*—We have included special recommendation on this concern applying the inciples set out in Recommendation 12 so far as may possible.

ction IV

INES, IRON AND STEEL (RECOMMENDATIONS 12, 15)

1. We have discussed at some length the many questions hich arise from the very considerable volume of United itions property interests in these basic industries which ve been or may be the subject of measures of re-organi- tion by the various Occupying Powers. It is not merely operty interests which are involved but various Dele- tions have emphasized the importance to their own onomies of these industries in Germany and have argued ongly that alterations in the pattern of trade as it isted before the war have important reactions in their rious countries and on their own industries. We are pressed by the arguments that have been advanced in is connection. There can be no doubt that industries surrounding countries have in the past been closely ked by economic ties with the German coal and steel lustries. In our view these are considerations which ite and merit study and recognition in matters con- cted with the distribution of products of these indus- es.

2. In addition we have had under consideration ques- ns relating to United Nations interests in these in- stries arising from (*a*) measures of de-concentration d (*b*) the policy of price fixing. As regards the former these, our recommendation is similar to that which have formulated for de-concentration generally and ovides an opportunity for United Nations nationals to ain their over-all interest in those industries.

3. The questions raised by the policy of fixing local ces are two-fold. Firstly we have been informed of the -1934 price differential in the Aachen coal-field; we rec- mend that the policy of price fixing in this area be amined. Secondly, we have been informed that the pol- followed until last August in fixing the price of coal s resulted in considerable losses with the result that ny companies in which there are large United Nations erests have reached a serious position of indebtedness. have made a recommendation to the effect that steps uld be taken to prevent the interests of United Na- ns persons being put in jeopardy on this account.

4. We have made a separate recommendation on policy fixing iron and steel prices similar to that relating to l prices.

5. The Belgian Delegation has drawn attention to a par- ular case relating to a salt mine of interest to their ntry and they have attached a statement on this point.

ction V

NETARY REFORM (RECOMMENDATIONS 16–17)

1. In the course of our discussions we have had fre- nt occasion to take account of the effects of monetary orm on other questions. While therefore this section our report contains two items only, references to the cts of this measure will be found in other sections and l be found to have produced, or complicated, problems h which we have dealt elsewhere.

2. *Acceptance of Deutschemarks by United Nations ditors.*—Under article 15 of the Third Law of Mone- y Reform, a United Nations national has the option of accepting payment of a Reichmark debt in Deutsche- rks at the appropriate rate, or (*b*) of refusing to accept ment when whatever rights he has remain in suspense. the other hand, the German debtor is only required meet the established Deutschemark requirement and is en a guarantee by the Land against any additional liability which may ultimately arise. It has been repre- sented that the situation requires a foreign debtor to en- gage in a gamble. He has no data on which to compute the risks attendant on leaving the transaction open for future settlement and the German debtor has no induce- ment to come to a private accommodation with his creditor since his maximum liability is fixed.

3. We are in agreement with this criticism of the pres- ent effects of this Article. The uncertainty of the terms of settlement and of the date when it may be expected (if the debt is not accepted when tendered) prejudice the natural rights of the creditor to an undue degree. We have accordingly made a recommendation that United Nations creditors should be given the right to accept the payment of debts tendered at the appropriate rate in the new currency without invalidating whatever rights they may be given in a final settlement and that those who have already refused payment shall be treated similarly.

4. *Special problems arising from Monetary Reform.*

(*a*) Reichmark bank balances: Incorporated areas.

The next question we have dealt with under this section relates to the treatment of the Reichsmark bank balances of financial institutions, other corporations and private persons who, by reason of the forcible incorporation of cer- tain areas into the Reich and Reich monetary system dur- ing the war, were subject to the forced conversion of their balances into Reichsmarks deposits with German banks. There is also the position of the Reichsmarks balances of those who were forced to work in Germany during the war. These are of no practical value to their holders at present. The view has been expressed that, in principle, these rep- resent obligations of the Reich and that claims lie against Germany and the former German Government on this ac- count. We do not dissent from this view. Nevertheless, we recognize that the delay in reaching a final settlement continues to prejudice Allied nationals and their Govern- ments.

(*b*) Reichsmark banknotes held abroad.

We have had similar representations regarding Reichs- mark banknotes held by former prisoners of war and others in like positions which the holders have not been permitted to exchange into Deutschemarks. It is evident to us that the question is a most difficult one with which to deal par- ticularly as the influx of a large volume of Reichsmark notes for conversion might well undo the benefits of mone- tary reform. If any concession is to be made it must evi- dently be strictly limited to well defined classes.

We have accordingly recommended that the possibility of meeting one or more of these claims should be studied on the first favourable opportunity.

Section VI

MAINTENANCE OF CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIPS (RECOM- MENDATIONS 18–22)

1. *General.*—For all the Delegations present, it is a matter of importance that contractual relationships as established by the terms of the contract should be main- tained unimpaired until its terms are satisfied. The re- sults of the outbreak of war on contracts raise legal issues, in particular cases, of undoubted complexity but we see no reason to dissent from the general position written into the Peace Treaties already concluded and to accept as a general principle that the status of the original contract remains unaltered by the mere effects of the occurrence of a state of war and that the occurrence of a state of war does not, of itself, relieve a debtor from the obligation to pay his pecuniary debts in accordance with the terms of his original contract. Without such a provision the posi- tion of any creditor might be most seriously prejudiced by the action of his debtor or of the Government of his debtor. We have recommended to the effect that provision be made to continue the status of existing contracts.

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2. Various special classes of contracts have been brought to our attention including:

(*a*) Contracts involving payments into the Konversionskasse;
(*b*) Contracts expressed in terms of the Gold Mark; and
(*c*) Contracts related to the Potash Loan.

We deal with these three classes below.

3. *Foreign currency debts.*—The Konversionskasse was an institution established by the former German Reich for the purpose of providing a place of deposit for Reichsmark payments in respect of obligations expressed in foreign currencies. Payments made were then transferred in due course in foreign exchange to the satisfaction of the foreign creditors. During the war the Konversionskasse continued to receive payments in Reichmarks although outpayments in foreign exchange were stopped. Further, in many cases payments of Reichsmarks were accepted at fictitious or arbitary rates of exchange and payments were also made to this organ in respect of obligations not properly serviced thereby. We do not consider the rights of the creditor should be regarded as extinguished by the making of such deposits and we have recommended accordingly leaving the rights in being.

4. A further but subsidiary point arises in this connexion. Hitherto the foreign creditor has been unable to convert the foreign currency claims into Deutschemarks and use the proceeds within Germany. We recommend that this barrier should be lifted thereby securing to such creditors as desire to make use of the facility, the opportunity of accepting settlement in Deutschemarks at the same time relieving the Reich of an obligation to pay in foreign exchange.

5. *Gold Mark.*—The Delegations have expressed their point of view on obligations written with a "gold mark" clause. This does not form the subject of an agreed recommendation but a statement of position of certain delegations is to be found in Recommendation n° 20.

6. *Potash Loan.*—This is an involved question produced by the disintegration of the Potash Syndicate (whose basic assets are to some extent in Eastern Germany) and the sales agency which had been established for securing a gold loan at least half of which is still outstanding. The reorganisation of the potash industry (which would be of advantage alike to Germany and to other countries) is not a matter for this group. We have however been informed of the conditions attaching to the service of the Loan which was secured on the sales of potash abroad and on mortgages on property in Germany. Much of this security has been prejudiced by the disintegration of the Potash Syndicate and other events. The questions involved are of great complexity and in the time at our disposal we have not been able to solve them. Accordingly we have recommended that the views of the interested creditor groups on this and similar organisations should be invited to make proposals for consideration by the appropriate Governments.

7. *Prescription and Limitation of Action.*—Closely connected with the maintenance of contractual obligations are the questions of periods of prescription and of limitation of rights of action. During the existence of a state of war persons separated by the line of war found that they were unable to comply, within an expressed time limit, with many of the necessary legal formalities to keep their claims alive or to defend or prosecute actions. The long continuance of a technical "state of war" emphasises, in our view, the necessity for seeking that the rights of United Nations nationals in these fields do not suffer further prejudice and accordingly we recommend that the Military Governors be invited to study the implications of these questions with a view of safeguarding rights still current or re-instating those which have expired during the war.

Section VII

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS, AGREEMENTS AND RI LATED MATTERS (RECOMMENDATIONS 23–28)

1. The topics dealt with in this Section cover a wic field of subjects which are not themselves closely co nected with one another but all of which on examinatic will be found to concern Germany in her relationship wi other countries. Some of the questions stem from tl past, some relate to the present and some look forwa to the future; in all of them something more than pure internal relations are at issue.

2. *Pre-war Commercial Treaties.*—The unavoidable d lay in settling Germany's external relations has, we a informed, made difficulties for some of her neighbou who, before the war, had special treaties of a commerci nature dealing with questions which inevitably arise b tween adjacent States with interests in common. As a instance of this type of treaty we have been reminde of a German-Netherlands Treaty of 1920 relating to tl exploitation of a coal-field on the boundary line. Tl questions raised are legal and technical on which we c not feel competent to express an opinion. Nonethele we consider that a case has been established to ha undertaken a study of the problems involved in the r establishment of the rights which flowed from this ar other Treaties and we recommend that this should b done.

3. *Social Insurance.*—The question of social insuran and of social insurance societies is one of particular ir portance since it concerns the interests of large grou of persons of the poorer classes who have contribute under such schemes in the past, who are beneficiari under such schemes and whose sole means of suppo may be the payments to which they are entitled. In tl past there were close connections between the schem in force in some of the countries represented in the Grou and Germany. The effect of the war in itself would u doubtedly have affected these people, but the action of tl Reich Government produced further complications other directions. In the first place thousands of peop were forcibly deported to Germany where they had contribute to German schemes and have since been unab to benefit from their contributions. Secondly the forcib incorporation of certain areas into the Reich and tl Reich monetary system basically affected the assets the societies operating from those areas leaving them wi nothing but Reichsmarks securities or Reichsmarks claim We recognize that the whole of this situation can on be cleared up at a peace settlement but we consider th the circumstances justify study now with a view to seei whether any action is possible.

4. *Double taxation.*—The principle of preventing doub taxation by two different States on the same proper or income is now generally accepted as a correct one ar we recommend that its application in Germany b considered.

5. *Industry, Literay and Artistic Property.*—The pre ent position in Germany (where there is no Patent Offi or adherence to the Geneva Conventions on Patents) regard to industrial, literary and artistic property is e tremely unsatisfactory. Further, the nine years whic have expired since the outbreak of war have produc many anomalous and prejudicial results for United N tions patentees. We have discussed some of the mar questions which arise in this field of property and pro erty rights which, we feel, is properly one for examinatic in detail by experts. We have accordingly contente ourselves with drawing attention to these problems ar making a recommendation in general terms.

6. *Insurance.*—The question dealt with under this recor mendation relates to the conditions under which, for limited period, we suggest United Nations insurers shou be permitted to carry on business in Germany. We co

ider that these insurera ought not to be required, for a imited period, to reconstitute guarantee reserves, etc., vhich have disappeared during the war through reasons utside their control and we have recommended ccordingly.

7. *Most-favoured-nation-treatment etc.*—We consider it ecessary that powers should be reserved to ensure that ermany should not discriminate in matters of commerce n favor of, or against, any foreign country. Further we re much concerned to ensure that the powers be retained o secure that foreign interests operating in Germany (or o be established there) enjoy full national treatment in atters relating to the conduct of their businesses. We ccept that, in the immediate future, there may be a period uring which for administrative reasons the Military overnors may require to maintain some transitory regutions of a restrictive character. We trust, if this is so, at the restrictions will be recognized and treated as such nd that the change-over to full national treatment will ot be long delayed.

8. As a special instance of discrimination our attention as been drawn to that contained in JEIA Instruction n° 11 n which we have made a recommendation.

ection VIII

ECOMMENDATIONS 29-30)

1. *General.*—In this, the concluding section of our report, e deal with two topics, the Occupation Statute and the estion of future consultation.

2. *Occupation Statute.*—It has been clear from the trend events for some considerable time that the German thorities have become less and less subject to the direct ntrol of the Military Governors and in the future it is be expected that this process of transferring powers to sponsible German authorities will be accelerated. In is connection the Group has been reminded of the pracces of the Reich Government, of its Agencies, and of trade d other associations acting under its authority, toward reign property and foreign business concerns in Germany. ere is a long history of unsatisfactory treatment in these atters and fears have been expressed, not in our view thout foundation, that as the German authorities regain eir independence of action there may be a recrudescence these practices. We wish to place on record that we tach great importance to the retention to Military Govnors of powers relating to the safeguarding of United tions property interests and the maintenance of the inciple of non-discrimination. We have not sought to rticularize this recommendation further but the areas thin which discrimination is most possible are well own.

3. *Further Meetings.*—We have adopted a recommendan relating to future consultation on matters of principle this should be desirable.

NNEX—RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP

ecommendation 1

MOVAL OF CONTROLS AND RESUMPTION OF OWNERSHIP GHTS

1. *Decontrol of Property*[1]

1. The Intergovernmental Group takes note of the desire the Military Governors that foreign property owners sume the full control of their property in Germany and ommends to the Governments that the Military Govnors be directed to take whatever further legislative administrative steps may be necessary to facilitate this resumption. It recommends in particular, but not by way of limitation, that foreign owners shall not be subject to any restrictions not applicable to property owners in general relating to:

(*a*) The management of a business in accordance with its articles of association;

(*b*) The appointment of personnel;

(*c*) The use and disposal within Germany of funds and property, as provided in Recommendation 4. In resuming control of their property, foreign owners shall be entitled to the accounts and records of their property while under custodianship and to require a report of management from the custodian.

2. The Group recommends that the Military Governors make available to United Nations Governments concerned, through their missions in Germany or otherwise, lists of the properties belonging to their nationals which still remain under custodianship.

3. The Group recommends that publicity be given in their countries to the procedure for securing the resumption of control over property with a view to relieving the Military Governors of the work and responsibility of custodianship at the earliest possible opportunity.

4. The Group recommends that the necessary measures be taken to ensure liberalization of the present system of granting military permits, to facilitate the entry into Germany of United Nations property owners, to supervise the management of their business and the exit of their representatives to give account of their management.

Ir is understood that foreign owners or their representatives will make their own arrangements regarding their transportation and accommodation to the extent that the Occupying Powers cannot provide these facilities.

Recommendation 2

INTERNAL RESTITUTION

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to take measures providing for appeal to a non-German body regarding matters of internal restitution, similar to those already taken in the American Zone of Occupation.

Recommendation 3

PREPAID CONTRACTS FOR GOODS

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be directed to permit the export from Germany, without further payment in respect of any advances already paid under precapitulation contracts, of:

1. Goods manufactured in Germany for United Nations nationals where title to such goods has passed under German law;
2. Goods owned by United Nations nationals which were shipped into Germany under customs bond for processing;
3. Goods in transit through Germany at the time the occupation began.

Recommendation 4

REINVESTMENT AND DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY

1. The Intergovernmental Group has taken note of the situation relating to the blocking of property, as defined in Law 5_2, owned by foreign nationals and recommends that in general such property shall be placed at the dis-

[1] This does not relate to coal, iron and steel properties under the Trusteeship Plan now under consideration, or to I. G. Farben.

posal of its owners, free of any restrictions other than those applicable to the property of German owners resident in Germany.

2. The Group recognises that special considerations may apply:

(*a*) To the acquisition by foreign owners of new or increased interests in critical industries or where undue concentration of economic power may result from such acquisition, and

(*b*) To transfers of property in Germany between persons both of whom are resident outside Germany.

It considers that transactions falling under these descriptions may well be the proper subjects, in the interests of the German economy, for a system of regulation, which it recommends should be as liberal as the circumstances permit.

3. If, and in so far as, authorization may be required for dealing with the property of foreign owners, the Group recommends that a representative of a United Nations interest shall be entitled to support his application before the appropriate authority before it is refused.

4. The Group recommends to the Governments of the Occupying Powers that these proposals be made effective in Germany with the least possible delay.

5. The Group deaws attention to the fact that for effective rehabilitation of United Nations interests in Germany facilities should be provided as soon as possible for transferring the Deutschemarks earnings of their existing property. The Group suggests that, insofar as intra-European balances of payments might afford a possibility for making such transferts to the participating countries concerned, the question is appropriate for consideration by the O. E. E. C.

Recommendation 5

COMPENSATION FOR WAR DAMAGE

The Intergovernmental Group recognizes that decisions regarding the nature and amount of compensation for war damage to United Nations interests in Germany must await a definitive settlement in the nature of a Peace Treaty.

The Group recommends to the Governments that foreign interests in Germany should participate on the same basis as German interests in any war damage compensation which may be provided by German or Military Government legislation, it being understood that the receipt of any such compensation will be taken into account in such final settlement.

Recommendation 6

EQUALISATION OF BURDENS

1. The Intergovernmental Group notes that Article 29 of the Third Law of Monetary Reform instructs the German authorities to consider losses caused by reparations removals and the vesting of German external assets, as well as losses resulting from currency reform, in connection with the preparation of draft legislation on the equalizations of burdons. The Group also notes that no authoritative drafts have been prepared and that it cannot be predicted at this time whether any such legislation will finally be approved, or if a approved, what the exact nature of it will be. The Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governers be informed that the following should be applied in their review of any German legislation on equalization of burdens which may eventually be proposed:

(*a*) Power should be reserved to the Military Governors to decide within what limits any special levy on property or any taxes for the equalisation of war losses shall be applied to United Nations property:

(*b*) In exercising this pover the Military Governor shall

(*i*) give effect to the principle which has been writte into the Italian and Satellite Peace Treaties and which i equally appropriate to Germany, that United Nation property shall not be liable for special taxes imposed fo the specific purpose of meeting charges arising out of th war;

(*ii*) ensure that tax assessments and tax liens o United Nations property resulting from the enactment o equalization of burdens legislation of the sort envisaged b Article 29 of the Third Law of Monetary Reform shall b provisional if the tax is in any appreciable way related t the purpose mentioned in paragraph (*b*) (i) above, an subject to final determination in connection with the peac treaty.

(*c*) For the purpose of paragraph (*b*) (ii) above, th Group recommends that United Nations nationals shoul include individuals of United Nations nationality. Con panies organized under the laws of the United Natior together with, companies organized under the laws th Germany, beneficially owned, directly or indirectly, by suc persons, except for qualifying shares.

2. The Group suggests that the Military Governors b invited to consider whether special treatment can be give to companies organized under the laws of Germany i which majority interests are held by United Nations pe sons.

To this end, the Benelux and the French Delegations su gest that paragraph 1 (*b*) (ii) above should apply also t the majority holdings and that, if this were impossible fo technical reasons, the levying of rates and taxes might b contemplated and that, pending a final settlement by pea treaty or otherwise, it should be possible to deposit in blocked account in their favour a fraction equal to th percentage of the holding.

Recommendation 7

The Intergovernmental Group has taken note of the di crimination which has occurred by reason of the blocki of the bank accounts of United Nations nationals and th consequent effect on them of monetary reform. The Grou recommends to the Governments that regard be had in final settlement in the nature of a peace treaty to the que tion of claims which may have arisen by reason of th discrimination insofar as it has not been found possible give earlier redress.

Recommendation 8

REALLOCATION OF EQUIPMENT WITHIN GERMANY

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Go ernments that the Military Governors be requested to ta the necessary steps to prevent, except in cases of par mount necessity, the reallocation and transfer of equ ment within Germany belonging to United Nations n tionals or to companies owned or controlled by them, way of equalization of the effects of reparations.

All transfers of such equipment shall receive adequa compensation.

Recommendation 9

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP [2] AND LAND REFORM

1. The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Go ernments that the Military Governors be directed to ado

[2] The French Delegation declares that its acceptan of the recommendation on public ownership is witho prejudice to the French position concerning the probl of ultimate ownership of the coal, iron and steel industr of the Ruhr.

to maintain if already adopted, the policy of preventing suspending the application to foreign property interests Germany of measures of public ownership, land reform other takings of property, unless the German gov- nmental agency concerned has satisfactorily provided for ompt, adequate and effective compensation in conformity th the requirements of international law.

2. Considering that extensive nationalisation of Ger- an heavy industry and natural resources whould involve oblems of great significance for the Governments they present, the Group recommends to the Governments that nsultation under Annex A, paragraph 4 of the Report the London Talks on Germany be held before the ap- oval of any such measures by the Occupying Powers.

3. The Group recommends that the Military Governors invited to consider steps to onable United Nations tionals to reduce their estates by sale to the hectarage rmitted under land reform measures.

4. The Group recommends that the fears expressed by rtain Delegations regarding the possible effect of land form as applied to land in which there are mining or her industrial interests be brought to the attention of the litary Governors.

5. (*a*) The Benelux, French and United States Delega- ns wish to call to the attention of the Governments the sirability of providing as soon as practicable for the ference to international adjudication or arbitration of ch foreign claims for compensation resulting from blic ownership and land reform measures as are not tsifactorily settled by the exhaustion of the judicial or ministrative remedies provided in Germany.

(*b*) The United Kingdom delegation regret that they e unable to concur in the terms of paragraph 5 (*a*). They agree with the other Delegations that the question a system of international adjudication or arbitration is rthy of study. But they fear that the text proposed y have implications which have not been fully apprecied and they are not clear about the extent to which the stem proposed can be integrated with the judicial system Germany under the Occupation Statute or reconciled th the obligations of the Military Governors.

Accordingly, they propose as an alternative to para- aph 5 (*a*) that the Governments of the Occupying wers be invited to consider the questions involved in the ssible establishment of a system of adjudication or bitration (whether international or not) for dealing th foreign claims for compensation resulting from public nership and land reform measures.

commendation 10

CONCENTRATION IN GENERAL [1]

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Gov- nments that the Military Governors be asked to permit e United Nations interests concerned, through their vernments or otherwise, to present or to comment upon organization plans in order to safeguard their interests, fore any measures of deconcentration affecting these erests are applied to them.

The Group further recommends that, where United Na- ns interests are affected by deconcentration measures, e shareholders in the old company will, to the extent ssible, be given a priority in obtaining, corresponding ldings in the new companies arising out of the reor- nization.

commendation 11

CONCENTRATION OF I. G. FARBEN

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Gov- nments that the Military Governors in carrying out deconcentration measures in I. G. Farben apply the principles laid down in Recommendation 12.

[1] This does not apply to iron, steel and coal under the rusteeship Plan" and to I. G. Farben.

Recommendation 12

REORGANIZATION UNDER THE TRUSTEESHIP PLAN

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be requested to invite United Nations stockholders in companies reorganized under the "Trusteeship Plan" to submit, through their Governments or otherwise, requests for participation on an equitable basis in the new companies formed.

The Group also recommends that the Military Governors be invited to study the possibility of carrying out corporate reorganizations under the "Trusteeship Plan" in a way that will prevent forced reduction in the over-all percentage of United Nations ownership in those industries which romain in private ownership.

Recommendation 13

DISPOSITION OF COAL

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to take into account the desirability of reestablishing, to the extent possible under the regulations governing the allocation of German coal, deliveries of coal to the United Nations owners from their mines in Germany as they took place before the nazi regime.[4]

Recommendation 14

COAL PRICING POLICY

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be asked:

1. To arrange as soon as possible for experts of the interested countries to examine the economic and financial situation of the Aachen coal mines, with a view to recommending the returns that the mines should receive for the coal produced by them.

2. To ensure that United Nations ownership interests in Ruhr-Aachen coal fields shell not be jeopardised as a result of debt claims against them incurred as a result of coal pricing policy during the Occupation and prior to August 18, 1948.[5] [6]

[4] The Netherlands Delegation draws special attention to the case of the Sophia-Jacoba mine, 50 per cent of whose production was put at the free disposal of the Netherlands owners by the Treaty of 1920 between the Netherlands and German Governments.

[5] The Netherlands Delegation draws special attention to the Treaty of 1920 between the Netherlands and German Governments and its bearing upon this subject with regard to the Sophia-Jacoba mine.

[6] The Belgian delegation has raised the question of the Salt mines belonging to a Belgian Company, which had worked them mainly in order to obtain the essential raw material for soda production in Belgium.

The Belgian Company is, at present, obliged to pay in dollars and at a virtually prohibitive price for the salt from its own mine which only receives the cost price in marks.

The Belgian delegation expresses the desire that the Military Governors should re-examine the question of the sale price of the salt and should authorize the Belgian Company to dispose freely of the production as soon as circumstances shall permit.

Recommendation 15

IRON AND STEEL PRICING POLICY

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governor be invited to consider the application of the principle expressed in paragraph 2 of Recommendation 14 to prevent jeopardy to United Nations interests in the iron and steel producing industry.

Recommendation 16

ACCEPTANCE OF DEUTSCHEMARKS BY UNITED NATIONS CREDITORS

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to ensure that the acceptance by a United Nations national of the payment of a debt at the rate provided under Articles 16 of the Third Law of Monetary Reform shall not be deemed in itself to have finally extinguished his right to participate in whatever further payments there may be to United Nations nationals in the final settlement of their credit claims expressed in Reichsmarks. It is understood that the United Nations creditor, who, according to the terms of Article 15 of the Third Law on Monetary Reform had notified his debtor of his refusal to accept the conversion of his debt at the rate provided under article 16 will be allowed to cancel his refusal and will be granted the advantages provided under the above paragraph.

Recommendation 17

SPECIAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY MONETARY REFORM

The Benelux and French Delegations have drawn the attention of the Intergovernmental Group to the following questions:

1. During the war, the custodians invested a considerable portion of the funds entrusted to them in Treasury Bonds, Reich loans or Germany public bodies;
2. The complete or partial incorporation of their territories during the war caused certain governments, after the war, to convert into national currency, at the official rate, the Reichsmark accounts in the banks of the said territories; thus these governments have taken over the rights of the banks and have become the owners of large deposits in German banks, which it has been impossible so far to utilize;
3. Apart from deposits in local banks, individuals and corporate bodies, resident or having their seat in these territories, have been obliged in their transactions with Germany to keep accounts in banks in Germany.
4. In the annexed territories, public organisations and institutions, and also *bodies corporate* were obliged by higher authority to make deposits in Reichsmarks and to invest in German Treasury bonds, State loan issues or German publics bodies;
5. At the moment of the liberation, some Allied Governments were obliged to take over and to convert into their national currency, Reichsbank notes mainly from two sources:

1. Notes circulating in territories having been incorporated with the Reich.
2. Notes brought back back from Germany by prisoners, displaced persons and workers.

Under law No. 53, it was impossible for these Governments to deposit these notes in Germany for conversion at the moment of the currency reform and they thereby suffer serious prejudice.

The Group agrees that a final solution of these questions cannot be found before a definitive settlement in the nature of a peace treaty.

The Benelux and French delegations further consider that, in view of the importance of these questions, all of them should be the subject of study by the governments concerned at the first favourable opportunity.

The United States delegation, while not denying the importance of these questions, is of the opinion that it will not be possible to give further consideration to the first four of them except in connection with a definitive settlement in the nature of a peace treaty.

Like the United States delegation, the United Kingdom delegation does not deny the importance of these questions. It would not, however, exclude the possibility of a favorable opportunity for study of all but the first of these questions arising before a peace treaty.

Recommendation 18

CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

1. The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that it should be accepted as a general principle in considering the relationship of German debtors with United Nations creditors that the state of war should not, in itself, be regarded as having impaired the terms of the original contracts. In consequence a German debtor is not relieved, by the existence of a state of war, from his obligation to pay pecuniary debts arising out of contracts which existed, or rights which had been acquired, before the outbreak of a state of war which are now, or may subsequently become, due for payment.
2. Further, the Group recommends that the Military Governors should be invited to retain such powers as may be necessary to ensure that these principles are observed.

Recommendation 19

FOREIGN CURRENCY DEBT

The Intergovernmental Group takes note of the fact that under pre-Occupation German decrees payments were made to the Konversionskasse in Reichmarks in respect of debts expressed and dischargeable in foreign currency often at arbitrary and fictitious rates of exchange.

The Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors should ensure that in German law the rights of the foreign creditors are not extinguished until the obligation of the debtor has been properly met. It is the view of the Group that in the future a foreign creditor will be free to take payment in Deutschemarks for a debt expressed in foreign currency if it is offered to him.

Recommendation 20

GOLD MARK

The British Delegation has outlined the problem of the gold mark as follows:

After the 1923 inflation in Germany, the use of the gold mark device in credit relations became widespread in the face of the fluctuating value of the mark; under this device, the creditor secured under the terms of his contract that the amount of Reichsmark required to service or discharge a debt should be related to the current price of gold. Considerable sums of money were advanced by foreign lenders secured in this way, either directly or indirectly in the form of loans secured on internal German mortgages expressed in gold marks.

In 1940, the Reich Government, in an attempt to bolster up the value of the Reichsmark, issued a decree establishing the parity of the Reichsmark and the gold mark thus impairing the terms of contracts secured in this way and destroying the safeguard. Although a number

erman court decisions, to the effect that this decree ran unter to the principles of the German Civil Code which ere overriding, prevented discharge of gold mark debts some cases, the Military Governors have by legisla- on in the Bizone reaffirmed the principles of the Reich cree. Further, the parity between the Reichmark and e gold mark was stated once more in Article 13 of the ird Law of Monetary Reform.

There are at present two safeguards which are avail- le to prevent the service or discharge of debts expressed gold mark which are oweed to United Nations na- nals: first, a license is required under Law 53; second, der Article 15 of the Third Law of Monetary Reform United Nations creditor has the option of refusing to cept payment in Deutschemarks in service or discharge a debt expressed in Reichsmark (to which gold mark e equated by Article 13) and that thereafter the debt unenforcable until a later settlement. The effect of the mer depends on licensing practice in the two Zones; e latter does not safeguard the position of foreign credi- s whose loans were legally secured on internal mort- ges expressed in gold marks.

After having heard the above, the Benelux, French d United Kingdom Delegations consider that the main- ance under German law of the parity between the ichsmark and the gold mark is a clear case of con- ctual rights being impaired by legislative action, the son for which (the maintaining of the value of the ichsmark) has disappeared since currency reform, and t a remedy is required of the spirit of the Intergov- mental Group's Recommendation 18 is to be observed this sphere. They accordingly recommend that the litary Governors should be directed:

(*i*) to revoke the Reich Decree and the Military Gov- ment legislation so far as they affect the contractual hts of persons outside Germany, and to consider what endment of Article 13 of the Third Law of Monetary form is required;

(*ii*) to ensure that pending such action no license is nted for the service or discharge of a debt to a person side Germany expressed in gold mark or legally se- ed on an internal mortgage expressed in gold mark.

TED STATES POSITION ON THE GOLD MARK

The United States Delegation regrets that it cannot cur in the above recommendations on the gold mark. United States delegation is of the opinion that the d mark problem as regards foreign creditors cannot finally resolved until there is a definite settlement in nature of a peace treaty and that for the interim hts of foreign gold mark creditors are as adequately tected as is possible, given the currency situation in many. If further measures of relief are possible be- a final settlement, it is believed that they should be posed to the appropriate Allied financial bodies in many, and it is understood that the American Military ernor is prepared to discuss the matter with his eagues. The following observations give further in- tions of the reasons the United States delegation has difficulty with the foregoing recommendations.

. The gold mark was a unit of German currency, and ts expressed in gold marks were not uncommon be- en Germans themselves. It is difficult to see how debts ressed to foreigners in this unit could plausibly, in nection with currency reform, be distinguished from er debts expressed in this unit.

. The Military Government Decree permitting the dis- rge of gold mark obligations in Reichsmark and Article of the Third Law on Monetary Reform, which treats l marks and Reichsmark identically as regards con- sion into Deutschemarks, do not seem to the United tes Delegation to have involved the same consideration t allegedly caused the former German Government to e the 1940 Decree. Additionally, it would seem com- ely unrealistic, given the currency situation in Germany during the Occupation and prior to currency reform, to assume that any German currency would have any value whatever in terms of gold.

3. United Nations creditors whose claims are expressed in German currency (including gold marks) are given the privilege under the Third Law of Monetary Reform (Art. 15) to refuse the tender of Deutschemarks at the established conversion ratio and to maintain their claim in old units of German currency, including the gold mark. The Intergovernmental Group has recommended that this privilege be further extended to permit United Nations creditors to take Deutschemarks when tendered, without prejudicing their claim to the remainder of the Reichsmark (or gold mark) claim.

4. United Nations creditors whose claims are expressed in foreign exchange, the debt being secured by internal German mortgages expressed in gold marks, admittedly are indirectly affected by the measures complained of. However, the claim itself remains, and the United States Delegation does not see how a special exception could be made for foreign creditors in a situation which, as to the security, involves an internal German debtor-creditor relationship expressed in gold marks.

5. There is ample precedent in currency reform programs in other countries in the past, for regarding the use of currency in gold terms in contracts as a currency commitment and not a commodity commitment, and therefore subject to modification in terms of new currency.

Recommendation 21

POTASH LOAN

The Intergovernmental Group takes note of situations resulting from the disintegration of certain German debtor organizations, such as the Potash Syndicate. The Group recommends to the Governments that they invite the interested creditor groups to study these situations with a view to formulating proposals, which the Governments would ask the Military Governors to consider sympathetically.

Recommendation 22

PRESCRIPTIONS AND LIMITATION OF ACTIONS

The Intergovernmental Group, having taken into account SHAEF Law no. 2 and taking into account the position of United Nations nationals who, since the outbreak of war have been unable, owing to the existence of a state of war, to observe prescriptive periods or those for beginning lawsuits or pursuing related legal remedies: Recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to consider whether legislation is required to remedy prejudice caused by the effect of periods of prescription and of limitation of action upon the rights of United Nations persons during or since the war.

Recommendation 23

PREWAR TREATIES

The Intergovernmental Group draws the attention of the Governments to the problems resulting from the long delay of an ultimate settlement by peace treaty with regard to established property rights of United Nations nationals under pre-war treaties, and suggests that they be studied.

In this connection, the Netherlands delegation draws special attention to the provisions of the Treaty between the Netherlands and German Governments, concluded in 1920, granting facilities for the exploitation of Dutch-owned coal mine-concessions in Germany near the Dutch frontiers.

Recommendation 24

SOCIAL INSURANCE

The Intergovernmental Group having taken a note of the position and claims:

(*a*) Of United Nations nationals who, before the war, had rights under various social insurance schemes and conventions in force with the former German Government;

(*b*) Of United National Nationals who during the war were forced to work in Germany and to pay insurance contributions there; and

(*c*) Of these social insurance societies carrying on business on territories forcibly incorporated in the Reich during the war,

considers that in principle these claims lie against the former German Government and are not susceptible of a final determination until a peace settlement.

Nevertheless,the Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to study the issues raised with a view of seeing whether interim measures can be taken to alleviate, to some extent, the prejudice suffered.

Recommendation 25

DOUBLE TAXATION

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to consider the steps which can be taken in Germany to avoid the incidence of double taxation on foreign nationals.

Recommendation 26

INDUSTRIAL, LITERARY AND ARTISTIC PROPERTY

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governors be invited to take as soon as possible, the necessary steps to ensure the protection in Germany of the industrial, literary and artistic property rights belonging to foreign nationals.

Recommendation 27

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Governments that the Military Governor be invited to retain during the occupation period such powers as may be necessary to ensure that for a period of not less than two years from January 1, 1949, subject to review, if an insurer, being a United Nations national, wishes to resume operation in Germany and if the necessary guarantee deposits or reserves required in Germany formerly furnished by him have diminished in value, or have been lost or destroyed, he shall not be required to deposit ne guarantees or reserves.

Recommendation 28

NATIONAL AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the Go ernments that:

1. Foreign countries and their nationals shall enj national and most favored nation treatment in all matte relating to commerce;

2. They emphasize to the Military Governors the gre importance of the principle of national and most favor nation treatment for foreign interests in matters connect with the establishment and conduct of business Germany; and further, that the Military Governnors directed to eliminate as rapidly as is consistent wi problems of internal administration, shortages of faciliti and the needs of the Occupation, any existing discrimir tion against foreign interests in this regard;

3. The attention of the Group having been drawn the effect od JEIA Instruction N° 11 on foreign-own shipping, forwarding and transport agencies, the Gro recommends to the Governments that they request t Military Governors to review the Instruction in the lig of this Recommendation.

The Group draws attention to the statement on re procity in Paragraph 2 of Annex E to the Report of t London talks on Germany.

Recommendation 29

OCCUPATION STATUTE

The Intergovernmental Group recommends to the G ernments that the Military Governors be invited to ens in the terms of any Occupation Statute, that powers reserved to them necessary to secure the safeguarding United Nations interests in Germany and the maintena of the principle of non-discrimination.

Recommendation 30

FUTURE MEETINGS

The Intergovernmental Group recommends that the G ernments should keep under continuous review the quest of ensuring non-discrimination and the safeguarding foreign interests in Germany and should consider calling of further intergovernmental meetings for purpose if they should seem to be useful for the consid tion of matters of principle and if requested by any the Governments represented in this Group.

U.S. Views on Question of Disposition of Former Italian Colonies

Statement by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup [1]

The last General Assembly devoted nearly 6 veeks to the consideration of the problem of the ormer Italian colonies, without reaching a deision. Both in the interests of the local inhabiants, who have been held so long in a state of uspense as to their future, and in the interests of he over-all peace settlement, a decision was urgently needed. It still is. Many divergent views vere expressed last spring on this complicated uestion, and although the Assembly was unable o reconcile these views, discussion served to clarfy the question, to instruct those members who ad no previous knowledge of the subject, and o enable member states intimately connected with he problem to make necessary adjustments of heir views in the light of sentiment then prevailng in the Assembly. Made wiser by this expeience, we should now find a solution which will ot only meet the three principles enunciated in rticle XI of the Treaty of Peace With Italy, amely regard for the wishes and welfare of the nhabitants, the interests of peace and security, nd consideration of the views of interested govrnments but which will meet also the principles elating to non-self-governing territories of chaper XI of the Charter. Our task today is urgent. The destinies of some three million people are at take, and it behooves us to achieve a sound and ust solution embracing the above principles so hat the peoples of Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland may set forth confidently on the road o building their futures.

The United States Government has given inensive study to the problem, taking into account opinions which were expressed in this Committee last spring and has sought to formulate its position on a balanced consideration of all factors and principles involved.[2]

Libya

With regard to Libya, we would support the establishment of an independent and unified Libya at a definite date in the near future. It was the concensus in the last session of the General Assembly that Libya, of all the former Italian colonies, was furthest along the road to self-government, and it was made abundantly clear that there was an overwhelming majority in favor of the independence of this territory. Already the people of Cyrenaica have set up their own internal administration under the Emir Sayid Idris el Senussi, and the Tripolitanians have indicated their desire and readiness to participate more completely in the government of their segment of Libya. We believe that a definite date, which is generally acceptable to the General Assembly for the achievement of early independence should be set. A reasonable period will be necessary for the orderly achievement of self-government. Secretary Acheson declared before the plenary session on September 21 that at this session the General Assembly should work out plans for a united and independent Libya, to be carried to completion in not more than 3 or 4 years.[3] The form of the gov-

[1] Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Sept. 30, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

[2] For an article by David W. Wainhouse and Philip A. Mangano on the problem as considered by the Third Session of the General Assembly see BULLETIN of Sept. 12, 1949, p. 363. Reprinted as Department of State publication 3638.

[3] BULLETIN of Oct. 3, 1949, p. 489.

ernment to be established should be worked out by the inhabitants of Libya and should not be arbitrarily imposed by any outside power nor by the United Nations. The form of the new state might be federal, unitary, or whatever form is most acceptable to the inhabitants. In order that the peoples' wishes in this respect be given expression, we have thought that the General Assembly might wish to recommend that representatives of the inhabitants of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, at least 1 year prior to the date of independence, consult together to determine the form of association which they desire to establish upon the attainment of independence.

The present British and French administrations should be charged with the responsibility of cooperating in the formation of governmental institutions and of preparing Libya for independence, taking whatever steps the General Assembly deems necessary. They should report annually to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the information of members on measures they have taken during each year of the interim period to prepare Libya for independence.

During this interim period it might be appropriate for an Advisory Council, on behalf of the General Assembly, to advise the British and French administrations as to how assistance might be given to the inhabitants with regard to the formation of a government for a unified Libya, and such related problems as common services, a common currency, and boundary changes. Without going into detail regarding possible functions of such a council, I would point out that we consider that this body should in no way interfere with the administration of the territories.

Eritrea

Coming next to Eritrea, I can but repeat what we maintained at the last session of the General Assembly, namely that the best solution for the future of this territory would be the incorporation of all except the western province into Ethiopia—with provision of appropriate guaranties for the protection of minorities and without prejudice to the sovereignty of Ethiopia—appropriate municipal charters for the cities of Asmara and Massawa. The western province could most appropriately be incorporated into the Sudan. We are dealing here with an artificially created territory, whose inhabitants are almost equally divided between Coptic Christians and Moslems. The Eritrean plateau provinces are a continuation of the Ethiopian plateau, and the majority of the inhabitants of the entire plateau are related by language, race, and religion. It is true that the port of Massawa, as well as the province of the same name, is predominantly Moslem, but it cannot be separated from the Eritrean plateau without economic disruption. Assab and the Danakil coast, which are part of the province of Massawa, have no lateral communication with the central provinces nor with the capital, Asmara. This area is geographically part of Ethiopia, and the Danakils who inhabit it are part of a tribe whose greatest numbers are within the borders of Ethiopia. In our judgment a substantial majority of the inhabitants of Eritrea, exclusive of the western province, favor union with Ethiopia.

Our suggestion that the western province of Eritrea be annexed to the Sudan is based on the following considerations:

(1) The majority of the inhabitants are Moslem, as are the people across the border in the Sudan; (2) three-fourths of the inhabitants of the western province are nomadic or seminomadic and follow a pastoral way of life quite different from the settled agriculturalists on the central plateau of Eritrea; (3) climatically the heat and aridity of most of the western and the coastal plain comprising this area resemble those of the Sudan; (4) there is a religious tie with the Sudan through the adherence of certain tribes, such as the Beni Amer, in the western province to the teachings of the Mazhani "Tariqa" or Confraternity, which is closely related to some 30 thousand of its other members in the Sudan; (5) the basis of social organizations for both nomad and sedentary peoples in Eritrea, as well as the Sudan, is the same: the Kinship group. Thus social ties would be respected by changing the political orientation of the western province to the Sudan; (6) the western province has few economic resources and cannot exist as an independent modern state.

I have purposely gone into some detail regarding our reasons for believing that the future of the western province lies with the Sudan, since at the last session certain delegations appeared to doub the wisdom of this proposal.

In brief, gentlemen, this Assembly is presente with an opportunity to make a long-term settlement of Eritrea whose artificial borders wer created in the era of colonial expansion in Africa and it is our belief that the reshaping of the ma in the manner I have indicated will be a mov toward an end we all seek; namely, to reunit racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic group separated by frontiers arbitrarily established i the nineteenth century. It was gratifying that a impressive majorty in the last Assembly supporte the return of the eastern part of Eritrea to Ethio pia, and it is our hope that further consideratio of the problem will have convinced the delegation here that the most appropriate disposition of th remainder, namely the western province, is in it incorporation into the Sudan.

Italian Somaliland

The United States Government believes that th people of Italian Somaliland aspire to the statu

f independence and equality which will enable hem to develop their culture and their country s a full member of the community of free nations. Iy government believes that the people of the talian Somaliland should be assisted toward the oal of independence through the trusteeship sys- em of the United Nations. We are convinced hat such a solution will best meet the requirements f the people and will also provide a solution which ill best guarantee the future security and stability f the area.

Italian Somaliland is an area with undeveloped olitical institutions the organization of whose eople is largely tribal and pastoral. We can ardly expect these people to be in a position to etermine for themselves what means might best ssure their achievement of self-government and ndependence, and the fulfillment of their national spirations. It is therefore the view of my govern- ent that the General Assembly has a special re- ponsibility to assure that the solution which we ecommend will in reality provide for the best nterests of the inhabitants.

If it is accepted that independence is the desired bjective with respect to Italian Somaliland and hat a substantial period of trusteeship is needed prepare the people of the territory for full self- overnment, we must next examine the type of rusteeship which will be best suited in the circum- ances to achieve our desired goal. The First ommittee last Spring carefully considered and iscarded as impracticable in the circumstances oth a direct United Nations trusteeship and rusteeship with a multiple or joint administering uthority. The problem now reduces itself to a noice of the most desirable single power to be dministering authority for Italian Somaliland.

During the many months and years which my overnment has considered this problem, it has onsistently been our view that the Italian Gov- rnment is the best choice for the responsibility of dministering a trusteeship of Italian Somaliland. his view was shared at the last Assembly by 35 embers. The Italian Government indicated its illingness to assume this responsibility and gave ormal assurances that it would discharge such a sk in accordance with the purposes and principles f the Charter of the United Nations and of the rusteeship system.

The United States Government has carefully onsidered the objections to Italian trusteeship hich have been voiced by certain elements of the opulation of Italian Somaliland. We have con- dered the reasons which have impelled these presentatives to the position which they have ken, and we have considered the degree to which ese spokesmen might actually represent the eople of Italian Somaliland. We have also weighed contrary views as well as other evidence including the report of the four-power commission with respect to this aspect of the problem.

Having given full consideration to all of these factors, my government has come to the conclusion that the Italian Government, under a trusteeship agreement approved by the General Assembly, can and will provide an administration which will effectively and promptly assist the people of Italian Somaliland in the economic, social, and political development of their country and will bring to fulfillment their desire for self-government and independence. The Italian Government has evidenced its deep interest in the United Nations and its devotion to the principles of the Charter. As the members of the Committee know, the United States has warmly supported Italy's application for membership in the United Nations. Indeed, members of the United Nations have overwhelmingly agreed that Italy possesses all the qualifications for membership. The United States has full faith in the determination and ability of the democratic Italian Government and the hard-working Italian people to discharge faithfully this obligation toward the people of Italian Somaliland and toward the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Summary

The United States regards the settlement of this complex problem by the Assembly of the United Nations as the fulfillment of the grave responsibilities of the United Nations toward the peoples of these areas. This case also affords the first opportunity which the General Assembly has had to demonstrate that it can discharge the solemn duty of making a great political decision which the Four Powers have agreed in advance to accept. The United States not only shares the obligation to accept as binding the decision of the General Assembly but also supports the aspiration of these peoples to move toward self-government and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter. It is the policy of my government to support the progressive attainment of freedom by all peoples who show themselves worthy of it and ready for it. We recognize that the peoples of the areas with which we are now concerned are in various stages of development, that some are ready for independence, that others will be better helped by self-government as an integral part of existing states, that others still need a rather extensive period of guidance and political experience. In regard to all of them, however, our primary concern must be for their interest and welfare and our ultimate objective their development, either separately or in association with other kindred peoples, into full-fledged members of the community of nations.

Supplementary Report of the U.N. Special Committee on the Balkans[1]

Excerpts from U.N. doc. A/981
Dated Sept. 19, 1949

The Special Committee *Recommends*

1. That the attention of Albania and Bulgaria be again drawn to their obligation, in conformity with international law, to prevent use of their territories in any way against the security of the Greek State;

2. That the General Assembly determine that foreign aid to the Greek guerrillas endangers peace in the Balkans and is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter;

3. That, in view of the conclusion of the Special Committee that Albania is the principal source of material assistance to the Greek guerrillas, the General Assembly finds that the Government of Albania is primarily responsible for the threat to peace in the Balkans;

4. That the General Assembly renew its call upon Albania and Bulgaria to cease forthwith their aid to the Greek guerrillas, and solemnly draw the attention of Albania, in particular, to the increased gravity of the threat to peace in the Balkans that would ensue should its call again be disregarded;

5. That the General Assembly note with concern the increased support being extended to the Greek guerrillas by certain States not bordering upon Greece, in particular Romania, in contravention of the General Assembly resolution of 27 November 1948, and call upon those States to cease forthwith this support;

6. That the General Assembly call upon the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with an appropriate international body for the observation of the conditions in which the Greek guerrillas who have entered their respective territories have been disarmed and interned;

7. That an effort be made during the fourth session of the General Assembly to reach a pacific settlement of existing differences between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the other;

8. That, concerning the Greek children remov from Greece, the General Assembly

(*a*) Condemn in the strongest terms the fa that, in violation of fundamental humanitari principles, children of adolescent age have be sent back to Greece to fight in the ranks of t guerrillas;

(*b*) Deplore the complete failure of the Gover ments of the countries which have received Gre children, for whom they must be held accountab to comply with the unanimous General Assemb resolution of 27 November 1948 for their retu to Greece under certain conditions; and

(*c*) Call upon the States concerned to comp immediately with that resolution.

9. That the General Assembly approve the port of the Special Committee of 2 August 19 and renew those provisions of the resolutions[2] 21 October 1947 and 27 November 1948, which considers should be retained;

10. That the General Assembly continue to p vide for appropriate United Nations machin with adequate powers of conciliation and obser tion to further a settlement between Greece a her northern neighbours and restore peaceful c ditions along the northern frontiers of Gree and to keep the United Nations informed of situation.

Done at 3 Marasli Street, Athens, in the Engl and French languages, this sixteenth day of S tember, one thousand nine hundred and forty ni

Australia	Sam L. Atyeo
Brazil	Rangel de Castr
China	Wen Yuan-ning
France	Emile Charveria
Mexico	Omar Josefe
Netherlands	C. Binnerts (temporarily abse
Pakistan	Ali Haider Abba
Poland	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	
United Kingdom	Richard C. Barn
United States of America	Gerald A. Drew
The Acting Principal Secretary	Victor K. Kwon

[1] The report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, dated Aug. 2, 1949, has been published as document A/935 (*Official Records of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 8). [See also Bulletin of Sept. 19, 1949, p. 407.]

[2] See A/935, annex 1.

.S. Delegation to Third Meeting f Directing Council: Pan American anitary Organization

The Department of State announced on October the United States delegation to the third meeting the Directing Council of the Pan American anitary Organization which convened at Lima, n October 6 and is scheduled to adjourn October 2. The United States delegation is as follows:

airman

omas Parran, M.D., United States Representative on the Directing Council, Pan American Sanitary Organization; Dean, Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh

elegates

van Zile Hyde, M.D., Second Alternate United States Representative on the Directing Council, Pan American Sanitary Organization; Medical Director, Deputy Chief, Office of International Health Relations, United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
oward B. Calderwood, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

lvisers

ary D. Forbes, Senior Nurse Officer and Chief Nurse, Office of International Health Relations, United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency
hn S. Moorhead, M. D., Commissioner of Public Health, Charlotte Amaile, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
arence I. Sterling, Jr., Director, Division of Health and Sanitation, Institute of Inter-American Affairs

The tentative agenda for the Directing Council eeting includes, among other items: (1) approval of the program and budget for 1950; (2) ans for the construction at Washington, D.C. of building for the Pan American Sanitary Bureau; 3) report of the Director of the Pan American anitary Bureau on the work of the Bureau from anuary to June 1949; (4) report of the Directing ouncil to the member governments on the work the Pan American Sanitary Bureau during the eriod October 1948 to October 1949; (5) study a draft agreement between the Council of the rganization of American States and the Pan American Sanitary Organization; (6) consideration of the question of holding Pan American conferences of the National Directors of Health.

The Directing Council of the Pan American Sanitary Organization was set up in accordance with a directive of the Twelfth Pan American Sanitary Conference (Caracas, January 1947) which authorized the reorganization of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, a body established in 1902 as the central coordinating agency for public health activities in the American Republics.

First Stage of Exploratory Talks on Atomic Energy Completed

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

[*Released to the press October 5*]

The Combined Policy Committee and its subgroups have completed the first stage of the exploratory talks on atomic energy matters.[1] A wide range of possibilities were explored looking toward a partnership in the field of atomic energy based upon the most rational and economical joint utilization of materials, techniques, and knowledge available to the three countries. Good progress was made.

The results of the discussions are now being considered by the three governments. The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy is being kept informed. After this consideration, more discussions will take place, more or less intermittently.

In this first stage it was not intended to crystallize positions or to formalize conclusions. All that can be said appropriately at this time is that we have had a satisfactory and most useful exchange of views.

[1] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 472; and Oct. 2, 1949, p. 508.

Democratic Advance of Western Germany

U.S. REJECTS SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

Released to the press October 6.

The Soviet Government in its notes of October 1 to the United States, British, and French Governments has charged that the three Western powers by their joint action in creating a German Government at Bonn have violated the Potsdam agreement and assumed responsibility for splitting Germany and delaying the conclusion of the German peace treaty.

The true record is clear and quite different. The United States has a deep conviction of the correctness of the Potsdam principles that Germany should be given economic unity and that its political life should be restored on a democratic basis. The Western governments have made most strenuous efforts to carry out these principles. They have been only partially successful because of obstinate Soviet opposition to every constructive proposal presented by the Western powers since 1945. Every proposal has foundered on Soviet insistence upon a unilateral treatment of Eastern Germany which has reduced that area to an oppressive police state. The U.S.S.R., by creating a dictatorial, unrepresentative regime, by building up a German paramilitary force, by strangling free economic life and by looting the natural and industrial resources, by reopening concentration camps, and by creating conditions which have caused hundreds of thousands of German residents to flee, has steadily separated its zone from the main part of Germany and from the Potsdam goals of democracy, peace, and prosperity.

The U.S.S.R. was never willing to deal with Germany as a single economic unit. Its representatives at Berlin, through their systematic use of the veto, gradually reduced the Allied Contr Council to impotence. They sought to sabota the democratically elected administration Greater Berlin and finally set up a rival pupp government in Berlin. In 1948 they deliberate destroyed the Control Council and the four-pow Berlin Kommandatura by walking out of the bodies. Soviet representatives have utilized t meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers a most exclusively for propagandist ends rather th for a joint effort with the Western powers to sett German problems.

Faced with these facts, the United States pr posed as early as 1946 the economic unification the United States zone with any or all other zon of Germany. As a result, a joint economic a ministration of the United States and British zon was established in 1947. This was a practic application of the Potsdam requirement th Germany be treated as an economic unit. T United States had had enough of Soviet prop ganda speeches about Potsdam and of Soviet r fusal to act. By 1948 the three Western Gover ments were firmly resolved that vigorous joi action on a wide scale must be taken to avert cat trophe. They therefore arrived at a series agreements that the German people should be ab to begin without further delay their progress t ward the restoration of self-government and inc pendence and normal conditions of life. Th were convinced that if such progress could not made in Germany as a whole because of Sov opposition, it must at least be undertaken in th major area of Germany for which they we responsible.

The Occupation Statute, the Agreement on Tri-artite Controls, and the Statute of the High Com-ission for Germany are all deliberately designed o restrict the scope of the direct powers previously xercised by the Western governments. They are eliberately designed to accord far greater inde-endence of action to the Germans than have any revious arrangements. The Bonn Constitution self is a democratic instrument freely formulated nd freely ratified by representatives of the Ger-an people. The Federal Government of Ger-any now established under that constitution has een created by a Parliament chosen by free and niversal popular elections. By the participation f 80 percent of the electorate in these elections, e German people have unmistakably demon-rated their support of the new Republic. No egime which the Soviet Government may now con-ive by the methods it is pursuing in its zone of ermany will be able to claim for itself the same emocratic basis.

These developments represent no division of ermany by will or act of the Western powers. hey constitute, on the contrary, the greatest ad-ance toward German unification, stability, and rosperity since the end of the war. It is purely y volition of the Soviet Government that Eastern ermany is excluded from the benefits of these rrangements.

At the recent meeting of the Council of Foreign inisters at Paris, agreement was reached for a ontinuation of efforts to achieve the political and conomic unity of Germany.

The United States rejects the attempt of the oviet Government to impose its interpretation of vents and its plan of action upon the democratic ations of Europe. It will not permit the con-nued obstruction by a single power of all striv-gs toward a democratic peace. It will continue s efforts, in association with the free peoples of e West, including the German people, to enlarge e area of political stability and freedom, of onomic prosperity, and of lasting peace and curity.

aws for Filing Claims n Germany Announced

Released to the press October 3]

The Office of United States High Commissioner r Germany announced today that each of the ur German Laender comprising the United tates zone of Germany has now promulgated gislation known as the general claims law (entschaedigungsgesetz).[1] This legislation which was approved in principle by Military Government several weeks ago following many months of study by both German and United States authorities, is identical in the four Laender except for necessary minor administrative differences. The laws are officially identified as follows:

LAND	TITLE	PUBLISHED
Bavaria	Gesetz Zur Wiedergutmachung Nationalsozialistischen Unrechts (Entschaedigungsgesetz) vom 12 August 1949	Bayerisches Gesetz Und Verordnungsblatt, 49, no. 20, 29 August
Hesse	Gesetz Zur Wiedergutmachung Nationalsozialistischen Unrechts (Entschaedigungsgesetz) vom 10 August 1949	Gesetz Und Verordnungsblatt Fuer Das Land Hessen, 49, no. 26/27 18 August
Württemberg-baden	Gesetz number 951 Zur Wiedergutmachung Nationalsozialistischen Unrechts (Entschaedigungsgesetz) vom 16 August 1949	Regierungsblatt Des Regierung Württemberg-baden, 49, no. 20, 1 September
Bremen	Gesetz Zur Wiedergutmachung Nationalsozialistischen Unrechts (Entschaedigungsgesetz) vom 16 August 1949	Gesetzblatt Der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 49, no. 41, 27 August

The coming into force of this legislation completes the objective of providing a means whereby certain classes of persons who suffered monetary and other losses during the Nazi regime may receive indemnification for losses falling outside the scope of restitution legislation previously enacted by United States Military Government.

Until now, such legislation provided only for the restitution of identifiable tangible and intangible property and aggregates thereof, pursuant to Military Government law number 59, enacted on 10 November 1947 and effective in the United States zone, and pursuant to BK/O(49) 180 dated 26 July 1949, applicable in the United States sector of Berlin. (The latter is also in force in the British and French sectors.)

The Laender laws just enacted provide that persons who, during the period from 30 January 1933 to 8 May 1945, were persecuted because of political conviction or for racial, religious or ideological grounds and thereby suffered damage to life and limb, health, liberty, possessions, property or economic advancement, shall be entitled to restitution according to the provisions thereof.

For the land to be liable as restitutor, such person shall have had his legitimate domicile or usual residence within that land on 1 January 1947, or was assigned to that land as refugee, or, having

[1] Press release issued by the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany on Sept. 30, 1949, in Frankfort and Berlin.

had such domicile or residence, died or emigrated prior to that date.

Persons who resided in a DP camp in the United States zone on 1 January 1947 are also eligible. The right to claim restitution shall also, under certain conditions, pass to the heirs of such persons.

Claims based on this legislation must be filed not later than 1 April 1950.

The administrative procedures necessary to carry out the provisions of this law, as well as its actual administration, are a responsibility of the German authorities, and each land will in due course establish procedures for the filing, processing, and adjudication of claims.

Although a number of implementing regulations are still to be issued, each land has now named an office, or offices, to accept claims filed pursuant to the land law. These offices and their addresses are:

Bavaria: Bayerisches Landesamt Fuer Wiedergutmachung, Arcis Strasse 11, Muenchen 2, Germany
Hesse: Hessisches Staatsministerium Der Minister Des Innern, Abteilung Wiedergutmachung, Wilhelmstrasse 24, Wiesbaden, Germany
Württemberg: Landesbezirksstelle Fuer Wiedergutmachung, Gerokstrasse 37, Stuttgart, Germany
Baden: Landesbezirksstelle Fuer Wiedergutmachung, Beethovenstrasse 11, Karlsruhe, Germany
Bremen: Amt Fuer Wiedergutmachung, Polizeihaus, Bremen, Germany

Interested persons desiring further information concerning the general claims law are advised not to communicate with United States occupation authorities, but to address appropriate inquiries, including requests for copies of the law, to the land office having jurisdiction, as indicated above.

Soviet Treatment of Americans Called Shocking Contravention to International Decency

Text of a note delivered to the Soviet Foreign Office October 6 by the American Embassy at Moscow

[*Released to the press October 6*]

The United States Government has been informed by the Office of the United States High Commissioner in Germany that on September 28, the Soviet authorities in Germany handed over to the American authorities the two youthful American students, Warren J. Oelsner and Peter H. Sellers, who had been under arrest in the Soviet zone since July 31.

In announcing his intention to release these boys, General Ivanov, Chief of Staff of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, referred to the "character of the actions" of Oelsner and Sellers in the Soviet zone and asked that measures be taken to avoid a repetition of such incidents.

The United States Government wishes to observe that such admonitions are misdirected in this case. What is the "character of the actions" of the two young American citizens involved? To be sure they inadvertently and innocently entered the Soviet zone of occupation. But this technical offense is not a serious one. It certainly cannot justify detention for over 8 weeks, including 2 weeks in solitary confinement. The two students were not considered even by the Soviet authorities in Germany to be criminals or spies. Reports indicate that no formal charges were ever preferred against them. In short, two American students, in Europe as tourists, whose identity and harmless purposes could never have been long in doubt, have been treated as criminals, subject to long incarceration, and not allowed to communicate with their families or their government. This treatment the United States Government finds to be in shocking contravention to the most elementary standards of international decency. The reaction of the Soviet authorities to the incursion of a pair of youthful bicyclists is the more astonishing as they can scarcely have been considered to be a serious threat to the security of the ample Soviet occupation army in Germany.

The case of Oelsner and Sellers is only the latest of many which have occurred in Germany. Circumstances vary but the basic pattern is the same. United States citizens, whether civilian or military, are arrested, held for long periods, sometimes miserably mistreated, and eventually released, without charges, explanations or apologies. The recent case of Pvt. John J. Sienkiewicz, United States soldier who escaped on September 16, 1949, from a prison in the Soviet sector of Berlin after 10 months of imprisonment under brutal and uncivilized conditions, is another illustration in point. There can be no justification for this kind of treatment of citizens of a friendly nation, persons whose only violation of law is purely technical at most and whose innocence of criminal charges can easily be established.

The Government of the United States raises the most energetic protest against such actions by the Soviet authorities in Germany, and expects that those Soviet officials who are responsible for these acts will be punished. The Government of the United States further insists that the elementary rights of its citizens be observed in the future in accordance with the international comity which governs the conduct of all civilized states.

dministration of Trade Agreements Program

XECUTIVE ORDER 10082[1]

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the onstitution and the statutes, including section 32 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (46 Stat. 698) and ie Trade Agreements Act approved June 12, 934, as amended (48 Stat. 943; 57 Stat. 125; 59 tat. 410; Public Law 307, 81st Congress), and in ie interest of the foreign-affairs functions of the Inited States and in order that the interests of ie various branches of American economy may e effectively promoted and safeguarded through ie administration of the trade-agreements proram, it is ordered as follows:

art I. Organization

1. There is hereby established the Interdepartiental Committee on Trade Agreements (hereinfter referred to as the Trade Agreements Comiittee), which shall act as the agency through hich the President shall, in accordance with secion 4 of the said Trade Agreements Act, as mended, seek information and advice before conluding a trade agreement. With a view to the onduct of the trade-agreements program in the eneral public interest and in order to coordinate he program with the interests of American agriulture, industry, commerce, labor, and security, nd of American financial and foreign policy, the Trade Agreements Committee shall consist of a Commissioner of the United States Tariff Comission, who shall be designated by the Chairman f the Commission, and of persons designated from heir respective agencies by the Secretary of State, he Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secreary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, and the Administrator for Economic Cooperation. There hall likewise be designated from the foregoing gencies alternates to act in place of the members n the Committee when the members are unable o act. A member or alternate from the Departnent of State shall be the Chairman of the Trade Agreements Committee.

2. There is hereby established the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which shall act as the agency to which, in accordance with section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, the views of interested persons with regard to any proposed trade agreement to be concluded under the said Act shall be presented. The Committee for Reciprocity Information shall consist of the same members as the Trade Agreements Committee or their alternates. A member or alternate from the Tariff Commission shall be the Chairman of the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

3. The Trade Agreements Committee and the Committee for Reciprocity Information may invite the participation in their activities of other government agencies when matters of interest thereto are under consideration. Each of the said committees may from time to time designate such sub-committees, and prescribe such procedures and rules and regulations, as it may deem necessary for the conduct of its functions.

Part II. Conclusion of Agreements

4. Before entering into the negotiation of a proposed trade agreement under the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, the Trade Agreements Committee shall submit to the President for his approval a list of all articles imported into the United States which it is proposed should be considered in such negotiations for possible modification of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuance of existing customs or excise treatment. Upon approval by the President of any such list, as originally submitted or in amended form, the Trade Agreements Committee shall cause notice of intention to negotiate such agreement, together with such list of articles, to be published in the *Federal Register*. Such notice and list shall also be issued to the press, and sufficient copies shall be furnished to the Committee for Reciprocity Information for use in connection with such hearings as the Committee may hold with respect thereto. Such notice, together with the list or a statement as to its availability, shall also be published in the *Department of State Bulletin*, *Treasury Decisions*, and the *Foreign Commerce Weekly*.

5. Any interested person desiring to present his

[1] 14 *Fed. Reg.* 6105.

views with respect to any article in any list referred to in paragraph 4 hereof, or with respect to any other aspect of a proposed trade agreement, may present such views to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which shall accord reasonable opportunity for the presentation of such views.

6. With respect to each article in a list referred to in paragraph 4 hereof, the Tariff Commission shall make an analysis of the facts relative to the production, trade, and consumption of the article involved, to the probable effect of granting a concession thereon, and to the competitive factors involved. Such analysis shall be submitted in digest form to the Trade Agreements Committee.

7. With respect to each article exported from the United States which is considered by the Trade Agreements Committee for possible inclusion in a trade agreement, the Department of Commerce shall make an analysis of the facts relative to the production, trade, and consumption of the article involved, to the probable effect of obtaining a concession thereon, and to the competitive factors involved. Such analysis shall be submitted in digest form to the Trade Agreements Committee.

8. Each Department and agency officials from which are members of the Trade Agreements Committee shall, to the extent it considers necessary and within the sphere of its respective responsibilities, make special studies of particular aspects of proposed trade agreements from the point of view of the interests of American agriculture, industry, commerce, labor, and security. Such studies shall be submitted to the Trade Agreements Committee.

9. After analysis and consideration of (a) the studies of the Tariff Commission provided for in paragraph 6 hereof, (b) the studies of the Department of Commerce provided for in paragraph 7 hereof, (c) the special studies provided for in paragraph 8 hereof, (d) the views of interested persons presented to the Committee for Reciprocity Information pursuant to paragraph 5 hereof, and (e) any other information available to the Trade Agreements Committee, including information relating to export duties and restrictions, the Trade Agreements Committee shall make such recommendations to the President relative to the conclusion of the trade agreement under consideration, and to the provisions to be included therein, as are considered appropriate to carry out the purposes set forth in the Trade Agreements Act, as amended. If there is dissent from any recommendation to the President with respect to the inclusion of any proposed concession in a trade agreement, the President shall be furnished a full report by the dissenting member or members of the Trade Agreements Committee, giving the reasons for his or their dissent.

10. There shall be applicable to each tariff concession granted, or other obligations incurred, by the United States in any trade agreement hereafter entered into a clause providing in effect that if, as a result of unforeseen developments and of such concession or other obligation, any article is being imported in such relatively increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive articles, the United States shall be free to withdraw or modify the concession, or suspend the other obligation, in whole or in part, to the extent and for such time as may be necessary to prevent such injury.

11. There shall be obtained from every government or instrumentality thereof with which any trade agreement is hereafter entered into a most-favored-nation commitment securing for the United States the benefits of all tariff concessions and other tariff advantages accorded by the other party or parties to the agreement to any third country. This provision shall be subject to the minimum of necessary exceptions and shall be designed to obtain the greatest possible benefit for the trade of the United States.

Part III. Administration of Agreements

12. The Trade Agreements Committee shall at all times keep informed of the operation and effect of all trade agreements which are in force. It shall recommend to the President or to one or more of the agencies represented on the Committee such action as is considered required or appropriate to carry out any such trade agreement or any rectifications and amendments thereof not requiring compliance with the procedures set forth in paragraphs 4 and 5 hereof. The Trade Agreements Committee shall, in particular, keep informed of discriminations by any country against the trade of the United States which cannot be removed by normal diplomatic representations, and, if it considers that the public interest will be served thereby, shall recommend to the President the withholding from such country of the benefit of concessions granted under the Trade Agreements Act, as amended. The Committee may also consider such other questions of commercial policy as have a bearing on its activities with respect to trade agreements.

13. The Tariff Commission, upon the request of the President, upon its own motion, or upon application of any interested party when in the judgment of the Tariff Commission there is good and sufficient reason therefor, shall make an investigation to determine whether, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the concession granted, or other obligation incurred, by the United States with respect to any article to which a clause similar to that provided for in paragraph 10 hereof is applicable, such article is being imported in such relatively increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or

ctly competitive articles. Should the Tariff nmission find, as a result of its investigation, t such injury is being caused or threatened, it ll recommend to the President, for his consid- tion in the light of the public interest, the hdrawal or modification of the concession, or suspension of the other obligation, in whole n part, to the extent and for such time as the iff Commission finds necessary to prevent such ıry. In the course of any investigation under s paragraph, the Tariff Commission shall hold rings, giving reasonable public notice thereof, l shall afford reasonable opportunity for par- interested to be present, to produce evidence, l to be heard at such hearings. The procedure l rules and regulations for such investigations l hearings shall from time to time be prescribed the Tariff Commission.

4. The Tariff Commission shall at all times p informed concerning the operation and effect provisions relating to duties or other import rictions of the United States contained in de agreements heretofore or hereafter entered o by the President under the authority of the ıde Agreements Act, as amended. The Tariff nmission, at least once a year, shall submit to President and to the Congress a factual report the operation of the trade-agreements program.

5. The Committee for Reciprocity Informa- n shall accord reasonable opportunity to in- ested persons to present their views with pect to the operation and effect of trade agree- nts which are in force or to any aspect thereof.

t IV. Transitory Provisions

6. All action relative to trade agreements al- dy concluded or to the conclusion of new trade reements which has been taken by the Trade reements Committee or by the Committee for ciprocity Information between June 25, 1948, d the date of this order shall be considered as *o tanto* compliance with the provisions of this der, provided that the member from the Tariff mmission on the Trade Agreements Committee ıll be accorded full opportunity to present to ıt Committee, and to the President pursuant the final sentence of paragraph 9 hereof, infor- ıtion and advice with respect to the decisions, commendations, and other actions of that Com- ttee between June 25, 1948, and the date of this der relative to the conclusion of any trade agree- ent after the enactment of the Trade Agreements tension Act of 1949, approved September 26, 49 (Public Law 307, 81st Congress).

rt V. Supersedure

17. This order supersedes Executive Order No. ,004 of October 5, 1948, entitled "Prescribing Procedures for the Administration of the Recip- rocal Trade-Agreements Program." [2]

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 5, 1949.

PROCEDURES PRESCRIBED AND PRACTICES REVOKED

[*Released to the press October 5*]

The President today signed Executive Order No. 10082, superseding Executive Order 10004 of October 5, 1948, and prescribing revised procedures for the administration of the reciprocal trade-agreements program in accordance with the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, and the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949.

The new order establishes procedures which are in accordance with the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949 and revokes certain practices required under the provisions of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948 which was repealed by the passage of the 1949 act. The order prescribes procedures to be followed by the Trade Agreements Committee in concluding trade agreements; by the Committee for Reciprocity Information in obtaining the views of interested persons on agreements; and by the Tariff Commission in the event of serious injury or threat of serious injury to domestic industry.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements will continue to function as the central operating committee, giving effect to the requirement of the Trade Agreements Act that the President seek information and advice from certain government agencies before concluding a trade agreement. Members of the Committee will include a Commissioner of the United States Tariff Commission and persons designated from their respective agencies by the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, and by the Administrator for Economic Cooperation, under the chairmanship of the representative from the Department of State. Under the 1948 act Tariff Commission members and employees were prohibited from participating in the decisions or recommendations of the Trade Agreements Committee. This prohibition was removed by the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information, which will continue to receive, digest, and circulate to the entire trade-agreements organization the views of interested persons regarding any phase of proposed or existing trade agreements, is to consist of the same persons as those who are members of the Committee on Trade Agreements. The chairman of the Committee for Reciprocity Information will be the member or alternate from the Tariff Commission.

[2] BULLETIN of Oct. 17, 1948, p. 502.

The order provides that, as before, the Trade Agreements Committee shall submit to the President for his approval a list of articles on which possible United States tariff concessions may be considered in the negotiation of a proposed trade agreement. Upon approval of the list by the President, the Trade Agreements Committee will publish the list and a notice of intention to negotiate. Pursuant to the provision of the order that the Committee for Reciprocity Information accord reasonable opportunity for the presentation of views by any interested persons, the Committee for Reciprocity Information will afford opportunity to make written representations and will hold public hearings concerning concessions to be offered and granted.

The Tariff Commission is to continue to furnish to the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization factual data relative to production, trade, and consumption of articles under consideration for concession by the United States, and to supply facts on probable effects of granting concessions and on the competitive factors involved.

The Department of Commerce is to continue to furnish to the Trade Agreements Committee studies of the trade in and other facts regarding each article exported from the United States on which the United States may consider seeking a foreign concession in a trade agreement.

Each Department and agency represented on the Trade Agreements Committee is authorized to make, within the sphere of its responsibilities, special studies of particular aspects of proposed trade agreements from the point of view of the interests of American agriculture, industry, commerce, labor, and security.

On the basis of all the data available, the Trade Agreements Committee will recommend to the President concessions to be sought and offered. A full report to the President must also be made by the dissenting member or members on any dissent from the Committee's recommendations.

In conformity with past practice, each future agreement is to contain a most-favored-nation commitment and, as required in earlier orders, all trade agreements are to be made subject to a comprehensive escape clause. This clause is to provide that future tariff concessions may be modified or withdrawn, and other obligations may be suspended if, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the concession or other obligation in the trade agreement, any article is being imported in such increased quantities and under such conditions as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic industry. Procedure is also provided for, as in an earlier order, for the Tariff Commission to investigate, determine, and recommend to the President for his consideration whether the escape clause should be invoked.

Both the Trade Agreements Committee and the Tariff Commission are to keep informed at a times on the operation and effect of agreements i force. At least once a year the Tariff Commissio is to submit to the President and to Congress report of the operation of the program.

In order to facilitate transition from the pro cedures of the 1948 act to those of the 1949 ac specific provision is made that action under th former by the Trade Agreements Committee an the Committee for Reciprocity Information sha be considered as complying with the new orde provided opportunity is given for the Tariff Com mission member to present advice and recommen dation on action taken by the Trade Agreemen Committee between June 25, 1948, and the date o this amending Executive order.

CONCESSIONS GRANTED FROM NEGOTIATIONS AT ANNECY

[*Released to the press October 7*]

The trade agreement negotiations which ha been carried on at Annecy, France, over the pa several months will be concluded by the openi of the documents embodying the results of the Co ference for signature by the 33 countries co cerned, at Lake Success on October 10, 1949.

The Annecy conference, which opened April 1949, and closed August 27, 1949, was another lan mark in international commercial relations. involved the second most extensive internation negotiations for the reduction of trade barrie ever held. These negotiations have been exceed in scope and importance only by those carried at Geneva in 1947 in connection with the concl sion of the General Agreement on Tariffs a Trade by 23 contracting parties which are: Au tralia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylo Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Indi Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Ze land, Norway, Pakistan, Southern Rhodes Syria, Union of South Africa, United Kingdo and the United States.

The Annecy conference contributed to a sig ficant expansion of established United States co mercial foreign policy, made possible by the e tension by Congress, last month, of the recipro Trade Agreements Act.

At Annecy, 10 new countries applied for a cession to the General Agreement. These cou tries are: Denmark, the Dominican Republ Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Liberia, Nicarag Sweden, and Uruguay.

The representatives of these countries nego ated with each other and with the representativ of 21 of the original 23 contracting parties to t agreement for mutually advantageous reductio in their tariff and other barriers to trade. T process involved some 130 or more separate neg tiations between representatives of pairs of cou tries. The results were collated, and the resulti

edules of concessions will be annexed to and ome part of the General Agreement on Tar- and Trade.

The documents embodying the results of the necy conference will be opened at Lake Success, October 10, for signature by the governments the original contracting parties and of the 10 eding countries. Signature of two-thirds of original contracting parties to the Protocol Terms of Accession to the General Agreement Tariffs and Trade, with respect to a given ac- ing country, will constitute agreement to that ntry's accession. When the country itself has ned the protocol and is prepared to put into ct the general provisions of the General Agree- nt and the tariff concessions which it has ne- iated at Annecy it will become a contracting ty to the agreement with all rights and obliga- ns of other contracting parties. The earliest e for accession to the agreement is January 1, 0, and the latest date on which an acceding ntry may sign is May 30, 1950.

The concessions granted by each country in the necy negotiations will, when they enter into ce, be applicable to imports from each of the er contracting parties. Thus benefits accruing any country from the negotiations will be in categories—those directly negotiated for with ther country and those obtained indirectly as esult of negotiations between other countries products of interest to the country concerned. e same is true with regard to concessions made he General Agreement in 1947. The fact that cessions made there by the original contracting ties will accrue to the new countries upon their ession to the agreement, was taken into full ount in the negotiations at Annecy.

Upon its accession to the General Agreement h new country will be obligated to observe the eral provisions of the agreement which are de- ned to supplement and, in some cases, to safe- rd the tariff concessions granted in the agree- nt. These general provisions provide for most- ored-nation treatment, and relate to such mat- s as trade discriminations, quantitative import trictions, internal taxation, and others.

All tariff concessions negotiated at Annecy by United States were formulated within the pro- ions of, and under the procedures laid down the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended l extended, and the related Executive orders. e negotiations were conducted on a selective, duct-by-product basis, after public hearings, ommendations by the Interdepartmental Com- tee on Trade Agreements, and approval by the sident.

The 23 original contracting parties to the Gen- l Agreement, together with the 10 countries lying for accession, carry on among them some r-fifths of total world trade. The tariff concessions which have been negotiated at Geneva and at Annecy apply to products which account for more than two-thirds of the import trade of the 33 countries and more than one-half of the import trade of the world.

In the Annecy negotiations the United States obtained concessions from the acceding countries on products which they imported from the United States in 1947 to a value of $536,997,000 or nearly 39 percent of their total imports of all products from this country in that year. Very substantial benefits, which can not yet be accurately estimated, will accrue to United States exports from concessions negotiated among the acceding countries themselves, and between them and the other contracting parties to the agreement. These concessions will apply to United States exports to countries in both groups.

The concessions obtained by the United States were of various types, including reduction or elimination of foreign customs duties, bindings of such duties against increase, and binding of duty-free treatment of imports from the United States.

Major commodity groups within which the United States obtained concessions from the acceding countries at Annecy include: grains and cereal products; fresh and dried fruits; canned fruits and fruit juices; vegetables; dairy products; meat, fish, and similar products; cotton; tobacco and tobacco products; miscellaneous other agricultural products; automotive vehicles and parts; aircraft and parts; industrial and agricultural machinery, including tractors; electrical machinery and appliances; office machines and equipment; metals and metal manufactures; petroleum products; certain types of glassware; plumbing equipment; chemicals, paints, and plastics; medicinal and toilet preparations; textiles and furs; rubber and leather products; wood and paper products; naval stores; motion picture and other photographic products; and many others.

In return for concessions obtained by the United States in the negotiations with the acceding countries, this country granted reductions or bindings of United States tariff rates, and bindings of duty-free treatment for imports into the United States. These United States concessions apply to products which the United States imported in 1948 from the acceding countries to the value of $143,064,000 or 37 percent of total imports from the acceding countries in that year, which were valued at $382,-457,000. Of these total imports $182,353,000 worth were dutiable and $200,104,000 were duty free under the Tariff Act of 1930.

Each individual acceding country at Annecy stands to benefit to some extent from concessions made there by the United States to some other acceding country. Imports from all 10 countries of products which fall into this category were valued in 1948 at $24,063,000. Thus total United States imports from the acceding countries of products on which those countries negotiated concessions with this country at Annecy, were valued

at $167,127,000 or about 44 percent of the total value of imports of all products from the acceding countries in 1948.

Again, the acceding countries will obtain substantial benefit from concessions which the United States had previously made to other contracting parties to the General Agreement at Geneva in 1947. The value of United States imports in 1948, from all sources, of products which would be affected by concessions negotiated at Annecy and not previously negotiated at Geneva amounted to approximately $250,000,000.

On the basis of 1948 trade figures, United States duties were reduced at Annecy in direct negotiations with the acceding countries on imports valued at $60,882,000 or slightly over 15 percent of total imports from the 10 acceding countries; existing duties were bound on $4,208,000 worth, or slightly over 1 percent; and existing duty-free treatment was bound on $77,974,000 worth, or about 20 percent of total imports.

Like the concessions obtained by the United States, those granted by this country cover a wide variety of articles. As in previous agreements, United States concessions frequently are limited to specifically defined types, grades, or values of products which may be broadly described in the tariff law. All products on which United States concessions were made at Annecy are in demand in this country either for direct consumption or as raw materials for American industries.

The concessions of the United States apply to specified items within the following general groups: chemicals and drugs; vegetable oils; crockery and glassware; stone and stone products; iron and steel and their products; machinery and tools; wood pulp and other products; sugars and molasses; tobacco and its products; meat and fish products; dairy products; fruits, nuts, and vegetables and preparations thereof; textile and fiber fabrics and other products; paper and paper products; jewelry; boots, shoes, and other leather goods; musical instruments; dyeing and tanning materials; and others.

The formal document of accession is entitled The Annecy Protocol of Terms of Accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It was drawn up under article XXXIII of the General Agreement. Accession of each of the new countries will have been agreed to when two-thirds of the original contracting parties to the agreement have signed the protocol with regard to the particular new country concerned. Accession will actually occur when the acceding country has signed the protocol and is prepared to put into effect the general provisions of the General Agreement and the tariff concessions which it negotiat at Annecy. The earliest date for accession January 1, 1950, and the latest date on which acceding country may sign the protocol is M 30, 1950.

As yet, the General Agreement is in effect pr visionally among the 23 original contracti parties. That is, only parts I and III are ful effective and part II to the extent consistent wi the laws of the country concerned as they exist when the agreement was signed. Acceding cou tries will make provisional application under t same conditions. Under the terms of the Proto of Provisional Application signed at Geneva 1947 and those of the Annecy Protocol of Acc sion, any contracting party has a right to withdr its provisional application of the agreement on days' notice.

The Annecy conference included two separ but related activities: (1) the tariff negotiatio which have been referred to, and (2) the th session of the original contracting parties to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. T third session of the contracting parties was c cerned with various matters relating to the ope tion of the agreement and with the terms on wh the new countries would accede to it. The origi contracting parties did not negotiate any new c cessions among themselves at Annecy.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions to Meet

[*Released to the press October 6*]

In keeping with the policy of holding infor periodic meetings of United States Diplomatic cials to exchange views and discuss question mutual interest and concern, a meeting of Chiefs of United States diplomatic mission Eastern Europe will be held on October 24–2 London which has been selected because of its tral location.

The American Ambassadors from Moscow (miral Alan G. Kirk), Warsaw (Waldemar J. G man), Prague (Ellis O. Briggs) and Belg (Cavendish W. Cannon), and the American M isters from Budapest (Nathaniel P. Davis), B arest (Rudolf E. Schoenfeld) and Sofia (Do R. Heath) will attend. Assistant Secretar State George W. Perkins also plans to be prese

PUBLICATIONS

ecent Releases

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roceedings of the Inter-American Conference on Conrvation of Renewable Natural Resources, Denver, Colodo, September 7–20, 1948. International Organization nd Conference Series II, American Republics 4. Pub. 82. 782 pp. $2.25.

These papers reflect a serious study of the whole broad range of conservation problems.

xchange of Official Publications. Treaties and Other ternational Acts Series 1927. Pub. 3550. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Austria—Effected by Exchange of Notes signed at Washington, March 11 and 23, 1949; entered into force March 23, 1949.

e Foreign Service of the United States, August 15, 49. Department and Foreign Service Series 6. Pub. 12. 68 pp. 20¢.

General information and pertinent laws and regulations concerning the Foreign Service.

e United Nations at Work, 1949. International Organation and Conference Series III, 33. Pub. 3618. 6 . 5¢.

A brief summary of the United Nations achievements.

chnique for Peace: The United Nations and Pacific ttlement. International Organization and Conference ries III, 34. Pub. 3621. 12 pp. 5¢.

From an address by James N. Hyde, adviser on Security Council and General Affairs to the United States Mission to the United Nations. The address was given before the Institute of International Affairs, University of Maine, on August 1, 1949.

uide to the United States and the United Nations, Reed to July 1949. International Organization and Conrence Series III, 37. Pub. 3625. 11 pp. 10¢.

A chronology of United States interest and participation in the United Nations, listing of United States representatives, an organizational diagram, and a bibliography.

plomatic List, September 1949. Pub. 3633. 158 pp. ¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

e Foreign Policy of a Free Democracy. General Forgn Policy Series 17. Pub. 3630. 5 pp. [BULLETIN eprint] Free.

Address by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup at the Golden Jubilee National Convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miami, Fla., on August 24, 1949.

The Problem of the Former Italian Colonies at the Third Session of the General Assembly. International Organization and Conference Series III, 38. Pub. 3638. 34 pp. [BULLETIN Reprint] Free.

A review of the problem of the former Italian colonies at the 3d session of the General Assembly by David W. Wainhouse and Philip A. Mangano.

THE DEPARTMENT

U. S. Representative on Inter-American Council of Jurists Named

The Acting Secretary of State announced on October 7 the appointment of William Sanders as representative of the United States of America on the Inter-American Council of Jurists. Mr. Sanders is Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, and will serve as the United States representative on the Inter-American Council of Jurists in addition to his present duties in the Department.

The Inter-American Council of Jurists is an organ of the Council of the Organization of American States. The Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogota in 1948, provides that the Inter-American Council of Jurists is to serve as an advisory body on juridical matters; to promote the development and codification of public and private international law; and to study the possibility of attaining uniformity in the legislation of the various American countries. The Council is scheduled to hold its first meeting within the next several months, in Rio de Janeiro.

In addition to his duties in the Department, Mr. Sanders also serves at present as alternate United States representative on the Council of the Organization of American States.

Director of Office of German and Austrian Affairs Named

The Department of State on October 7 announced the appointment of Colonel Henry A. Byroade as Director of its Office of German and Austrian Affairs, succeeding Ambassador Robert Murphy, who has been nominated by the President as Ambassador to Belgium.

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Otto Kirchheimer and *Arnold H. Price*, authors of the article on the German elections, are officers in the Division of Research for Europe. Mr. Kirchheimer is Foreign Affairs Specialist in the Division; Mr. Price is Foreign Affairs Analyst.

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The Department of State bulletin

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October 24, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1949

RESIDENT TRUMAN SIGNS ACT

tatement by the President

Released to the press
the White House October 6]

I have just signed the Mutual Defense Assistnce Act of 1949. This is a notable contribution the collective security of the free nations of the orld. It is one of the many steps we are taking ith other free peoples to strengthen our common fense in furtherance of the principles of intertional peace and order enshrined in the Charter the United Nations.

The dominant objective of our foreign policy is create peaceful and stable conditions throughut the world, so that men may lead happier and ore fruitful lives. This objective cannot, hower, be achieved if the economic efforts of free en are overshadowed by the fear of aggression. y strengthening the common defense this act will much to allay that fear. The security which is act offers will aid in promoting the economic elfare of the free nations and in restoring their nfidence in a peaceful and prosperous future.

Since the ratification of the North Atlantic reaty, the countries of the North Atlantic comunity have made considerable progress in workg together for their mutual security. Their comned activity will do much to increase the ectiveness of the assistance to be provided under is act. Further progress in these arrangements r the common defense will make it possible to ovide the full measure of protection which this t offers to this country and other nations.

Recent developments in the field of armaments ve strengthened the free nations in their adrence to the principle of a common defense—the inciple that underlies this act. By emphasizing e common determination of free nations to proct themselves against the threat or fear of agession, the Mutual Defense Assistance Act will engthen the peace of the world.

This act is necessary only because of the unsettled conditions of the world today which we, in concert with many other nations, are striving to overcome. It is my belief that we shall be successful in these efforts to achieve international understanding and to establish, in accordance with our national policy, effective international control and reduction of armaments, through the United Nations.

FULL APPROPRIATIONS ASKED

[*Released to the press*
by the White House October 10]

The President today requested Congress to appropriate the full amount authorized in the recently passed Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 to provide military assistance to foreign nations.

The request includes an appropriation of $814,010,000 and authority to enter into contracts in the amount of 500 million dollars.

The bulk of the funds will be used to provide military aid to those North Atlantic Treaty countries which request aid. Until recommendations by the North Atlantic Council and its Defense Committee for an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area have been approved by the President, only 100 million dollars will be available to provide aid to those countries. Funds to continue the Greek-Turkish program are included in the appropriation. Military assistance will be made available also to Iran, Korea, and the Philippines. Finally, 75 million dollars will be provided to carry out the purposes and policies of the act in the general area of China.

This new step in United States foreign policy recently approved by the Congress must be supported by the appropriation of funds to carry out the very important objectives of the act. It is essential to strengthen effectively the defensive establishments of free nations that are associated with us in the effort to create a world free of the fear of aggression.

TEXT OF THE ACT[1]

An act to promote the foreign policy and provide for the defense and general welfare of the United States by furnishing military assistance to foreign nations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

The Congress of the United States reaffirms the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest. The Congress hereby finds that the efforts of the United States and other countries to promote peace and security in furtherance of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations require additional measures of support based upon the principle of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid. These measures include the furnishing of military assistance essential to enable the United States and other nations dedicated to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter to participate effectively in arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in support of those purposes and principles. In furnishing such military assistance, it remains the policy of the United States to continue to exert maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated in the Charter and agreements to achieve universal control of weapons of mass destruction and universal regulation and reduction of armaments, including armed forces, under adequate safeguards to protect complying nations against violation and evasion.

The Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation by the free countries and the free peoples of the Far East of a joint organization, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, to establish a program of self-help and mutual cooperation designed to develop their economic and social well-being, to safeguard basic rights and liberties and to protect their security and independence.

The Congress recognizes that economic recovery is essential to international peace and security and must be given clear priority. The Congress also recognizes that the increased confidence of free peoples in their ability to resist direct or indirect aggression and to maintain internal security will advance such recovery and support political stability.

Title I

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY COUNTRIES

SEC. 101. In view of the coming into force of the North Atlantic Treaty and the establishment thereunder of the Council and the Defense Committee which will recommend measures for the common defense of the North Atlantic area, and in view of the fact that the task of the Council and the Defense Committee can be facilitated by immediate steps to increase the integrated defensive armed strength of the parties to the treaty, the President is hereby authorized to furnish military assistance in the form of equipment, materials, and services to such nations as are parties to the treaty and have heretofore requested such assistance. Any such assistance furnished under this title shall be subject to agreements, further referred to in section 402, designed to assure that the assistance will be used to promote an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area and to facilitate the development of defense plans by the Council and the Defense Committee under article 9 of the North Atlantic Treaty and to realize unified direction and effort; and after the agreement by the Government of the United States with defense plans as recommended by the Council and the Defense Committee, military assistance hereunder shall be furnished only in accordance therewith.

SEC. 102. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President for the period through June 30, 1950, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for carrying out the provisions and accomplishing the policies and purposes of this title, not to exceed $500,000,000, of which not to exceed $100,000,000 shall be immediately available upon appropriation, and not to exceed $400,000,000 shall become available when the President of the United States approves recommendations for an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area which may be made by the Council and the Defense Committee to be established under the North Atlantic Treaty. The recommendations which the President may approve shall be limited so far as expenditures by the United States are concerned, entirely to the amount herein authorized to be appropriated and the amount authorized hereinafter as contract authority.

SEC. 103. In addition to the amount authorized to be appropriated under section 102, the President shall have authority, within the limits of special contract authority which may be hereafter granted to him in an appropriation Act, to enter into contracts for carrying out the provisions and accomplishing the policies and purposes of this title in amounts not exceeding in the aggregate $500,000,000 during the period ending June 30, 1950, and there are hereby authorized to be appropriated for expenditure after June 30, 1950, such sums as may be necessary to pay obligations incurred under such contract authorization. No contract authority which may be granted pursuant to the provisions of this section shall be exercised by the President until such time as he has approved recommendations for an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area which may be made by

[1] Public Law 329, 81st Cong.

Council and the Defense Committee to be established under the North Atlantic Treaty.

SEC. 104. None of the funds made available for arrying out the provisions of this Act or the Act f May 22, 1947, as amended, shall be utilized (a) o construct or aid in the construction of any factory or other manufacturing establishment outside f the United States or to provide equipment or achinery (other than machine tools) for any such actory or other manufacturing establishment, (b) o defray the cost of maintaining any such factory r other manufacturing establishment, (c) directly r indirectly to compensate any nation or any governmental agency or person therein for any iminution in the export trade of such nation reilting from the carrying out of any program of ncreased military production or to make any payent, in the form of a bonus, subsidy, indemnity, uaranty, or otherwise, to any owner of any such actory or other manufacturing establishment as n inducement to such owner to undertake or inrease production of arms, ammunition, impleents of war, or other military supplies, or (d) for e compensation of any person for personal servces rendered in or for any such factory or other anufacturing establishment, other than personal ervices of a technical nature rendered by officers nd employees of the United States for the purpose f establishing or maintaining production by such actories or other manufacturing establishments o effectuate the purposes of this Act and in conormity with desired standards and specifications.

itle II

REECE AND TURKEY

SEC. 201. In addition to the amounts heretofore uthorized to be appropriated, there are hereby uthorized to be appropriated, out of any moneys n the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, not to xceed $211,370,000 to carry out the provisions of e Act of May 22, 1947, as amended, for the period rough June 30, 1950.

itle III

THER ASSISTANCE

SEC. 301. The President, whenever the furnishg of such assistance will further the purposes nd policies of this Act, is authorized to furnish ilitary assistance as provided in this Act to Iran, e Republic of Korea, and the Republic of the hilippines.

SEC. 302. There are hereby authorized to be apropriated to the President for the period through une 30, 1950, out of any moneys in the Treasury ot otherwise appropriated, for carrying out the rovisions and accomplishing the purposes of secon 301, not to exceed $27,640,000.

SEC. 303. In consideration of the concern of the nited States in the present situation in China, ere is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $75,000,000 in addition to funds otherwise provided as an emergency fund for the President, which may be expended to accomplish in that general area the policies and purposes declared in this Act. Certification by the President of the amounts expended out of funds authorized hereunder, and that it is inadvisable to specify the nature of such expenditures, shall be deemed a sufficient voucher for the amounts expended.

Title IV

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 401. Military assistance may be furnished under this Act, without payment to the United States except as provided in the agreements concluded pursuant to section 402, by the provision of any service, or by the procurement from any source and the transfer to eligible nations of equipment, materials, and services: *Provided*, That no equipment or materials may be transferred out of military stocks if the Secretary of Defense, after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, determines that such transfer would be detrimental to the national security of the United States or is needed by the reserve components of the armed forces to meet their training requirements.

SEC. 402. The President shall, prior to the furnishing of assistance to any eligible nation, conclude agreements with such nation, or group of such nations, which agreements, in addition to such other provisions as the President deems necessary to effectuate the policies and purposes of this Act and to safeguard the interests of the United States, shall make appropriate provision for—

(a) the use of any assistance furnished under this Act in furtherance of the policies and purposes of this Act;

(b) restriction against transfer of title to or possession of any equipment and materials, information or services furnished under this Act without the consent of the President;

(c) the security of any article, service, or information furnished under this Act;

(d) furnishing equipment and materials, services, or other assistance, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, to the United States or to and among other eligible nations to further the policies and purposes of this Act.

SEC. 403. (a) Any funds available for carrying out the policies and purposes of this Act, including any advances to the United States by any nation for the procurement of equipment and materials or services, may be allocated by the President for any of the purposes of this Act to any agency, and such funds shall be available for obligation and expenditure for the purpose of this Act in accordance with authority granted hereunder or under the authority governing the activities of the agency to which such funds are allocated.

(b) Reimbursement shall be made by or to any agency from funds available for the purpose of this Act for any equipment and materials, services or other assistance furnished or authorized to be furnished under authority of this Act from, by, or through any agency. Such reimbursement shall include expenses arising from or incident to operations under this Act and shall be made by or to such agency in an amount equal to the value of such equipment and materials, services (other than salaries of members of the armed forces of the United States) or other assistance and such expenses. The amount of any such reimbursement shall be credited as reimbursable receipts to current applicable appropriations, funds, or accounts of such agency and shall be available for, and under the authority applicable to, the purposes for which such appropriations, funds, or accounts are authorized to be used, including the procurement of equipment and materials or services required by such agency, in the same general category as those furnished by it or authorized to be procured by it and expenses arising from and incident to such procurement.

(c) The term "value", as used in subsection (b) of this section, means—

(1) with respect to any excess equipment or materials furnished under this Act, the gross cost of repairing, rehabilitating, or modifying such equipment or materials prior to being so furnished;

(2) with respect to any nonexcess equipment or materials furnished under this Act which are taken from the mobilization reserve (other than equipment or materials referred to in paragraph (3) of this subsection), the actual or the projected (computed as accurately as practicable) cost of procuring for the mobilization reserve and equal quantity of such equipment or materials or an equivalent quantity of equipment and materials of the same general type but deemed to be more desirable for inclusion in the mobilization reserve than the equipment or materials furnished;

(3) with respect to any nonexcess equipment or materials furnished under this Act which are taken from the mobilization reserve but with respect to which the Secretary of Defense has certified that it is not necessary fully to replace such equipment or materials in the mobilization reserve, the gross cost to the United States of such equipment and materials or its replacement cost, whichever the Secretary of Defense may specify; and

(4) with respect to any equipment or materials furnished under this Act which are procured for the purpose of being so furnished, the gross cost to the United States of such equipment and materials. In determining the gross cost incurred by any agency in repairing, rehabilitating, or modifying any excess equipment furnished under this Act, all parts, accessories, or other materials used in the course of such repair, rehabilitation, or modification shall be priced in accordance with the current standard pricing policies of such agency. For the purpose of this subsection, the gross cos of any equipment or materials taken from the mo bilization reserve means either the actual gros cost to the United States of that particular equip ment or materials or the estimated gross cost to th United States of that particular equipment or ma terials obtained by multiplying the number o units of such particular equipment or materials b the average gross cost of each unit of that equip ment and materials owned by the furnishin agency.

(d) Not to exceed $450,000,000 worth of exce equipment and materials may be furnished und this Act or may hereafter be furnished under th Act of May 22, 1947, as amended. For the pu poses of this subsection, the worth of any exce equipment or materials means either the actu gross cost to the United States of that particul equipment or materials or the estimated gross co to the United States of that particular equipme or materials obtained by multiplying the numb of units of such particular equipment or materia by the average gross cost of each unit of th equipment or materials owned by the furnishi agency.

Sec. 404. The President may exercise any pow or authority conferred on him by this Act throu such agency or officer of the United States as shall direct, except such powers or authority co ferred on him in section 405 and in clause (2) subsection (b) of section 407.

Sec. 405. The President shall terminate all part of any assistance authorized by this Act u der any of the following circumstances:

(a) If requested by any nation to which assi ance is being rendered;

(b) If the President determines that the f nishings of assistance to any nation is no lon consistent with the national interest or secur of the United States or the policies and purpo of this Act; or

(c) If the President determines that provis of assistance would contravene any decision of Security Council of the United Nations, or if President otherwise determines that provision assistance to any nation would be inconsistent w the obligation of the United States under Charter of the United Nations to refrain from g ing assistance to any nation against which United Nations is taking preventive or enfo ment action or in respect of which the Gen Assembly finds the continuance of such assista is undesirable.

(d) Assistance to any nation under this Act n unless sooner terminated by the President, be minated by concurrent resolution by the Houses of the Congress: *Provided*, That fu made available under this Act shall remain av able for twelve months from the date of such mination for the necessary expenses of liquida contracts, obligations, and operations under Act.

SEC. 406. (a) Any agency may employ such ad-
tional civilian personnel without regard to sec-
on 14 (a) of the Federal Employees Pay Act of
46 (60 Stat. 219), as amended, as the President
ems necessary to carry out the policies and pur-
ses of this Act.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of Revised
atutes 1222 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 576), person-
l of the armed forces may be assigned or detailed
noncombatant duty, including duty with any
ency or nation, for the purpose of enabling the
resident to furnish assistance under this Act.

(c) Technical experts and engineering consult-
ts, not to exceed fifteen persons at any one time,
authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2,
46 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 55a), required for the
rposes of this Act, may, if the President deems
advantageous for the purposes of this Act and
in his opinion the existing facilities of the agency
ncerned are inadequate, be employed by any
ency performing functions under this Act, and
dividuals so employed may be compensated at
tes not in excess of $50 per diem.

(d) Service of any individual employed as a
chnical expert or engineering consultant under
bsection (c) of this section shall not be con-
dered as service or employment bringing such
dividual within the provisions of sections 281,
3, and 284 of United States Code, title 18, of sec-
on 190 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 5,
c. 99), or of any other Federal law imposing
strictions, requirements, or penalties in relation
the employment of persons, the performance of
rvices, or the payment or receipt of compensa-
on in connection with any claim, proceeding, or
atter involving the United States, except insofar
such provisions of law may prohibit any such
dividual from receiving compensation in respect
any particular matter in which such individual
as directly involved in the performance of such
rvice.

(e) For the purpose of carrying out the provi-
ons of this Act, there may be employed not to
ceed three persons at a rate of compensation
t to exceed $15,000 and one person at a rate
compensation not to exceed $16,000. Any per-
n so employed shall be appointed by the Presi-
nt, by and with the advice and consent of the
nate.

SEC. 407. (a) Nothing in this Act shall alter,
end, revoke, repeal, or otherwise affect the pro-
sions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (60 Stat.
5).

(b) The President may perform any of the
nctions authorized under section 401 of this Act
thout regard to (1) the provisions of title 10,
nited States Code, section 1262 (a), and title 34,
nited States Code, section 546 (e); and (2) such
ovisions as he may specify of the joint resolu-
on of November 4, 1939 (54 Stat. 4), as amended.

SEC. 408. (a) Notwithstanding any other pro-
sion of law, the Reconstruction Finance Cor-
oration is authorized and directed, until such time as appropriations shall be made under the authority of this Act and the Act of May 22, 1947, as amended, to make advances not to exceed in the aggregate $125,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act and the Act of May 22, 1947, as amended, in such manner, at such time, and in such amounts as the President shall determine, and no interest shall be charged on advances made by the Treasury to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for this purpose. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation shall be repaid without interest for advances made by it hereunder from funds made available for the purposes of this Act and the Act of May 22, 1947, as amended.

(b) Funds made available for carrying out the provisions of title I shall be available for the expenses of administering the provisions of this Act and of the Act of May 22, 1947, as amended. Whenever possible the expenses of administration of this Act shall be paid for in the currency of the nation where the expense is incurred, as provided in subsection (d).

(c) Whenever he determines that such action is essential for the effective carrying out of the purposes of this Act, the President may from time to time utilize not to exceed in the aggregate 5 per centum of the amounts made available for the purposes of any title of this Act for the purposes of any other title. Whenever the President makes any such determination, he shall forthwith notify the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(d) Upon approval by the President, any currency of any nation received by the United States for its own use in connection with the furnishing of assistance under this Act may be used for expenditures for essential administrative expenses of the United States in any such nation incident to operations under this Act and the amount, if any, remaining after the payment of such administrative expenses shall be used only for purposes specified by Act of Congress.

(e) The President may, from time to time, in the interest of achieving standardization of military equipment and in order to provide procurement assistance without cost to the United States, transfer, or enter into contracts for the procurement for transfer of, equipment, materials or services to nations designated in title I, II, or III of this Act, or to a nation which has joined with the United States in a collective defense and regional arrangement: *Provided*, That, prior to any such transfer or the execution of any such contracts, any such nation shall have made available to the United States the full cost, actual or estimated, of such equipment, materials, or services, and shall have agreed to make available forthwith upon request any additional sums that may become due under such contracts.

(f) Any equipment or materials procured to carry out the purposes of title I of this Act shall be retained by, or transferred to, and for the use of, such department or agency of the United States as the President may determine in lieu of being disposed of to a nation which is a party to the North Atlantic Treaty whenever in the judgment of the President of the United States such disposal to a foreign nation will not promote the self-help, mutual aid, and collective capacity to resist armed attack contemplated by the treaty or whenever such retention is called for by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

SEC. 409. That at least 50 per centum of the gross tonnage of any equipment, materials, or commodities made available under the provisions of this Act, and transported on ocean vessels (computed separately for dry bulk carriers and dry cargo liners) shall be transported on United States flag commercial vessels at market rates for United States flag commercial vessels in such manner as will insure a fair and reasonable participation of United States flag commercial vessels in cargoes by geographic areas.

SEC. 410. The President, from time to time, but not less frequently than once every six months, while operations continue under this Act, shall transmit to the Congress reports of expenditures and activities authorized under this Act, except information the disclosure of which he deems incompatible with the security of the United States. Reports provided for under this section shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives, as the case may be, if the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, is not in session.

SEC. 411. For the purpose of this Act—

(a) The terms "equipment" and "materials" shall mean any arms, ammunition or implements of war, or any other type of material, article, raw material, facility, tool, machine, supply, or item that would further the purposes of this Act, or any component or part thereof, used or required for use in connection therewith, or required in or for the manufacture, production, processing, storage, transportation, repair, or rehabilitation of any equipment or materials, but shall not include merchant vessels.

(b) The term "mobilization reserve", as used with respect to any equipment or materials, mea the quantity of such equipment or materials d termined by the Secretary of Defense under re ulations prescribed by the President to be requir to support mobilization of the armed forces of t United States in the event of war or nation emergency until such time as adequate addition quantities of such equipment or materials can procured.

(c) The term "excess", as used with respect any equipment or materials, means the quanti of such equipment or materials owned by t United States which is in excess of the mobili tion reserve of such equipment or materials.

(d) The term "services" shall include any se ice, repair, training of personnel, or technical other assistance or information necessary to eff tuate the purposes of this Act.

(e) The term "agency" shall mean any depa ment, agency, establishment, or wholly owned c poration of the Government of the United Stat

(f) The term "armed forces of the Uni States" shall include any component of the Ar of the United States, of the United States Na of the United States Marine Corps, of the Force of the United States, of the United Sta Coast Guard, and the reserve components there

(g) The term "nation" shall mean a foreign g ernment eligible to receive assistance under t Act.

SEC. 412. Whoever offers or gives to anyone w is now or in the past two years has been an ployee or officer of the United States any comm sion, payment, or gift, in connection with the p curement of equipment, materials, or services der this Act, and whoever, being or having b an employee or officer of the United States in past two years, solicits, accepts, or offers to acc any such commission, payment, or gift, shall u conviction thereof be subject to a fine of no exceed $10,000 or imprisonment for not to exc three years, or both.

SEC. 413. If any provision of this Act or application of any provision to any circumsta or persons shall be held invalid, the validity the remainder of the Act and applicability of s provision to other circumstances or persons s not be affected thereby.

Approved October 6, 1949.

JR EDUCATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TASK IN TODAY'S WORLD

Margaret Hicks Williams [1]

'he recent greeting by the President to a group 3ritish exchange teachers and the welcome they ɜived at the British Embassy are the outward ressions of the warm appreciation and support ɔoth our governments to the British-American ɜrchange of Teachers Program. Those teach- are, in a sense, reverse Marshall aid to America terms of Britain's most valuable export— ple, people of courage and character.

'or each of them the present impact of America ɜrhaps rather sharp. They are here at a mo- ıt of possible tensions between us, as are the erican teachers in Britain. It is hoped that face differences may not be allowed to distort unity of purpose and disguise our great need one another. There are those, especially at time, who do not wish us to remember these s and who desire to create suspicion and ousy. Let us resolve to look for and stress se things which unite us.

oth our nations know the meaning of loss. ugh we entered the war 27 months later than , our war dead and wounded totaled 1,070,000, ompared with 980,161 military dead, wounded, sing, and civilian dead for the United King- ı, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, ada, and the Colonies.

'orld War II cost Britain 30 billion pounds; ɔst us 82.5 billion pounds. In 1939 our taxes ɜ 1 dollar out of every 13. Today they are e than 1 dollar out of every 4.

'e are not smug about these facts. We are inwardly humbled at the responsibility of stewardship. But we are also, as the debates in our Congress bear witness, determined that the free world shall survive and that the resources which we are attempting to make wisely available toward this end shall be used for the good of all and the greed of none. For America's resources are not limitless, America's aid is not out of surplus but unselfishness, and America's need to survive is as critical as Europe's, for it is not her need, but ours.

We are a vast country of great richness. Our shops have many things; those of Great Britain have not. Our homes have labor-saving devices and our women have more leisure time. We ourselves, however, are more conscious than British editorial writers may know of places where we need as a nation to change and to find answers— to our race problem, to our labor-management disunity, to our divorce and delinquency rise, to our waste. But there is another side to America as well. Let them look for themselves. Let them look below the surface and come to know and trust us—for the total that we are and for what we are striving to become.

We wear our emotions nearer to the surface; this is no proof that we are shallow.

We have abundance; this is no proof that we do not sacrifice.

We speak to strangers; this is no proof that we do not guard our privacy.

We drive our cars on the wrong side and do the oddest things with our knives and forks.

But the neglected factor which needs underlining in the peculiar circumstances of our age is that fundamentally we are one. The more Britain and America are going to be compelled to differ on economic and other matters, the more im-

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'his article is based on an address delivered at the Office of Education Indoctrination Sessions, Wash- n, D.C., for the British exchange teachers of 1949–50. Williams is chief of the British Commonwealth Area e Public Affairs Overseas Staff.

portant it becomes to reassert those basic issues on which we stand united.

Our English visitors are here to teach for a year in our schools. They and their American counterparts will at a conservative estimate directly touch the lives of several million children in Britain and America.

What do those children need?

What have the teachers to give?

Here again one might warn against judging from surface facts or comparisons. Theirs is a country of 100 thousand square miles; ours, of three million. They have 28 thousand schools to our 200 thousand. Yet under the British Education Act (1944), they are spending proportionately on their 5 million school children more than we are on our 25 million. They have a centralized system under a Minister of Education; we have 49 separate school systems. Our Office of Education is purely advisory. Our instruction is less formal, less exacting than theirs. They put emphasis on theory; we, on practice.

Our students, they will find, come from a wide range of backgrounds, speak a variety of dialects as diverse as Yorkshire and Cockney. They show a relative lack of parental discipline, a frankness, and an informality which is carried to rudeness at times, yet oddly enough makes for good learners. One of their British colleagues formerly here as an exchange teacher, put it this way: "You have freedom, we have discipline. We need them both." We do.

We are all working to produce the world's most important resource—the resource of youth trained not to muddle through a possible third world war, but a youth equipped morally as well as mentally to build a world that works. Few would be bold enough to claim that we are fully meeting that production target.

From the earliest beginnings of Winchester and Oxford, of Jamestown and Harvard, of Wilberforce and Horace Mann, has not the goal of education in both our countries been to train leadership for responsible citizenship, to train students not only in the sciences and humanities, but to recognize right from wrong? As Tagore put it, "A mind all intelligence is like a knife all blade—impossible to handle."

Perhaps we have failed in the schoolroom to meet the full requirements of education, to equip people with moral "know-how"; society, therefore, as a whole is now facing the natural results this earlier lack.

Our forefathers insisted on a code of mor references, of spiritual criteria, against which th could judge values. This code formed o heritage.

Are these the master threads which educati and society in Britain and America have lo today? Is it, perhaps, in a return to our herita that we shall begin to unravel the tangled skein

There is an urgent relevancy between our Ang American heritage, our basic ideology, and t cure for disorder we are striving to find. Her it is well that we reexamine this heritage.

The economic, political, and literary interprete of history have outdistanced the ideological. T result is that most Americans know somethi about Britain's steam engine, most Britons son thing about America's skyscrapers. We bo know quite a lot about the great things that Brit and America have made; we know far less abo the ideas that have made Britain and Amer great.

An ideology has been defined as a course action based on a philosophy, a passion, and plan. What is America's ideology as hand down to us from the past? The answer may dug out of history books. A simple explanat of it may also be found by using our money "visual aids." On the penny we find the w "Liberty." There also is the face of Lincoln w said, "This nation, under God, shall have a r birth of freedom." Freedom under God: this the philosophy of our ideology. The penny a reminds us, "In God we trust." This though enlarged on our dollar bill. There can be s the Great Seal of the United States of Amer Above the uncompleted pyramid representing 13 original States, there is the all-seeing eye God and the phrase *Annuit Coeptis*—"He lo with favor on what has been begun." Depende on God: this is our passion. Under the sea the phrase *Novus Ordo Seclorum*—"A new or of the centuries," which Lincoln later called "G ernment of the people, by the people, and for people." On the reverse of the Great Seal (on the penny) is *E Pluribus Unum*—"Out many, one." Teamwork. This is the plan of ideology, not one group dominating the rest, all pulling together for the whole.

The Seal and the designs for our money did come by accident. They represent the disti

nviction of the men who in the formative years our nation poured out their passionate beliefs to the indispensable supports our young nation ıst have in order to endure and to meet its full- destiny in the future.

It is a unique, historical fact that the men who d the framework of this great experiment re- cted, from 1492 and as late as 1865, a remark- le unanimity in their concept of our country's rpose, its source of strength, and its ultimate stiny.

This unanimity was threefold. First it stressed supreme place of Divine Providence in the life the nation. Second, it made central the con- t of freedom—freedom of speech, of the press, religion, of assembly, of conscience. Third, nade corollary to freedom the concept of in- idual opportunity and individual responsibil- within the framework of equality. Faith, edom and Fraternity—these were and are the lergirding ideas of the American dream.

would be bold indeed to attempt to interpret tain's corresponding heritage. But the longer reflects on the ideology of America, the more sely, I think, he will recognize its kinship to tain's own.

Education has an inescapable responsibility to ng our peoples back to the foundations of our ıocracy. Education is the production line for leadership of tomorrow. Ideology is today's minology for those forces—constructive or de- ıctive—which are mobilizing and molding the ıds of millions. Unless youth is trained by our ools in the ideology of democracy, an alien ology of materialism will supplant what we e failed to nourish and defend.

f anyone doubts this, he should have heard the nings and invectives over the Moscow radio oughout Scandinavia which followed the sign- of the educational Fulbright agreements in Holland and Norway in May and June. If we belittle international educational exchange as an ideological weapon, we are blind. Moscow evaluates it very differently. It is a threat to its very life. Russia does not wish democracy strengthened in Europe nor Europeans to live in the democratic countries of the West. Moscow's full ideological weapons in radio and press were mobilized to deplore and discredit the Fulbright program.

The British teachers here are the first ones to arrive under the Fulbright international exchange program. They are among the best that Britain can produce, as we hope our teachers are among the best that America can send.

Pioneering new frontiers is at an end. Pioneering in the art of living together is at the beginning. We must meet for youth the demands which the times are making.

For youth mirrors his decade. In the twenties, the emphasis was on success; in the thirties, on security; in the forties, on service. Now we have come to a new decade, an ideological one, the fifties. This era requires youth not alone with a basic foundation of knowledge but youth of moral soundness and of faith; youth with an idea and a purpose adequate to change things that are wrong, not adjust to them; youth skilled in bringing unity where there is division. Nothing less than this kind of education is adequate for this ideological age, to repel the onslaughts of communism on the one hand and the inward thrust of materialism within our countries on the other.

Ten, twenty, forty years from now the leaders in our local communities, the statesmen in the British Parliament and in our Congress, may be pushing forward the edges of democracy with clearer vision and keener courage because of what they learned of its heritage and heartbeat from a British or American exchange teacher years before.

The Role of the "Little Assembly" in Promoting International Political Cooperation

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

Mr. Chairman, The report before us deals with two subjects—first, the program of the Interim Committee on the promotion of international cooperation in the political field and second, the reestablishment of the Interim Committee. Both of these subjects are fully provided for in the draft resolution suggested by the Interim Committee and contained in annex 3 to its report. There is, therefore, just one specific question before us—the adoption of the draft resolution.

This question is, however, much more than a technical and organizational matter. It cannot be answered in terms of expediency or short-range objectives. It involves the essential purpose for which the Interim Committee exists—the search for means to promote understanding and agreement in dealing with the political problems that confront us.

I shall address myself to these two questions separately and in some detail. However, I wish first to stress the close relationship between them. The study of the promotion of international cooperation in the political field is one important part of the Interim Committee's work. This study is the only systematic, comprehensive effort now in progress, designed to carry out the responsibilities of the General Assembly under this part of article 13 (1) of the Charter. The Interim Committee has, as we know, drawn up a general plan for the prosecution of this effort. The questions thus arise: Should such efforts be pressed forward or not? If so, is the Interim Committee a sound and effecti means of doing it?

But the second question—the reestablishment the Interim Committee—involves a number other important questions as well. The study the promotion of international cooperation is n the only—or perhaps the most important—offi of the Interim Committee. After mature consi eration, the Assembly in 1947 framed provisio under which the Interim Committee should co sider and report to the Assembly on certain d putes or situations referred to it by states and such other matters as might be referred to it speci ically by or under the authority of the Gener Assembly itself. These provisions were renew by the Assembly in 1948.

The draft resolution before us providing for t reestablishment of the Interim Committee ca for the continuance of the program for the prom tion of international cooperation and for the co tinuance of the committee's other powers. It th gives effect to and poses for our consideration, t principles, first, that the program for the prom tion of political cooperation should be active continued; second, that some of the facilities the Assembly for dealing with disputes and oth political problems should be available to sta between Assembly sessions; third, that all th functions can, on the whole, best be combined i subsidiary body on which every member of t United Nations is entitled to be represented. M Chairman, my delegation continues to affirm th principles and will support the draft resoluti presented by the Committee.

I should now like to examine in more detail t

[1] Made before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the General Assembly on Oct. 13, 1949, and released to the press by the U. S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

o main subjects which the report places before . The first of these concerns the studies of the plementation of article 11, paragraph 1, relating the general principles of the maintenance of in- rnational peace and security, and of the part of ticle 13, paragraph 1, (a) relating to the pro- otion of international cooperation in the political ld. These provisions of the Charter come close stating the basic purpose of voluntarily uniting r activities through the United Nations.

mmittee's Role in International ace and Security

In examining the work of the Interim Commit- in relation to them, I should therefore like to go ck to first principles. International peace and urity—that is the first purpose of the United tions as we find it stated in article 1 of the Char- . Then, among the general principles set forth article 2, we find the statement of that basic ob- gation—binding upon all members of the United tions—that they shall settle their disputes by aceful means. Read on to chapter VI and there the title, "The Pacific Settlement of Disputes," d the articles of that chapter contain the broad ovisions governing the settlement of disputes.

In attempting to abolish war the basic theory of e Charter is, I submit, that the nations of the rld must eliminate the causes of war and sub- tute other means than force for dealing with dis- tes. These, then, are what I would call the first inciples of our organization—the real reason for existence—and the principles according to ich our day-to-day activities must be tested.

Without minimizing the military and economic ictions provided for in chapter VII, I feel con- ent that the key to the success of the United Na- ns lies in working with the parties to disputes d affording ways and channels that will facili- e agreement by the parties themselves. It is technique of helping them to help themselves, ich has been used successfully by the Security uncil and the General Assembly, as well as by ir commissions in the field. In the 4 short years its existence, we have seen United Nations com- ssions helping the parties, often in the very areas ere military tension exists, to stand down from ir military positions and meet or communicate ough the United Nations representatives.

Without any gloss I have attempted to restate principles of pacific settlement just as we find m in the Charter. They are the plan on which s world organization is founded. I would ex- t that there would be general agreement among the members of the United Nations that I have rectly stated the substance of these principles. t we are only too well aware of the differences ich arise in the work of the Security Council d the Assembly relating to pacific settlement. I suggest to you that perhaps it is not the general principle but rather its application which ordinarily gives rise to these difficulties. As a lawyer, it has been my experience that the general proposition cannot always decide the concrete case. That decision, an American judge has stated, must depend on judgment and intuition more subtle than that.

Committee's Functions Cultivate Friendly Relations

Now, some may ask what bearing all this has upon the political work of the General Assembly and on the studies of the Interim Committee covered in the first part of its report. To this I would reply that the political responsibilities of the General Assembly do not consist solely in the consideration of actual disputes and considerations submitted to it. Beyond that the Assembly has a positive obligation to look ahead and find means of preventing actual disputes from arising—that is of promoting international cooperation in the political field and of considering, with a view to making effective, the general principles relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Here arises the importance of the work of the Interim Committee. Through detailed exploration of the difficulties which arise in dealing with actual disputes, the Interim Committee seeks to develop procedures and measures for realizing broadly the principles of the Charter. This is my understanding of the essential approach which the Interim Committee has taken to this part of its work, and I have examined the annexes to its report with some care. It cultivates habits and practices of tolerance and friendly relations.

The Committee makes clear that it conceives in very broad terms the Assembly's function of promoting international cooperation in the political field. Within this broad field, it has rightly given priority to the central problem of the pacific settlement of disputes. It has adopted a definite program for the systematic survey of this problem. The plan is itself, I venture to suggest, the most important step in the project. In addition, the Interim Committee has covered in a preliminary way the first section of the program—the study of the organization and operation of United Nations commissions. As we know, the field commission has been found to be an indispensable tool both of the Assembly and of the Security Council. I think that the resulting document, with its collection of precedents, its tentative conclusions, and its organization of some of the problems involved, can be of genuine assistance to commissions, as well as to the Security Council and the Assembly. This is an attempt to turn experience into wisdom. Alas, we are aware that wisdom does not spring alone from virtue. I think that this work should not be approached on the theory that knowledge of good compels action in accordance with good but that attention should be directed toward prac-

tical methods of handling of concrete problems in day-to-day operations.

In addition, the Interim Committee has only begun the consideration of the procedures of the Assembly in handling disputes and special political problems. Although we have had one or more of these problems at every session, the special questions of procedure which arise in connection with their consideration have never been reviewed systematically. As members of the Committee are well aware, these political problems constitute the most difficult task of the Assembly.

Finally, I would add a word about the latter part of the program of work which relates to the treaty system covering the use of procedures of pacific settlement. The Charter has had an important effect on developments in this field and conditions have changed since many of these treaties were negotiated. When we consider the obligation of parties to a dispute under article 33 to seek a solution by peaceful means of their own choice, it seems appropriate to consider whether existing treaties provide the most effective means of assisting in the discharge of this obligation. At a later stage, broad questions may arise concerning what types of provisions in bilateral, regional, or multilateral arrangements would give added effectiveness to the operation of article 33. But of course those questions can only be answered toward the completion of the program. As I study this work of the Interim Committee, I see it synthesizing and interpreting the experience which we have had within the United Nations and in the great treaty systems so that method and technique will be simpler and better understood—so that it will be easier for states to use these methods to help themselves.

As I see it, Mr. Chairman, it is not necessary for the Assembly to give separate, formal approval to the work done by the Interim Committee. Paragraph 2 (c) of the draft resolution would require the Committee to carry out its program systematically through to conclusion, using its past recommendations and studies as a basis. My delegation will support this provision, as well as the resolution generally. We believe that the removal of the time limit on the Committee's life will assist materially in the performance of this task. It will enable the members of the Committee to project their work on a somewhat longer-range basis instead of concentrating it in relatively short periods of intensive work. This will permit more thorough consideration of all phases of the study by the governments. I am confident that the Committee will, in carrying forward its survey, be more concerned with the care and thoroughness of its consideration of these problems than with mere speed. It will also, I am sure, see the necessity of coordinating the various studies of this type which are being carried forward under th authority of the General Assembly.

Continuance of Committee

I turn now to the second subject dealt with i the report—the continuance of the Interim Com mittee itself. The Committee has embodied i recommendations in a draft resolution, whic forms annex 3 of its report. Under the draft re olution, the present duties and functions of th Committee would be precisely what they are no The only important change embodied in the dra resolution is the removal of the 1 year time lim on the Committee's duration.

My delegation favors the continuance of th Interim Committee on this basis. We see deve oping, at surprisingly small expense, a body whi should be very useful and important to the Unit Nations. We recognize the view of those wh want a longer period to evaluate its importan on the basis of the work it has done; we recogni also the view—which we do not share—that i powers should be extended beyond the politic field. Therefore, we have reached the conclusi that the 1 year limitation on the Committee's d ration should be dropped. This limitation to single year hampers the Committee in its possibi ties for planning its studies. It gives it an au of instability and undermines its positi Furthermore, it leads to a reiteration every ye of a debate which is both unnecessary and un sirable. In our opinion, the Committee's rep proposes an excellent solution to the probl before us. If this is accepted, the Interim Co mittee will not be required each year to spe part of its time in attempting to determine its o future. It is understood, however, that the Co mittee's duration is indefinite rather than pern nent, and the Assembly may of course at any ti modify or terminate the Committee.

The Committee's proposed resolution also ta care of other questions which have led to some c cussion in past years. The resolution makes cle (1) that the Committee may meet during the riod between two halves of any session of Assembly—this seems eminently sensible in vi of the Committee's nature—and (2) that the terim Committee may meet during special sessi of the Assembly. This seems to the United Sta delegation most advantageous. During spec sessions the agenda of the Assembly is limi normally to a single item. Main committees the Assembly are not organized for work. Th would seem to be every reason to permit activi of the Interim Committee, which might be co pletely unrelated to the subject with which special session is dealing, to be continued dur and independently of the special session. Wh in practice it would be difficult for the Inte Committee or any of its subcommittees to mee a special session, just as it is difficult for the

ity Council to meet during Assemblies, there ms to be every reason to authorize the Interim mmittee to do so. For these reasons, Mr. Chairn, the United States delegation fully supports resolution submitted by the Interim Committee.

t Work of the Committee

Having indicated the principles that underlie position of my government, I will review the rk which the Interim Committee has done dur- its first 2 years. It was authorized to consult th the Temporary Commission on Korea. You l remember that when the Commission arrived Korea early in 1948 and was faced with the gative attitude of the Soviet Government, it uested the Interim Committee for advice as to ether it should proceed with the elections conplated by the General Assembly. Within a rt time the Interim Committee was able to coner the matter and to inform the Korean Comssion that in its view the Commission should ceed with elections in those areas open to it. is proved, therefore, a most convenient device which the members of the General Assembly ld express their views and clear up a difficult blem which, as I have stated, otherwise might e necessitated calling a special session of the neral Assembly. This was a valuable piece of rk which speeded up the steps leading to the ation of the Korean Government.

The General Assembly has also given the erim Committee the power to consult with the eek Commission during these past 2 years. rtunately, the Greek Commission has not run o any difficulties which it was unable to handle her itself or in its reports to the regular sesns of the General Assembly. This does not, wever, detract from the obvious advantages ich members of the United Nations gain as a ret of having available a standing committee ich could have expressed the views of the mems of the United Nations in case a crisis in Greece d arisen.

These are the only political questions as to which Interim Committee has been given continuing ponsibility by the General Assembly. There e been suggestions from time to time that the sembly should refer particular political quesns to the Interim Committee for study and paration of complete recommendations. An standing example of this was the proposal last ing which was supported by a large number of delegations that the question of the former lian colonies should be considered by the Inim Committee during the past summer. This posal was not accepted by the Assembly, I nk, largely because it was felt that if a period time were allowed to elapse the members of the ited Nations would be better prepared to find an agreed solution. This instance does illustrate, however, the real advantages of having available to the General Assembly a subsidiary organ to which problems of this nature could be referred if circumstances in a particular case should warrant.

The presence and existence of the Interim Committee is in my view the important thing. In this respect, it has often been compared with a fire department. We recognize the real advantages in insurance and security which derive from the existence of efficient and readily available machinery for such purposes.

I have mentioned the importance of a calm consideration which the Interim Committee can give a complicated and technical political problem—where neither time nor atmosphere will permit the General Assembly to do so. I was referring, of course, to the report on the veto in the Security Council. That report was submitted to the last session of the Assembly which accepted the proposals of the Interim Committee in the form of a resolution directed to members of the Security Council and in particular the permanent members. Exercise of the veto power in the Security Council diminishes the vitality and success of the United Nations. The members of the United Nations had become seriously concerned that the lack of restraint in the exercise of the veto power had made it extremely difficult for the Security Council to carry out the functions imposed upon it by the Charter. The issue was one which had been violently debated in two sessions of the General Assembly, but, at the same time, it was one of such complexity that careful study was essential to any solution. The Interim Committee proved useful and effective in dealing with this problem. After a long and careful study in its nontechnical and nonpolitical atmosphere, the Interim Committee brought forward conclusions on which a very substantial majority of the membership of the United Nations was able to agree. It is hardly conceivable that a matter of this complexity could have been brought to such a successful conclusion without the careful preparatory work which the Interim Committee was able to give to it.

Nonparticipation by Soviet Limits Committee Effectiveness

The Soviet group of states have not seen fit to take their seats on the Interim Committee. Absence of these states has undoubtedly made some of the Committee's work less effective than it otherwise might have been. Their nonparticipation in any aspect of the work of the United Nations makes the task of the United Nations more difficult. The Soviet Union has claimed for 2 years and still claims that the Interim Committee is illegal and was intended as a rude device to circumvent the Security Council. I suggest there is nothing in the record of the Interim Committee during its 2 years which justifies to the slightest degree these claims. It is the desire of the

members of the United Nations and one of the main purposes of the Interim Committee to increase cooperation between all of the members of the United Nations. For our part we would welcome a decision by the Soviet Union to take its seat on the Interim Committee. However, we do not propose to urge the limitation of the development of the United Nations and its activities because the Soviet bloc does not choose to participate in some of its organs—whether the Interim Committee or any other organ. The vast majority of the membership of the United Nations should not abandon constructive effort simply because the Soviet bloc of states chooses to refuse its cooperation to the United Nations and to abstain from taking part in the Interim Committee's activities.

I have heard it suggested that some of the work of the Committee could be done by *ad hoc* committees of limited membership. I should like, however, to emphasize the advantages of a Committee of the whole membership. In making detailed studies of political problems, such as the problem of the veto, the Interim Committee demonstrated the advantage of a procedure under which the views of all members of the United Nations can be secured before the matter goes to the General Assembly. In cases where the views of only a small number of members have been secured, the majority in the General Assembly may justifiably wish to give detailed and lengthy consideration to the matter. It is also important that the function of considering disputes be performed by a body in which all members can take part.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is by no means ready to consider that the existing organization of the political work of the General Assembly—including the Interim Committee—is perfected. On the contrary, the serious problems which the General Assembly faces in performing its mounting responsibilities are recognized by nearly everyone. Another committee has just considered a detailed report on the problem of devising means by which the Assembly can accomplish its work and still keep its sessions down to a reasonable brevity. This problem of the organization of the Assembly's work is likely to remain with us for a long time, and my delegation is certainly not prejudging the final decision as to what methods shall be adopted.

However, in our opinion, these circumstances speak all the more strongly for the continuance of the Interim Committee on its present basis. We believe the Assembly still benefits by means which it has carefully set up for adding to the security of member states by consideration of disputes and situations between sessions of the Assembly. The need for making the facilities of the General Assembly available for consideration of disputes between sessions of the General Assembly has not diminished since 1947. It is ofte not possible to know in advance what means settling disputes will prove effective. Certain existing means should be maintained until we a sure that a stronger and more effective substitu has been devised.

My delegation sees no practicable alternative the committee of the whole membership, with i varied political functions, its flexible organizati as set forth in the draft resolution, and we sha support the resolution.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me urge th we not lessen, but rather redouble our efforts improve, to broaden, and to apply internation cooperation. The essential method of our orga zation—consisting as it does of independent n tions—must be one of cooperation. We do n have a world government. The work which accomplish in the United Nations is not just t sum total of a large number of little, specific mea ures. Beyond that, it is the growth, the enlarg ment of the spirit of cooperation and unity whi itself makes sound solutions possible. That what, broadly speaking, the Interim Committee designed to promote. Toward that objective, must not slacken but redouble our efforts.

Revocation of Executive Orders on International Organizations

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10083 [1]

WHEREAS the United Nations Relief and Reh bilitation Administration, the Inter-Americ Coffee Board, and the Intergovernmental Co mittee on Refugees were designated, respective by Executive Order No. 9698 of February 19, 19 Executive Order No. 9751 of July 11, 1946, a Executive Order No. 9823 of January 24, 1947, public international organizations entitled to joy the privileges, exemptions, and immunities co ferred by the International Organizations I munities Act (59 Stat. 669); and

WHEREAS the said international organizatio have ceased to exist or ar ein process of liquidatio

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the author vested in me by section 1 of the said Internatio Organizations Immunities Act, I hereby revoke t said Executive Orders Nos. 9698, 9751, and 98 so far as they pertain, respectively, to the Unit Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administrati the Inter-American Coffee Board, and the Int governmental Committee on Refugees.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 10, 1949.

[1] 14 *Fed. Reg.* 6161.

ebate on Human Rights—Freedom Can Unite Us

tatement by Benjamin V. Cohen
.S. Alternate Representative to the General Assembly[1]

Last spring this Committee was asked to con-
der the serious charges brought against the
overnments of Hungary and Bulgaria for the
ppression of religious and civil liberties particu-
rly in reference to the then recent trials of church
aders. The whole world had been shocked by
e way Cardinal Mindszenty had been treated as
common criminal and his guilt proclaimed prior
his trial.

Despite the indignation felt and expressed in
any countries of the world, including my own,
is Committee refrained from recommending
rect action by the Assembly. Instead, in ac-
rdance with the recommendation of this Com-
ittee, the Assembly adopted a resolution which
pported and encouraged the use of the peace
eaties procedure as the most effective means of
suring respect for human rights in these coun-
ies as guaranteed by the treaties themselves.

It was, I believe, the view of most of us here—
d it is still our view—that it was, and is, in the
irit of article 33 of the Charter that the peace
eaty procedures should be followed before the
ssembly should attempt to set new or parallel
ocedures, as suggested by the honorable dele-
te of Australia, to deal with these grave charges
infractions of human rights and fundamental
eedoms. Moreover, it was the hope of my gov-
nment that if we followed the treaty procedures,
e would be able to secure a definite decision
nding upon the states concerned. The Assembly
able at any time to make recommendations. But
e are concerned to obtain definite and binding
cisions if we can.

We are not unmindful that the Charter commits
l members of the United Nations to take joint and
parate action in cooperation with the organiza-
on to promote universal respect for, and observ-
ce of, human rights and fundamental freedoms
for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. But the peace treaties place specific obligations upon our former enemies to observe these rights and freedoms; and the other signatories to the treaties have clear rights and responsibilities with regard to their observance.

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The human-rights clauses in these treaties were intended to fulfill the wartime promises of the Allies at Yalta. There, the three war leaders of the United Nations gave a solemn pledge to the peoples of Europe then on the threshold of liberation that freedom would be restored, not to their former rulers and not to a new set of rulers, but to those peoples themselves. To them we promised the right to create, through free elections, democratic institutions of their own choice. On the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council international obligations were inserted in the peace treaties to protect and safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms, including specifically freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting. Behind these treaty clauses lies the concept that peoples who are secure in the exercise of the fundamental freedoms to which as human beings they are entitled can be trusted to see that their governments live up to their international responsibilities and avoid catastrophic adventure against other peoples' freedom.

While we live in a world where men may differ as to the internal forms and internal policies of government, governments to have a moral base must rest in some way on the free and continuing consent of the governed. No state has the sovereign right claimed by Hitler's Third Reich to make war against the freedom and religion of its own people or against the freedom and religion of other

[1] Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Oct. 4, 1949, nd released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the nited Nations on the same date.

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peoples. Governments which do not respect the basic human rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other governments and other peoples.

In addressing this Committee last spring, I announced that the United States was prepared, as it is still prepared, to submit specific and detailed observations with accompanying documentation in connection with the proceedings under the peace treaties in support of the charges made by the United States concerning the violation of the human-rights clauses of these treaties.[2]

At the time I indicated, in general terms, the course of developments in Bulgaria and Hungary forming the basis for the charges which the United States had made. Now, on the initiative of the Australian Government, the Assembly has added to this item of the agenda the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Rumania. Rumania, like Bulgaria and Hungary, has agreed to secure to all persons under its jurisdiction the enjoyment of those rights and freedoms.

The pattern of development in that country is, in our view, essentially the same as in Bulgaria and Hungary, and we have made the same protests in the case of Rumania. It is a pattern of a minority group seizing the instrumentalities of government through force and intimidation and maintaining itself in power through the suppression of every one of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which these states have so solemnly undertaken to observe. We cannot close our eyes to the historical fact that the groups which wield exclusive political power in these three countries today have won that power by forcibly depriving their fellow citizens of their basic human rights. The facts disclose a clear design to suppress first the leaders of political groups and parties and then the leaders of religious groups and organizations, because these leaders and groups have refused to subordinate themselves, or to use their influence to subordinate their followers to the dictates of the Cominform. The pattern in its most recent developments appears to extend to eliminating even the expression of the slightest deviationist opinion within the ruling groups.

The three governments have made no secret of how the pattern operates. In those "people's democracies," which the highest governmental and Communist Party leaders themselves describe as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, it is avowed public policy to deny to the people the right freely to express views on political, cultural, scientific, and even religious matters, unless such expression is within the very narrow limits of conformity with the current doctrines of a one-party regime responsible not to the people themselves but to the Communist high command. It does no alter the facts to give all who have independen views the label of "fascist," "traitor," "class enemy" or "imperialist spy," or to dismiss all pro tests with the reply that these oppressive measure are taken in the interest of the people. Has ther ever been a dictatorship which has not sought t justify its most ruthless acts in the name and i the interests of the people?

It should not be necessary to observe that th United States is concerned here only with the ob servance of basic human rights and not with th internal forms and policies of government so lon as those basic rights are respected. We are con cerned with human rights not, as has been allege to protect reaction or to encourage opposition t social reform or to encourage hostility to othe nations, but because these rights guaranteed by th peace treaties, are the heritage of free men. In ou view human freedom, human progress, and worl peace are inseparable.

I will now refer briefly to developments whic have occurred in Hungary and Bulgaria since la spring, and then to the situation in Rumania. refer to these events and developments not wi a view of having the Assembly pass judgme upon them at this time, but to make clear the s riousness and good faith of the charges that w have been obliged to make against these countrie Our purpose at this time is to seek the Assembly assistance in securing an advisory opinion fro the International Court of Justice to make cle the right of the signatories to the peace treaties have these charges determined under th treaty procedures as the Assembly itself h recommended.

Hungary

Let us turn now to events in Hungary since th passage of the Assembly's resolution on April 3 I mentioned in this Committee at that time th forced dissolution and disappearance of all poli cal parties whose programs represented a poi of view opposed to that of the Communists. Th old Parliament in which these parties had be represented was then dissolved. A new singl list, plebiscite-type election was held on May 1 Giving the Hungarian voters no real freedom choice, this so-called election produced the d sired result: a completely Communist-controll Parliament.

The people of Hungary, denied the exercise freedom of political opinion in the electoral ca paign and the election, were thus presented with purely mechanical election which denied them t right to parliamentary representation of the own choosing.

In its drive to dominate the lives and even t thoughts of Hungarian citizens, the regime h continued its pressures on the churches with t obvious purpose of making them serve as instr ments for political ends. There are continui

[2] BULLETIN of May 1, 1949, p. 556.

persecutions of persons for so-called "anti-democratic" statements or for "inciting against democracy," a choice of words which would be amusing if it did not cloak injustice and tragedy for many innocent human beings. The opposition newspapers have vanished one by one and freedom of the press has ceased to exist. The process of perverting the judiciary for political purposes proceeds apace. And the Communist regime, having no further democratic opposition to destroy, is now busily engaged in wide-scale purges of Communist collaborators who have become suspect and of the cadres of the Communist Party organization itself. The recent trial of so-called spies and traitors in Budapest was not, properly speaking, a trial at all but a phase of the political strategy of the Cominform with intended effects far beyond the borders of Hungary. Whatever may have been the character and the record of the accused, the point which concerns us here is that the entire procedure, with its staged denunciations and recited confessions and its ludicrous falsifications (and here I need only to refer to the supposed conspiracies involving American officials), illustrates the fact that in Hungary today the individual citizen, whether a Communist Party boss or anyone else, cannot obtain justice, a fair trial, or any recognition of his rights as a human being.

Bulgaria

Essentially, the same situation prevails in Bulgaria. In that country also the regime has continued to strive to consolidate its power through the suppression of all independent opinion.

The campaign designed to reduce the freedom of the Churches has continued. My government has received a number of reliable reports that early in July of this year a second group of Protestant ministers was tried, this time in secrecy, perhaps from fear of a world-wide reaction such as followed the trial of the 15 pastors the preceding March. The usual paraphernalia, including "confessions" recited by the defendants, were again present. These trials are a further manifestation of the obvious determination of the Bulgarian Government to destroy the independence of these Protestant sects and the integrity of their religious faith and to break their normal ties with their fellow Christians in other parts of the world.

In Bulgaria also there have been elections, the local elections of May 1949 featuring a single ballot of candidates nominated only by organizations associated with the Fatherland Front, which is dominated by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The elections were held under the direct supervision of the electoral committees appointed by the same Fatherland Front.

Bulgaria remains without democratic opposition parties, without a press free to criticize the government, without all those fundamental freedoms specified in the treaty of peace.

Rumania

Since the question of the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Rumania has now been added to our agenda, I shall comment briefly on the actions of the Rumanian Government which, in the view of the Government of the United States, also constitute deliberate and persistent violation of article 3 of the treaty of peace.

Freedom of political opinion, one of the basic freedoms guaranteed in the treaty, has virtually ceased to exist in Rumania. As a result of a systematic campaign, the Rumanian regime succeeded in destroying all democratic political parties. The largest of the opposition parties, the National Peasant Party, was officially suppressed following the arrest of its leaders. The National Liberal Party and the Independent Social Democratic Party, while never formally suppressed, were effectively blocked from all political activities through arrests of most of their leaders and through intimidation.

The Rumanian Government did not hesitate to convert the country's judicial system into an instrument of its oppressive policy. The most widely known, although by no means the only demonstration of this policy, was the trial, conviction, and sentence for treason, of Maniu and other leaders of the National Peasant Party in October and November 1947. In a note delivered to the Rumanian Government at the time, my government pointed to the transparent political motivation of this so-called judicial proceeding. The defendants were denied a fair trial before an independent and impartial tribunal and deprived of the guaranties necessary for their defense. They were denied, for example, the right of counsel of their own choice and were subjected to a violent government-inspired campaign of public excitation against them both before and during the trial.

The subjugation of the judiciary has now been made complete through the abuse of the authority of the Government to control the transfer and tenure of judges, through intimidation of judges, and through the system of politically controlled "people's courts."

The police power of the state has been exercised in disregard of those basic civil liberties of the peoples in Rumania which the peace treaty was to safeguard. In the prisons are many men and women arrested without warrant, held indefintely without charge and without trial.

Freedom of press and publication, guaranteed by the peace treaties, is nonexistent. By official censorship, by discrimination in the distribution of newsprint, by governmental ownership or monopoly control of printing establishments and radio facilities, and by other devices, any substantive criticism whatsoever of the Govenment has been prevented. Only those public media

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Reprinted from that issue

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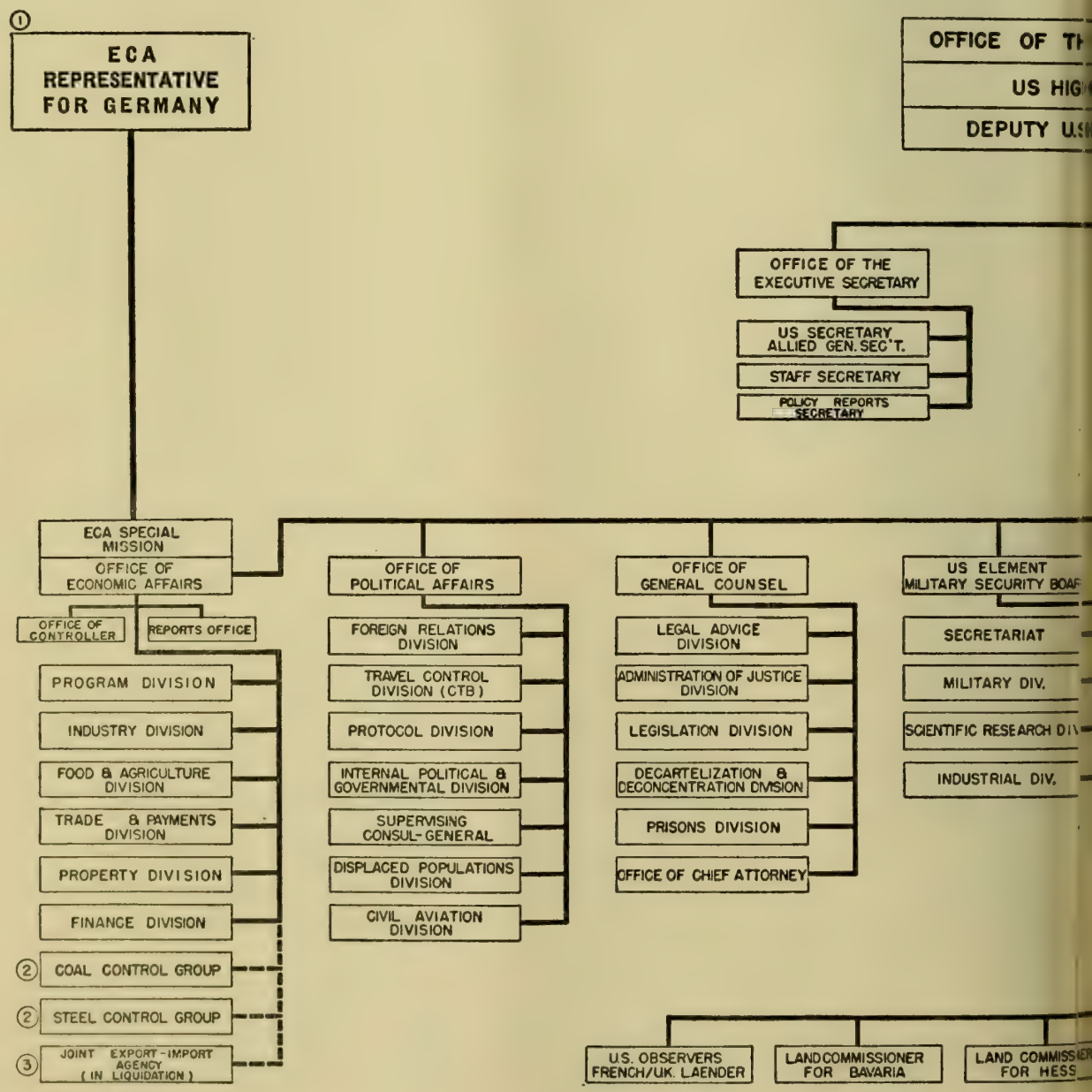

(1) ECA REPRESENTATIVE FOR GERMANY — BY EXECUTIVE ORDER, MR. JOHN J. McCLOY, AS US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY, ALSO SERVES AS ECA REPRESENTATIVE FOR GERMANY, UNDER THE IMMEDIATE SUPERVISION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE US SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR EUROPE (SUBJECT, HOWEVER, TO CONSULTATION WITH AND ULTIMATE DIRECTION BY THE PRESIDENT.)

(2) US ELEMENTS, COAL CONTROL GROUP AND STEEL CONTROL GROUP, RECEIVE POL GUIDANCE FROM DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; FOR TRIPARTITE ACTIVITIES, THE GROUPS ARE RESPONSIBLE TO THE ECONOMICS COMMITTEE, ALLIED HIGH COMMISSION

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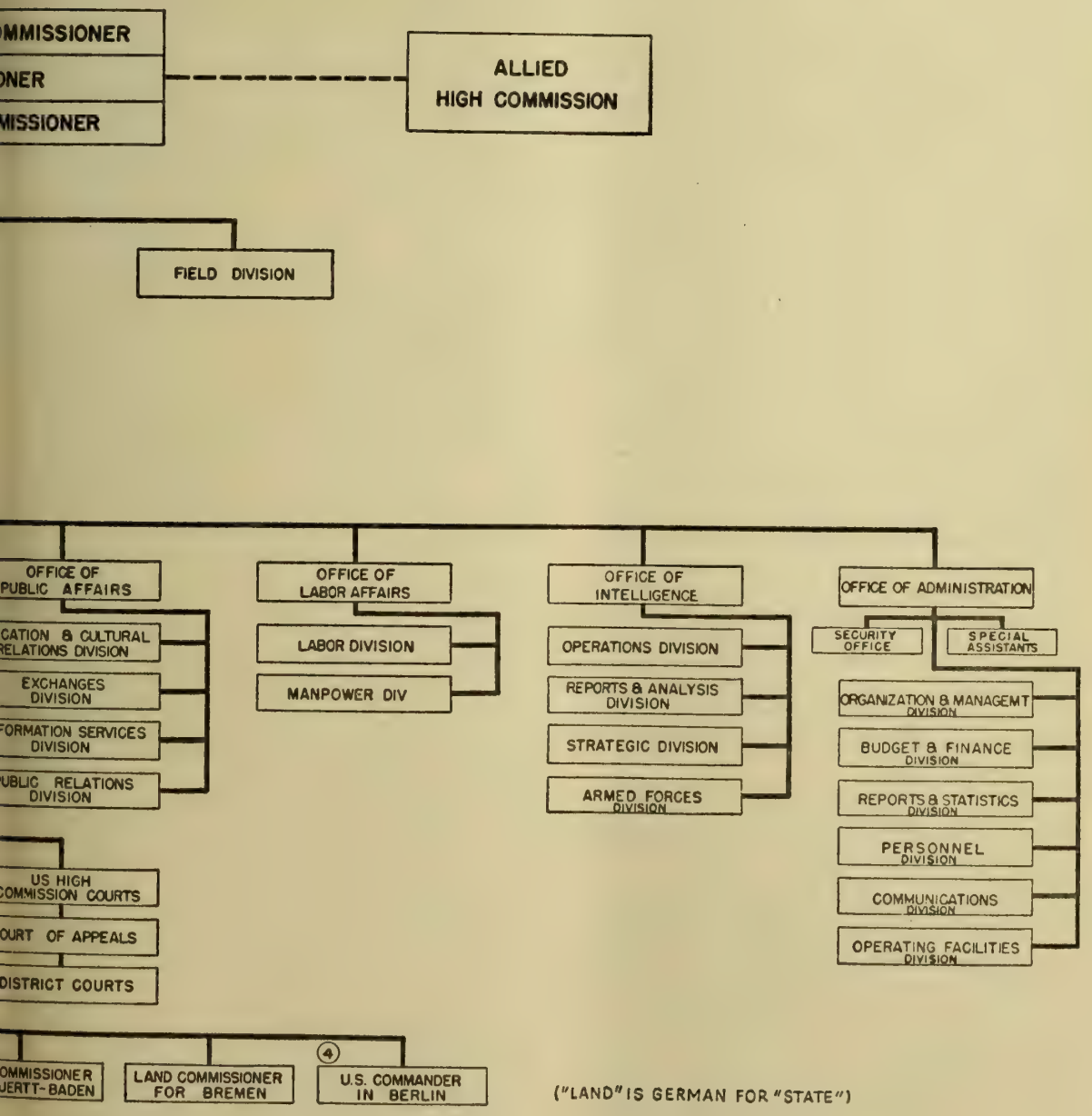

("LAND" IS GERMAN FOR "STATE")

EMENT RECEIVES POLICY GUIDANCE FROM DIRECTOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS; S ADMINISTRATIVELY RESPONSIBLE TO FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE E, ALLIED HIGH COMMISSION, DURING LIQUIDATION

(4) THE US COMMANDER, BERLIN SERVES AS THE REPRESENTATIVE IN BERLIN OF THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY; FOR MILITARY MATTERS HE REPORTS TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, EUROPEAN COMMAND.

CORRECT AS OF SEPT. 1, 1949

which are responsive to government direction and render active service to the purposes of the regime are permitted to operate.

This prevention of the free expression of opinion is extended to public meetings, which in practice can be held only by oganizations approved by the regime.

Finally, in its determination to bring all aspects of Rumanian life into the totalitarian pattern, the Rumanian Government has been employing many forms of pressure to compel subservience by religious groups. Religious worship, guaranteed by the peace treaties, means, in our view, more than a formal participation in religious ritual. It requires freedom to teach and express views based on religious precepts, freedom to associate with those of like belief, freedom to worship with clergy chosen without arbitrary governmental interference. The decree concerning the activities of cults in Rumania, of February 11, 1949, vests in the Government an unprecedented degree of control over all religious groups and activities, and the Government has not hesitated to exercise it.

The Rumanian Government has purged large numbers of priests of the Orthodox Church and seen to it that persons devoted to the Communist Party are appointed to high church offices. Similarly, the Roman Catholic Church in Rumania has been subjected to such persecution that, at present, none of its bishops is in a position to exercise his rightful religious functions. The Catholic Church in Rumania today has been reduced to virtual inactivity by a variety of measures calculated to cripple its organization, such as the arrests of priests, dissolution of religious orders, and prohibition of normal activities in the field of welfare and education.

The most glaring example of the Government's infringement of religious freedom has been the official dissolution and absorption by the Rumanian Orthodox Church of the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church. This dissolution was accomplished by a governmental decree following a virulent campaign and a sham procedure designed to show a voluntary change of allegiance. What has become of the freedom of more than one million communicants of the Greek Catholic Church to worship God as they please?

The Jewish religious community in Rumania has been subjected to similar oppressive treatment. Its former chief rabbi was forced out of office, to be replaced by a Communist sympathizer with little religious training or standing in the community.

U.S. NOTES OF PROTEST

I have limited myself here to an outline in broad contours of the deliberate policies which in the view of the United States are contrary to the treaty obligations of the three governments.

As I have said, the General Assembly is already on record as favoring the settlement of these issues through the machinery provided in the treaties of peace themselves for the resolution of disputes arising out of the interpretation or execution of the treaties. The United States continues to support this approach and believes that we should follow it through to a clear and definite conclusion.

In its resolution of April 30, of this year, the General Assembly expressed the hope that the signatories of the peace treaties would diligently carry out the procedures envisaged in the treaties. The Government of the United States has asked the Secretary-General to circulate to all members of the Assembly copies of the diplomatic correspondence disclosing the efforts on the part of my government, in accordance with the Assembly resolution, to put the treaty machinery in motion.[8] Analogous efforts were made by several other signatories of the peace treaties, whose delegations will, no doubt, wish to describe to the Committee the steps they also have taken in this matter.

On April 2 of this year the United States formally charged Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania with violations of the human-rights clauses of the treaties and requested that remedial measures be taken. The three governments denied that they had violated the treaties and indicated their unwillingness to adopt remedial measures. It was obvious from the replies of the three governments that they were not prepared to explore the matter further through diplomatic channels. As a next step, the United States Government informed them that in its view disputes had arisen concerning the interpretation and execution of the treaties of peace. In notes delivered on May 31, by the United States Legations in Sofia, Budapest, and Bucharest, the United States invoked the relevant treaty articles, providing first for the settlement of such disputes by the heads of diplomatic missions of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the three capitals. The United States chiefs of mission requested their British and Soviet colleagues to meet with them to consider the disputes in accordance with the procedure clearly specified in the treaties. The British Ministers indicated their willingness to do so. However, the Soviet Government declined to authorize its Ambassadors to discuss the matter on the ground that the three ex-enemy states had fulfilled their obligations under the treaties, and that the measures complained of were justified under the treaties and, in any case, were within the domestic jurisdiction of those states. The Soviet Government rejected a further request by the United States Government to reconsider its position.

[8] BULLETIN of Oct. 10, 1949, p. 541.

ROTESTS REJECTED

As a result, the United States Government found t necessary to invoke the additional peace treaty rocedure which envisages the establishment of ommissions composed in each case of one repreentative of each party to the dispute and a third ember chosen by mutual agreement of the two arties from nationals of a third country. In the vent of the failure of the parties to agree on the hird member, that member, according to the reaties, is to be appointed by the Secretary-Genral of the United Nations. In its notes delivered n August 1, 1949, the Government of the United tates requested the Governments of Hungary, ulgaria, and Rumania to join with it in naming hese three commissions.

The three governments rejected this request. hey again denied that they had violated the reaties. They claimed that, on the contrary, the cts which we view as violating the human-rights lauses of the peace treaties were taken against ubversive and Fascist elements in accordance with he very same treaties. They claimed further that hese matters are within their own internal jurisiction and that an effort to make them a subject f a dispute under the treaties is an unwarranted ntervention in their internal affairs.

The United States Government reiterated in its ost recent notes of September 19, 1949, that the hree governments cannot avoid their international bligations to insure respect for human rights erely by claiming that these matters are not subect to the treaty settlement procedures. These rocedures were provided for in the treaties preisely because it could be foreseen that disputes oncerning their interpretation or execution might rise, and the signatory powers desired to make rovision for the final settlement of such disputes y orderly legal means. The provision that we nserted in the peace treaties providing for the ppointing power of the Secretary-General was onsidered most important, in view of the possiility that the heads of mission would not agree. Ve attached at that time, as we attach now, great mportance to these procedures for the settlement f disputes.

We assert that these governments cannot set hemselves up as the sole judges of whether or not he acts complained of constitute violations of the reaty, nor can they determine unilaterally whether here is a dispute appropriate for settlement under he treaty machinery. Since all efforts at a settlenent through diplomatic negotiations or the headsf-mission procedure have failed, it is for the comnissions envisaged in the treaties to determine vhether the treaties have been violated. The deisions of the commissions will be definitive and inding, as provided in the treaties themselves.

U.S. VIEWS FURTHER VIOLATION

The refusal of the three governments to participate in the settlement procedures to which they have agreed is, in our view, a further very serious violation of the peace treaties. It is also in disregard of the Assembly resolution of April 30, which expressly drew to the attention of the three countries their obligations under the peace treaties "including the obligation to cooperate in the settlement of all these questions." It raises a legal issue of fundamental importance for the progress of procedures in the field of peaceful settlement. If a government agrees to settle a certain type of dispute through a specific procedure and then, when a concrete dispute of that type arises, refuses to submit to this procedure, the entire effort to provide settlement machinery becomes purposeless. What is left of the peace treaties if these governments can evade all charges of nonperformance merely by stating that they have fulfilled their obligations and denying the existence of any dispute calling for the application of the specific settlement procedures to which they have subscribed?

The three governments seek to justify their refusal to join in the appointment of the treaty commissions on legal grounds. Although, in our view, these grounds are specious and untenable, we are prepared to have an impartial judicial authority decide whether the present disputes lie within the scope of the articles of the treaties of peace providing machinery for the settlement of disputes, and whether the three governments are obligated to participate in the appointment and functioning of the commissions. We also think it important that the Secretary-General be advised authoritatively by the Court concerning the scope of his authority, if he should be asked to appoint the "third members" of any of the commissions which are to be set up to settle the disputes.

OPINION FROM INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

We, therefore, would urge that the General Assembly request the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, to give an advisory opinion on these legal questions regarding the applicability and functioning of the treaty procedures. We are, with the Governments of Bolivia, and Canada, submitting proposals along the lines I have stated to the Committee, and I hope very much that these proposals will be adopted. I wish to repeat the pledge given by Secretary Acheson in the general debate that the United States will accept the advisory opinion of the Court on the questions submitted as binding. My government hopes that the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania

also will accept in advance the opinion of the Court and act in accordance with it.

The responsibility for the arbitrary frustration of agreed procedures for peaceful settlement is a matter of grave concern to all of us. My government believes that as a signatory of the peace treaties, it is entitled to an authoritative determination of this important issue. This determination, in our view, is equally necessary in the interest of the development of international law and of the community of nations under the Charter.

In the light of the objectives of the United Nations in the field of both human rights and peaceful adjustment of controversies, the General Assembly is properly and seriously concerned with this matter. In our view, the General Assembly at this stage should continue to concentrate upon assisting the signatories of the treaty of peace in their efforts at a settlement through the means agreed upon in the treaties; more specifically, it should assist them in obtaining guidance on the legal questions involved. In doing so, the General Assembly will act within the spirit of article 33 of the Charter which contemplates the employment of peaceful means agreed upon by the parties to a dispute.

OBLIGATIONS OF FREEDOM

It is important in this approach, however, to keep in mind that the question before us transcends the legal issues engaging our immediate attention. The fundamental problem of observance by governments of their international obligations is at stake. Moreover, in the case before us, the substance of these international obligations is of unique character. These obligations were designed to fill a vacuum in eastern Europe left after the collapse of the pro-Nazi regimes of tyranny and arbitrary force which held power there during the last war. They were designed to contribute to the growth of a free and peaceful society in which man would enjoy those rights to which he is entitled as a human being and in which governments, responsive to the wishes of their own peoples, would respect the rights of other peoples. These obligations were directed toward the objectives set forth in the preamble of our Charter: to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small; to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international obligations can be maintained; and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

In the end, the success of our efforts for better and more friendly international relations, in fact the success of all efforts to make the United Na tions live and grow, are dependent upon our abi ity to eliminate all forms of tyranny over the min and soul of man. Men and nations want to liv and let live. Freedom can be shared by all me and all nations. Freedom can unite us. Tyrann inevitably must divide us. Whatever mode progress we can make in dealing with the questio before us will be a progress toward the basic go of the United Nations—peace with justice an freedom for all.

Enumeration and Verification of Atomic Weapons

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

Atomic weapons are in the jurisdiction of a other commission not the creature of the Securi Council. It is the creature of the General Asser bly and obeys the mandate of the General Asser bly. Other weapons than those in the jurisdictio of the Atomic Energy Commission are the on weapons within the jurisdiction of the Comm sion on Conventional Armaments. That Comm sion is obedient—note the word obedient—to t mandate laid down by the Security Council February 13, 1947, which established the Co mission on Conventional Armaments.

That mandate provides "that those matte which fall within the competence of the Atom Energy Commission, as determined by the Ge eral Assembly resolutions of January 24, 1946, a December 14, 1946, shall be excluded from t jurisdiction of the commission here establishe

I am not charging disobedience to anybody b I am asserting obedience by the majority to th mandate which excluded atomic energy and oth weapons of mass destruction, by its definiti from its enumeration and verification.

The enumeration and verification of aton weapons is comprehended in the plan of the Ge eral Assembly and the Atomic Energy Comm sion. The proposal for the addition of aton bombs to the census adds nothing new. It co tinues to reflect an unwillingness on the part the Soviet Union to recognize the real nature the atomic problem. A census of weapons wi out verification is meaningless. This is anoth attempt to fool the public.

[1] Made in response of the Soviet proposal in the S curity Council on Oct. 11, 1949, and released to the pr by the U.S. Mission to the United Nations on the sa date. The Soviet draft resolution stated that "the Secu Council recognizes as essential the submission by St both of information on conventional armaments and information on atomic weapons." (U.N. dos. S/1405)

The Position of Korea in International Affairs Today

Statement by Charles Fahy, U.S. Alternate Representative to the General Assembly[1]

The report of the United Nations Commission on Korea (UNCOK) is a painstaking, exhaustive, and competent survey of the position of Korea in international affairs today. Its authors, working under difficult conditions, have fully merited the confidence which their governments and the General Assembly have reposed in them. Their description of conditions in Korea gives rise, however, to apprehensions to which the General Assembly should address itself.

It is a profoundly disheartening fact that, despite the earnest efforts of the General Assembly and of the Commissions which it has sent to the field, the Korean people and their homeland remain divided with one-third of the people and one-half of the area of the country sealed off behind a barrier which they themselves are powerless to raise. The responsibility for this tragic split is clear from the Commission's report, if it were not abundantly clear before.

There is also a brighter side to the picture, however, and one which should be a source of pride and gratification to the General Assembly. Despite the obstacles which have been interposed, substantial progress has been made in bringing to the Korean people the freedom and independence which were pledged in the General Assembly's resolution of November 14, 1947. The Republic of Korea has not only survived the precarious first year of its existence, but has also grown in strength and maturity. It has been accorded recognition by more than a score of nations; this has taken place in spite of the pressure to which it has been and continues to be exposed in the form of actual and threatened military action, as well as guerrilla and other subversive activities directed from north of the 38th parallel. It is the view of my government that in the preservation of these hard-won gains lies the only hope for the eventual unification of all Korea on a democratic basis.

The Commission has been denied access to the part of Korea which lies north of that line. Its endeavors, whether directly or indirectly through the Secretary-General and the Government of the U.S.S.R., to communicate with those in control of that area have been disregarded in every case. It has been systematically vilified in radio broadcasts originating within that area and the threat has been made by those who dominate north Korea that they will drive the Commission out completely; individual Commission members have also been threatened through anonymous letters inspired from the north. The Commission comments in its report that the northern regime is the creature of a military occupant and rules by right of a mere transfer of power from that government. It has never been willing to give its subjects an unfettered opportunity under the scrutiny of an impartial agency to pass upon its claim to rule. Its professions of desire for unity are belied in its actions. Its activities reach deep into the territory of the Republic and interfere in an utterly irresponsible manner with the normal process of political development.

The Commission has seen at first hand these military and conspiratorial manifestations, projected upon the life of the people within the Republic of Korea, of the group which now controls the north. The Commission declares that there exists a serious danger of military conflicts, which in Korea would mean civil war. It testifies that conflicts which have already occurred upset the peaceful routine of the countryside and cause unnecessary loss of life, and it finds that the propaganda efforts of dissension and subversion have been stepped up.

It finds, moreover, that the U.S.S.R. lends countenance to northern leaders in bellicose utterances and in refusal to consider ways of adjusting relations on any plane between north and south.

Ample evidence is available to emphasize the bellicose character of the stand assumed by those who dominate north Korea. The attitude of the northern regime toward the south is flagrantly

[1] Made before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Sept. 1949, and released to the press by the U. S. delegation the United Nations on the same date.

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hostile. In its radio broadcasts it habitually refers to forces of the Republic as "the enemy." Its radio stations bombastically describe conflicts which have taken place, feats allegedly performed by soldiers serving the northern regime, and the award of distinguished service medals by the Presidium of the Supreme Korean People's Assembly to the soldiers in question. These stations applaud acts of violence committed by so-called "guerrillas" within the Republic of Korea and, using the most scurrilous language, incite its citizens to rise against that government.

So long as there exists in Korea the spirit of incitement to armed combat, and so long as upon occasion such conflict in fact occurs, the purpose of the General Assembly to bring about the unification and complete independence of Korea under a single national government, set up under the scrutiny of the Assembly's chosen agency, is gravely endangered, as is also the safety and well-being of the Republic of Korea and that of all its inhabitants. The General Assembly should give firm expression to the concern which the existence of a situation so contrary to its stated purpose must arouse among peace-loving peoples, and should furthermore make specific provisions for the gathering of more precise information regarding the nature of such conflicts as may occur, and regarding the quarter in which the responsibility for their occurrence is found to lie.

The United States delegation, with the delegations of Australia, China, and the Philippines, presents a draft resolution, which, after referring to the comments made by UNCOK on the existing situation and to the finding of the General Assembly at its third regular session regarding the status of the Republic of Korea, declares the concern of the General Assembly lest the safety and well-being of the Republic be menaced and lest open military conflict occur in Korea. The draft resolution calls for continuance of UNCOK in being, and confers upon the Commission the new function of observing and reporting any developments which might lead to the outbreak of such conflict. The presence of the General Assembly's Commission in Korea with the powers which we envisage for it will serve as an important stabilizing and deterrent influence. In the event that conflict should occur, the United Nations would have at hand testimony from a duly constituted agency regarding its nature and origin and regarding the responsibility therefor.

However, let nothing obscure our conviction that the final solution of the problem of Korea will not be possible until there can be established a single national government over an undivided country. It is for this reason that our draft resolution stipulates that the Commission shall make its good offices available and shall be prepared to assist, whenever in its judgment a favorable opportunity arises, in bringing about the unification of Korea in accordance with the principles laid down by the General Assembly in the resolution of November 14, 1947.

The Committee will notice that the draft resolu- tion makes provision for the Commission's possibl appointment of observers to assist it in accom- plishing these ends. We contemplate a Commis sion whose tasks will be of such a character as t call for the assignment of personnel technicall accomplished and sufficiently numerous to permi their carrying on observation functions at variou localities simultaneously.

A further provision, whereby the Commission i to be authorized in its discretion to utilize the serv ices and good offices of one or more persons whethe or not representatives thereon, is designed to giv the Commission the broadest possible facilities i carrying out those of its functions relating t unification.

It will be noted that the joint draft resolutio contains a provision that the Commission shou be available for observation and consultatio throughout Korea in the continuing developme of representative government based on the free expressed will of the people, including electio of national scope. Although during the past ye UNCOK has been prevented from carrying out t function in north Korea, the authority to do should be continued. Furthermore, the Comm sion has studied the development of representat government in the Republic of Korea, and chap III of its report contains a useful and thorou description of what it has observed and thou upon the subject. We have noted that the Co mission, upon invitation by the Government, attended certain by-elections to the National sembly which have been held during the year. T availability of the Commission to assist the G ernment of the Republic by performing such fu tions should be continued.

We consider that a Commission endowed w authority to perform these tasks will be abl act effectively in the defense of General Assem accomplishments to date in facilitating the es lishment by Koreans of the Government of Republic of Korea, a government which refl their own choice. We believe furthermore such a Commission will be able to contribute stantially, in a manner appropriate in the ligh present conditions in that country, to a realiza of the Assembly's goal. That goal is no always the creation, in accordance with the p ciples of the 1947 resoultion and through com consent of the Korean people, of a national ernment representing before the world the wil united Korea.

[October 8–15]

Without the pageantry which accompanies lenary meetings, the General Assembly this week orked soberly on its lengthy agenda, devoting itelf completely to committee activity.

olitical Committee

The Political Committee rejected a Polish iotion to reopen committee discussion of the Greek uestion. The Committee previously had set up ie Greek Conciliation Committee which is to reort back to the Political Committee on the results f its discussions with representatives of Greece, lbania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, as well as with elegates of the United States, U.S.S.R., and the nited Kingdom. The Political Committee connued discussion of the Italian colonies issue, earing representatives of nongovernmental oranizations from Somaliland, Libya, and Eritrea. n October 10 the Political Committee appointed subcommittee to consider solutions put forward resolutions offered by committee members.

conomic and Financial ommittee

The debate on economic development in Comittee II showed that there was unanimous agreeent in principle on the technical assistance proram suggested by the Economic and Social Coun-l. On October 11 the Soviet Union withdrew s objections to the plan of the Economic and ocial Council and announced its support. The ebate concluded on the subject on October 13, and ie committee then began the consideration of spefic details of the expanded technical assistance rogram.

usteeship Committee

On October 6 the Trusteeship Committee conuded its general debate on the Trusteeship report id proceeded on October 7 to a consideration of irious resolutions dealing with the report. The ommittee agreed to establish a subcommittee to rrelate the various resolutions into a single proosal. Pending a report of the subcommittee, ommittee IV adopted a proposal that the United ations flag fly over all territories side by side ith those of administering powers.

Administrative and Budgetary Committee

Committee V adopted the report of the Contributions Committee, referring in its discussion to the fact that the recommended reduction of the United States contribution was very small and that other inequities still existed in the scale of contributions proposed by the Committee. The Committee then began a scrutiny of 1950 budget estimates submitted by Secretary-General Lie who, in introducing these budget estimates, observed that the total was "not very large" when compared to the vast sums spent for armaments and to repair the damage of past wars.

Legal Committee

Committee VI, continuing its consideration of the report of the Special Committee on Assembly methods and procedures, recommended further study of mechanical and technical devices for recording votes. The Committee disapproved the idea of establishing a pre-General Assembly agenda committee, giving weight to arguments that such a committee would not only add expense but also would duplicate functions of the General Committee. The Committee established a subcommittee to act as a drafting committee on rules of procedure. The Committee then turned to the report of the International Law Commission.

Ad Hoc Political Committee

The Committee continued its consideration of human rights violations in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania. There were sharp exchanges between representatives of the Soviet Union, Poland, Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, on the other. The Committee completed its general debate on October 12, and on October 13 by a vote of 41 to 5, with 9 abstentions the Committee recommended that the International Court of Justice be asked whether a formal "dispute" exists between the Western accusers and Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, within the framework of the treaties. If the ruling is affirmative, the court then is asked to decide whether the three states are obligated, under the treaties, to participate in the work of commissions of investigation.

U.S. Delegations To International Conferences

U.K., U.S., Canada To Review Declassification Guide on Atomic Energy Information

[Released to the press by AEC September 12]

It was announced in Ottawa, London, and Washington today that in the interest of continued uniform application of measures for security of the atomic energy information which they hold in common, representatives of the atomic energy agencies of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States will hold their third declassification meeting September 26–28 at the Canadian Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Chalk River, Ontario, Canada.

The three nations now use uniform Declassification Guides in determining what information arising from their atomic energy research and developmental work may be published and what information is to be kept classified and restricted in circulation. The uniform guides were developed at the first declassification meeting of the representatives of the three governments in November 1947, at Washington, D.C., and were revised at a second meeting held at Harwell, England, in September 1948.

At the forthcoming third meeting, the Guides will be reviewed in the light of technical developments of the past 12 months. The purpose of the review is to assist in maintaining maximum security of the information held in common by the participating nations.

Representing the three nations at the declassification meeting will be:

United Kingdom

Dr. R. E. Peierls, Professor of Mathematics, University of Birmingham
Dr. H. J. Emeleus, Professor of Chemistry, Cambridge University
Dr. H. W. B. Skinner, Head, General Physics Division, Atomic Energy Research Establishment
J. F. Jackson, Technical Administrative Office, Atomic Energy Research Establishment

United States

Dr. W. C. Johnson, Chairman, Department of Chem try, University of Chicago
Dr. W. F. Libby, Professor of Chemistry, Univers of Chicago
Dr. J. M. B. Kellogg, Leader, Physics Division, I Alamos Scientific Laboratory
Dr. R. L. Thornton, Professor of Physics, Univers of California
Dr. F. de Hoffmann, Los Alamos Scientific Labo tory, Secretary, Committee of Senior Responsi Reviewers

Drs. Johnson, Libby, Kellogg and Thornton are Sen Responsible Reviewers of the United States A Declassification system

Dr. J. G. Beckerley, Chief, Declassification Bran U. S. AEC
C. L. Marshall, Deputy Chief, Declassificat Branch, U. S. AEC
Dr. H. A. Fidler, Area Manager, Berkeley Area, U AEC
Bennett Boskey, Deputy General Counsel, U. S. A

Canada

Dr. W. B. Lewis, Director of the Division of Ato Energy Research, Chalk River
Dr. W. H. Watson, Director, Physics Sub-Division
Dr. L. G. Cook, Head, Chemistry Branch, Atomic ergy Project, Chalk River, Secretary
Dr. B. W. Sargent, Head, Nuclear Physics Branc
Charles Walker, Declassification Officer, Sercetary

ECAFE: Fifth Session

The Department of State announced on Octo 11 that the President, with the approval of Senate, has named Myron M. Cowen, Americ Ambassador, Manila, Republic of the Philippi as United States representative to the fifth sess of the United Nations Economic Commission Asia and the Far East (UN ECAFE). The meet is scheduled to be held at Singapore, October 29, 1949. The Department of State has nam the following advisers to the United St representative:

. Russell Andrus, first secretary-consul, American Embassy, Manila
Barry T. Benson, commercial attaché, American Embassy, Bangkok
Merrill C. Gay, Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State
eymour Glazer, information officer, American Consulate General, Saigon
lexander Lipsman, treasury attaché, American Embassy, Manila
dward E. Rice, first secretary, American Embassy, Manila

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is one of three regional economic commissions f the United Nations Economic and Social Coun-il. ECAFE's primary objective, according to its erms of reference, is to "initiate and participate in easures for facilitating concerted action for conomic reconstruction in the Far East" and for aising the level of economic activity" within the egion. ECAFE has as its purpose the maintenance nd strengthening of economic relations of coun-ies within the region, both among themselves nd with other countries of the world. The fourth ession was held at Lapstone, New South Wales, ustralia, November–December 1948.

ECAFE's membership is comprised of Australia, urma, China, France, India, the Netherlands, akistan, the Philippines, Siam, the United King-om, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and e United States.

In addition to the main session, three of ECAFE's ommittees will meet also at Singapore in October. mbassador Cowen will serve as chairman of the nited States delegation to the meeting of the ommittee on Industry and Trade, scheduled to held October 12–17. The United States dele-ation advisers to the fifth session of ECAFE will so serve as advisers at the Industry and Trade ommittee meeting. This Committee replaces e ECAFE Committee of the Whole and is intended promote the implementation of the recom-endations of ECAFE; to review reports of the CAFE Secretariat, working parties, and subcom-ittees; and to take such other action as ECAFE rects.

Barry T. Benson, commercial attaché, American Embassy at Bangkok, has been named United States delegate to the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Travel, scheduled to be held October 12. This Committee is to seek means of eliminating, as far as possible, unnecessary restrictions which tend to hamper travel across international boundaries.

Mr. Benson is currently serving as United States observer to the meeting of the Committee on Inland Transport which convened October 5 at Singapore.

General Assembly of International Criminal Police Commission

The Department of State announced on October 11 that Horton Telford, attaché, American Embassy at Paris is representing the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the General Assembly of the International Criminal Police Commission which convened October 10 at Bern, and is scheduled to adjourn October 15.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a Vice President of the International Criminal Police Commission, is unable to attend this meeting.

The Commission was established in 1924 to promote mutual assistance between criminal police authorities, within the laws existing in the different countries, and to establish and develop institutions which would contribute to an efficient repression of common-law crimes and offenses. The last General Assembly was held at Praha, in 1948.

Senate Confirms Nominations of U.N. Representatives

On October 13, 1949, the Senate confirmed the following nominations to be representatives of the United States of America to the United Nations:

John C. Ross to be deputy representative to the Security Council.

Ernest A. Gross to be deputy representative with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and deputy representative to the Security Council.

The Stake of Business in American Foreign Policy

by Deputy Under Secretary Rusk [1]

I propose to discuss two or three things which I believe are of deep concern to you, both because you are businessmen and because you are American citizens.

The foreign policy of the United States is essentially very simple. We seek to bring about conditions in the world in which our free American institutions can survive and flourish. We seek peace, human liberty, and economic well-being. The primary obligation of our own government is to seek peace, liberty, and economic well-being for our own people, but we have discovered through bitter and revealing experience that this cannot be done so long as aggression, tyranny, and dire distress are rampant in other parts of the world. Isolation is not only politically, morally, and economically undesirable; it has become physically impossible. Hence, indifference to events around the world would be a form of insanity. For it is only by achieving jointly with others the great objectives which the American people share with the other peoples of the world that we can expect to be able to meet our own basic needs and requirements.

Your primary stake in our foreign policy is peace. National security is the elementary task of government. Since we are the kind of people we are, and since modern war has become what it is, security demands that we prevent war. But the prevention of war is not entirely within our own hands, however strong or prosperous or peace-loving we may think we are. If we are to deal with this business of war successfully, we must work with as many other govenments a possible across the entire range of our foreig policy—both in the United Nations and in ou regular diplomacy. Nor can we forget that som other government, in a moment of madness, migh force the issue of war, regardless of the views o the rest of world. We can do a great deal in th interest of peace, but we cannot guarantee that w shall have it so long as there are those who are no subject to the restraints which we ourselves ar willing to accept.

How do we proceed to do what we can to achiev a tolerable peace?

We seek compliance by all states, including o course ourselves, with the minimum standard o conduct in international relations required t maintain the peace. The Charter of the Unite Nations expresses it as follows:

> All Members shall settle their international disput by peaceful means in such a manner that internation peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
>
> All Members shall refrain in their international rel tions from the threat or use of force against the terr torial integrity or political independence of any state, in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes the United Nations.

We are talking about the minimum standard c conduct required of all, regardless of politic philosophy, domestic organization, or nation idiosyncracies. This minimum standard is frame to permit nations to live at peace with each oth despite the great differences in their politica economic, and social institutions. If this mi imum standard is observed, many of the speci disputes of our day could be readily resolved. we are concerned about the Soviet Union, it is n because they wish to organize themselves alo

[1] Remarks made before the Boston Conference on Distribution held in Boston, Mass. on Oct. 10, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

Communist lines—if they wish to waste their energies and resources that is their business. But we are concerned because the Soviet Union is pursuing a course of Russian imperialism incompatible with the minimum conduct required by the international community of nations. In Yugoslavia we have, if we ever needed, a clear demonstration that being Communist is not enough for the Kremlin. Communists in other lands are expected to yoke themselves to the national interests of the Russian state. While western Communists are stirring with resentment at this compulsion, we can wonder how long it will take those Chinese who have fallen under Communist domination to begin to feel the impact of the same bitter truth.

There has been considerable talk of the need for an "agreement" with the Soviet Union. If by "agreement" is meant a settlement of the particular points at issue between us at any one time, we are ready to do what we can to reach such settlements in the proper forum. But if it is supposed that our problem would be met by a new over-all pact with the Soviet Union, then the nature of the problem is not fully understood. Basically, what we need is not a new "agreement" but performance on the agreements we already have; not an additional piece of parchment to sign, but execution of promises already made. The United Nations Charter is our peace pact, the greatest in the history of man, and United Nations machinery is available to help in the settlement of disputes. Compliance with the Charter and support for United Nations machinery would bring us a long way down the road toward a stable peace.

I said a moment ago that we are ready to do what we can to reach a settlement of specific issues in the proper forum. Why "the proper forum"? There are very few strictly bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. The lend-lease settlement, Madame Kasenkina, Mr. Lubitchev, the treatment of American citizens by Soviet authorities are a few samples. These matters are troublesome, but I believe they can be negotiated out. But these are not the causes of the deep anxiety which has marked the postwar period. Greece, Iran, Korea, China, Germany, Austria, Japan, Yugoslavia, Palestine, Kashmir, Indonesia—these have been the scenes where issues have arisen to threaten the peace. But these are not matters which concern only the Soviet Union and ourselves. In fact, they involve the vital interests of other governments and peoples—in some instances the very disposition of large populations. Others are, in fact, more deeply interested than are we ourselves. We are able in many cases, as comparatively disinterested parties, to lend a hand in an effort to find a solution—an effort which itself has imposed great burdens upon the conduct of our foreign relations. It is not always comfortable to have the task of finding a point of agreement between Dutch and Indonesian, Pakistani and Indian, Jew and Arab. But these and other such issues are not to be settled by the United States and the Soviet Union in a bilateral trading-out of the basic interests of others in exchange for an endurable *modus vivendi* between the two of us—for a result which would have to be imposed upon the unhappy victims of big-power politics. President Truman said at Berkeley, California, in June 1948:

> I have said before and I repeat now: The door is always open for honest negotiations looking for genuine settlements.
>
> The door is not open, however, for deals between great powers to the detriment of other nations or at the expense of principle.

The main issue of peace is the issue of aggression—direct aggression by armed forces across national frontiers as well as indirect aggression by subversion, infiltration, intimidation, and sabotage. This is in no sense an issue between the United States and the Soviet Union—it is an issue between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. The result has been that the Soviet Union and its pitiable satellites have found themselves in a small minority in the United Nations—a minority position not imposed by others but flowing inescapably from the policy and the conduct which can not be reconciled with the United Nations Charter.

The Security Council, the General Assembly, the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Korean Commission, the Balkan Commission are forums in which settlements can be reached among those principally interested; where the parties can be heard and the issues influenced by impartial opinion; where discussion is influenced by great international documents which have sought to set the pattern of conduct which states must follow if there is to be peace and accommodation.

We are now observing a world-wide "peace offensive" by the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, there will be some who will be misled by words which divert their attention from deeds. That aggression against human intelligence is being committeed is perfectly clear when we realize that this "peace offensive" seeks to hide the frustration of the Security Council, the boycott of the Balkan and Korean Commissions, refusal to participate seriously in the work of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and Commission for Conventional Armaments, boycott of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, refusal to carry out clauses of Balkan peace treaties relating to methods of settling disputes arising under those treaties, refusal to participate in or support the specialized agencies of the United Nations, refusal to contribute to humanitarian and peacemaking efforts such as Palestine Refugee Relief, the International Children's Emergency Fund—the list is long and dismal.

Because the main issue of peace is an issue between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, it becomes important that the rest of the world be strongh enough to leave a possible aggressor in no doubt but that aggression will result in disaster to its instigator. The United States must be strong, but its strength must be joined with the strength of others. The Rio pact, the North Atlantic pact, Western Union, the Military Assistance Program are all parts of the effort being made to strengthen those who are prepared to comply with the Charter and to resist aggression.

The production of an atomic explosion by the Soviet Union does not fundamentally change but adds new emphasis and urgency to the problem of maintaining the peace. The comparative calm with which the news was received does not mean that it was unimportant or of little consequence. The essential elements of the problem, however, remain. Either we do or we do not achieve effective international control of atomic energy. From the moment of its development, the United States has sought to join with others in establishing effective international control of this new force in order that we might live in reasonable security and not under the shadow of an atomic armaments race. We still seek such international control and are willing to examine sympathetically every proposal to bring that about. But effective international control requires, as a minimum, full knowledge of the existence and use of dangerous materials and international control of such use. We dare not delude ourselves by calling anything less "international control."

Without effective international control of atomic energy we must face the possibility—I say the possibility—of competition in atomic weapons and the use of such weapons in war. At this point we come back to the fundamental problem of security with which we started—we must prevent war itself—and in the process we must insure that those governments and peoples who are willing to abide by a satisfactory standard of conduct are strong enough and determined enough to dissuade any government from trifling with the notion of aggression. If aggression by atomic means occurs, it must be met by all the resources of the human race, and this must somehow be made known in advance to permit no miscalculation on the part of a potential wrongdoer.

A second great stake which you have in our foreign policy lies in the economic field. Peace and economic well-being can not be separated. Nor can the economic well-being of the United States be achieved outside the framework of a successfully functioning economic system in the world about us. I trust that we shall not go through the dismal process again of learning that simple fact through experience. Men must produce, and trade, and be allowed to consume. Through trade the total product increases and standards of living rise. The principles are simple and are generally recognized. The practice is enormously complex and is beset with difficulties at every turn.

Attention has recently been called in a dramatic fashion to one aspect of our economic problem which relates specially to the United States. For a generation we have found ourselves a creditor nation and with a large surplus of exports over imports. The rest of the world wishes to buy from us more than they are able to sell to us. In the 1920's we closed the gap largely by buying foreign securities through ordinary investment channels; in the 1930's we closed it by buying foreign gold and by buying back foreign holdings of American securities; in the 1940's we have closed it by very large governmental loans and grants. What shall we do about it in the 1950's? Common sense suggests that we close the gap at a high level of trade rather than at a low level. Common sense also suggests that it is in our interest to exchange value for value across our national frontier to get something in return for our exports rather than give them away in one device after another. That would seem to mean that we must be prepared to buy goods and services from others on a scale greater than we are doing at the present time. I am told that if every retailer in the United States bought 1 or 2 percent more of imported goods, the dollar gap would be solved. I am told that only 3 percent of our national income is being spent for imports at the present time as compared with 7 percent before the recent war. I do not suggest that the matter is as simple as that, but to a considerable extent you gentlemen represent American consumers—and the American consumer has a large part of the answer in his own hands.

The unbalance between dollar and nondollar areas is by no means our only economic problem in the international field. Nations in Western Europe, with an inheritance of devastation and economic dislocation from the recent war, must find a way to earn their own livings and to place themselves in a rational relation to each other in economic matters. In the process, the untapped energies of individual men and women must be called upon for a great effort of reconstruction and revival. The United States has made an enormous effort since the war to bring this second great workshop of the world back into running order, both by providing essential materials and by invoking the return of self-confidence without which men can not seem to help themselves. We believe that the European Recovery Program is playing a role of the greatest historic importance not only to the people of Europe but to the American people as well.

The extension of the reciprocal trade-agreements program by the Eighty-first Congress will permit us to support international trade at freer and higher levels than would otherwise be possible.

The effective operation of the ITO, whose Charter is now before the Congress, will be a significant step toward a free and multilateral trade structure which will be of great benefit to American businessmen.

We recognize that conditions in many countries are such as to make trade and investment unattractive—and, in many instances, impossible. We are using all the means of diplomacy available to us to reduce obstacles to trade and investment arising out of national policies or business practices. In addition to the negotiation of commercial treaties, we have asked the Congress to enable us to provide certain guaranties for American investors abroad against risks which are not considered normal business risks.

Imbalance of trade has created problems of exchange and of investment which are being attacked through the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

We are convinced that rising standards of living in other parts of the world are of direct and immediate benefit to the United States. The Export-Import Bank is assisting in developmental projects where private capital is thus far unavailable, in an effort to increase the income-producing capacity of other countries. Through the technical assistance program which has now been presented to Congress, we hope that we shall stimulate the economic advancement of many areas where development is needed, where resources are present, but where technical know-how is missing.

In the economic field, again, we have discovered that there are those who seek to destroy rather than to build. Again, it is the Soviet Union which exhibits an interest in distress, disorder, and decay. Since communism can not hope to thrive where people are busy, productive, and content, communism has contributed little but sabotage to the solution of our international economic problems. At the American Legion convention at Philadelphia in August of this year, President Truman called attention to the fact that

> It became clear that the Soviet Union would not join in working for world economic recovery . . . Its aggressive foreign policy created alarms and fears that hampered recovery.

In this connection it is significant to note that the Soviet Union has refused to join and support any of the specialized agencies of the United Nations which are laboring to bring order into our economic structure, it has vetoed participation in the European Recovery Program by its neighbors in eastern Europe, has incited strikes and disorders in critical industries in western Europe.

In summary, your interest in our foreign policy comes to nothing less than your inescapable interest in the creation of a working political and economic order throughout the world. The United States has taken the lead in this effort. It is a leadership which has been thrust upon us, which we often find uncomfortable, for which we have not been properly trained. But it is a leadership which we can not escape, because we shall make decisions as readily by inaction or by indecision as by positive acts.

Between the simple principles which I outlined at the beginning and the millions of transactions which occur between us and foreign governments each year, there are a great mass of governmental decisions which have to be made. They involve both the science and art of government and ramify into every aspect of the life of our people. This process must be subject to constant inspection and criticism by you, both as businessmen and citizens, in order that the main trends of governmental action go in the direction desired by the people of this country.

In the political field, we shall strive to follow policies which not only promote the national interest but commend themselves to fair and impartial men the world over. We shall seek agreement where we can find it, within the framework of our international obligations and the right conduct which is expected of us. We shall encourage those who are prepared to live at peace with their neighbors and seek to strengthen those who will defend the peace of the international community against aggression. We shall accept our full share of the responsibilities and burdens of international life but we shall give due regard to the interests and opinions of others.

Our citizens must clearly recognize how difficult is the job we face. We are on the constructive side, we are among those who are seeking to build. It is easy and cheap to dynamite a bridge, to organize a riot, to create prejudice and passion. It is difficult and complicated to organize a peace, to get 2 billion people in position to earn a decent living, to arrange trade and exchange across 80 or more national frontiers, to adjust infinite variety to a single standard of conduct. We shall have our failures because of the very difficulty of the things we are trying to do. But with imagination, courage, faith, persistence, and hope we shall pick ourselves up from our failures and get on with the job. And we shall find, in the long run, the great mass of the people of the world with us in this effort.

Period for Applying for Import License for French Morocco Extended

[*Released to the press October 11*]

The United States has assented for a provisional period of 60 days to the application to American businessmen of the import-license regulations of French Morocco which were originally announced on December 30, 1948, upon the basis of the revised terms recently negotiated between the United States and Protectorate representatives in Rabat, effective October 10. During the 60-day period, discussions are to continue on certain associated problems in the economic relations of the two countries.

The revised terms of the application of Moroccan import-license regulations are designed to clarify and improve the present conditions and the future prospects for American participation in supplying the import requirements of French Morocco.

These detailed terms will appear in an early issue of *Foreign Commerce Weekly* and will shortly be available in mimeographed form from the Office of International Trade, Washington, D.C., and from the field offices of the Department of Commerce.

Satellite Protests Against Bonn Government Echo Soviet Views

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press October 12*]

Within the last 10 days, the Governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania have presented notes or made public declarations protesting the establishment of the German Federal Republic. These statements all echo dutifully the views expressed in the Soviet notes of October 1 to the United States, British, and French Governments. All of these statements indulge in totally unfounded accusations against the Western powers.

Despite the fact that certain of these countries were allies of Nazi Germany, the Government of the United States recognizes that the peoples of all those states which are neighbors of Germany or which have been the victims of Nazi aggression, have a legitimate interest in German affairs. But it must emphatically reject the attempt by governments which have been foisted upon their own peoples by totalitarian methods to criticize, in the interests of a foreign power rather than of their own people, the actions of those nations which are endeavoring to establish democratic institutions in the greater part of Germany for which they are responsible.

It is clear that these notes and declarations were presented solely for the purpose of reinforcing the Soviet protest of October 1. As was pointed out by the Under Secretary in his statement of October 6,[1] it is evident from the record that the Soviet Government is fully accountable for the breakdown of four-power control and for the present division of Germany. Any protests against the violation of the Potsdam Agreement on Germany and the resulting division of that country might more appropriately be directed to the Soviet Government.

East German Government Established Through Soviet Fiat

[*Released to the press October 12*]

The United States Government considers tha the so-called German Democratic Republic estab lished on October 7 in Berlin is without any leg validity or foundation in the popular will. Th new government was created by Soviet and Com munist fiat. It was created by a self-styled "Pe ples' Council" which itself had no basis in fr popular elections. This long-expected Soviet cre tion thus stands in sharp contrast to the Germa Federal Republic at Bonn which has a thorough constitutional and popular basis. The easte government rests on no constitution written b democratic representatives of the states of t Soviet zone. The new government is not t outcome of a free popular mandate and accordi to reports elections have been postponed un October 1950. The new government and its S viet masters are obviously afraid to risk the verdi of the people of the Soviet zone.

Unlike the Government at Bonn, the Soviet zo government has no formalized relationship to t Soviet occupation authorities although every e fort will be made by the latter to describe it as free and independent government. It is obvio however, that in reality it will be a subservie and controlled government since its actions w be dictated behind the scenes not by the people the Soviet zone but by the Communist Party rected from Moscow. Such a government can claim by any democratic standard to speak the German people of the Soviet zone; much l can it claim to speak in the name of Germany a whole.

Under these circumstances, it is perfectly e dent that all of the high-sounding talk abou peace treaty, an end to the state of war, and withdrawal of occupation troops will be de

[1] BULLETIN of Oct. 17, 1949, p. 590.

oped solely for its propaganda appeal to the German people. As long as an autocratic Communist regime remains fastened upon the people of eastern Germany and carries out Soviet policies under the protection of a large militarized Communist police force, it would be meaningless to speak of a peace treaty, or an end of the state of war, or the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The United States Government and the Governments associated with it will not in any way be deceived or diverted from their course of action by the events which have taken place at Berlin and will continue to give full support to the Government of the German Federal Republic at Bonn in its efforts to restore a truly free and democratic Germany.

Dismantling in Germany Handled by Governments

Statement by John J. McCloy

[*Released to the press October 10*]

Following is the text of a statement on reparations issued by United States High Commissioner, John J. McCloy, in Frankfort on October 9, 1949.

The matter of dismantling is now not in the hands of the Commissioners. It is entirely a governmental matter. The Governments have stated their position in regard to the cessation of dismantling. I have frequently been asked my personal views. My personal view does not favor a cessation of dismantling unless and until guarantees as to security and reparations can be given by Germany sufficiently strong to justify it. It is a highly technical subject and one as to which a most detailed study is required. My colleagues views are their own and I would not attempt naturally to express them or imply them. Certainly I have had no intimations from either of them that their views toward dismantling differ in the slightest degree from those of their Governments.

President Truman Welcomes Prime Minister Nehru

[*Released to the Press by the White House October 10*]

Mr. Prime Minister, I am very happy to welcome you to this country on behalf of the Government and people of the United States. I greet you not only as the chief minister of your government, but also as the loved and respected leader of a great nation of free people.

Destiny willed it that our country should have been discovered in the search for a new route to yours. I hope that your visit, too, will be in a sense a discovery of America.

I extend to you the hospitality and good will of the people of the United States with the hope that your visit among us will leave you with the firm conviction that we are indeed your warm friends.

Elections in Austria Show Political Maturity

[*Released to the press October 10*]

The Department of State today issued the following statement on yesterday's elections in Austria.

According to available reports, the elections in Austria were conducted with complete freedom in all occupation zones, so that the results must be regarded as the democratic expression of the political choice of the Austrian people. The increase of the electorate by nearly one million votes and the remarkable participation of approximately 95 percent of all qualified voters combine to make these elections even more representative than the previous elections of 4 years ago.

Continuation of the stability which has characterized the Austrian political scene since 1945 appears to be assured by the overwhelming victory of the two parties which have hitherto made up the government—the People's Party and the Socialist Party. These two parties, representing between them some 83 percent of the electorate, have indicated their willingness to continue in coalition and to work together toward the goal of full national independence.

The Austrian elections have also been characterized by the emergence of a new party, the Association of Independents, which has campaigned without a past record of accomplishment and on which opinions may best be withheld until it can prove, by its actions in the Austrian Parliament, whether it has a useful contribution to make to the democratic political life of Austria.

The decrease of the popular representation of the Austrian Communists conforms to the general trend in the other free European countries. Despite the accession of a dissident splinter of the Socialist Party, and a large increase of the total electorate, the Communists received an even smaller percentage of the total vote than in 1945, although due to the distribution of their vote they received one more seat in Parliament.

The Austrian people, by freely expressing their

political convictions in spite of the presence of foreign troops on their soil, have again demonstrated their political maturity and their united determination to protect their democratic institutions.

U.S.S.R. Asked To Assist in Finding Location of U.S. Merchant Vessel

[*Released to the press October 3*]

Upon instruction of the Secretary of State, Ambassador A. G. Kirk at Moscow on October 1 delivered the following note to the Foreign Office of the U.S.S.R.:

I am instructed by my Government to bring to Your Excellency's attention the matter of the U.S. merchant vessel, *Kimball R. Smith.* The vessel is of the N–3 type, having a steel hull, single deck with full scantling, vertical stem and cruiser stern. It is 258 feet in length, has 1885 gross tons, and dead weight of 2778 tons. The *Kimball R. Smith* left Pusan, Korea on September 20 with a cargo of salt destined for Kunsan, Korea. It is on loan from the U.S. Government to the Government of the Republic of Korea. Title to the vessel rests with the United States Government although, while on loan, the vessel operates under the flag of the Republic of Korea. Ship papers on board the vessel include an Affidavit of Title verified by the American Consul General, Yokohama; provisional load line certificate issued by the United States Bureau of Shipping, dated May 28, 1949; an International Load Line Certificate issued July 8, 1949 and two United States Bureau of Shipping Surveys dated February 28 and May 14, 1949 respectively.

The two American officials of the United States Economic Cooperation Administration sailed with the vessel as advisors to the Korean crew. The officials are Alfred T. Meschter, bearing American diplomatic passport No. 783 dated April 1, 1949 and Albert Willis, having American diplomatic passport No. 834, dated April 6, 1949.

On September 24 the Pyongyang radio station in Korea announced the arrival of the *Kimball R. Smith* at the port of Chinnampo on September 22. In view of the fact that no further word has been received, it would be appreciated if the Soviet Government would lend assistance in ascertaining the exact location of the vessel, the welfare of the two American officials, and would facilitate the prompt departure of the officials and the vessel in order that they may proceed to the port of original destination.

Greek Writer Receives First Grant Under Smith-Mundt Act

Elias Venezis, one of the leading writers of present day Greece, has just received the first grant awarded by the State Department in the Eastern Hemisphere under the program authorized by the Smith-Mundt Act for the international exchange of leaders and specialists. Grants under this program, which represents one phase of a broad information and educational exchange, are awarded to persons who have attained outstanding prominence in their fields of specialization, and who can also serve effectively in furthering a spirit of understanding and friendship between the United States and foreign countries.

Mr. Venezis came to this country on his own initiative some 2 months ago for the purpose of obtaining a first-hand knowledge of America and the American way of life, which he plans to incorporate into a book to be published on his return to Greece. Since his arrival here, he has visited cities in the East and Midwest, including New York, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Detroit, and Chicago. He has been awarded a grant to enable him to remain here for an additional 2 months and to continue his observations in other sections of the country.

Mr. Venezis was one of the million and a half Greeks who fled from Asia Minor to Greece in the great exodus of 1922 and literary expression to the experience has been given in some of his works.

Since his arrival in the United States, Mr. Venezis has been giving his impressions of the country in a series of talks on the Voice of America, including one on the Chicago Music Festival in August, on Times Square, and on the City of Washington. He plans to continue these talks throughout the remainder of his trip and to publish a series of articles on his impressions of the United States in one of Greece's leading daily papers, *Vima.*

Chinese National Anniversary Celebrated

[*Released to the press October 10*]

President Truman on October 10 sent the following message to the Acting President of China, Li Tsung-Jen.

On this national anniversary I extend to Your Excellency and to the people of China the sincere good wishes of the people of the United States

Release of Earmarked Gold in Japan

Released to the press October 5

IRECTIVE TO THE SUPREME COMMANDER OR THE ALLIED POWERS[1]

Whereas in international law and monetary ractice in the absence of clear proof of a contrary tent the earmarking of gold transfers the title to ch gold and the right to the possession thereof the person in whose name the gold is earmarked ith the same force and effect as transfer of title companied by physical transfer;

Whereas there is held under your control in pan a quantity of gold bullion earmarked by panese authorities before the surrender of Ja- n for the Government of France and the Gov- nmetn of Thailand, their agents or nationals;

Whereas France and Thailand are members of e United Nations, and

Whereas it is your responsibility pursuant to rt II, Paragraph 3 of the Basic Post-Surrender licy for Japan, Directive Serial No. 82 to pro- t the interests, assets and rights of all Mem- rs of the United Nations and their nationals,

You should release to the duly accredited rep- entatives of the Governments of France and ailand gold held in Japan earmarked before surrender of Japan for them, their agents or tionals and permit the assignment or removal of h gold in accordance with international mone- y practice, except for any portion of the gold which you determine that the Government of pan or its agents did not have good title at the e of earmarking, and any portion which was nsferred by Japan in compensation for prop- y which has subsequently been restituted in ac- dance with policy directives transmitted to you suant to the terms of Reference of the Far stern Commission. The determination of the tion mentioned in the last clause in the im- diately preceding sentence, if any, should be subject of direct negotiations by you with the mant government.

S. PRESENTS MEMORANDUM TO FEC[2]

Upon the instructions of my government I de- to make the following statement concerning the problem of the gold in Japan earmarked for France and Thailand and the announced intention of the United States to issue a directive to the Supreme Commander to release the gold to those countries.

The decision of my government that the gold should be released was made after extended study of the legal rights of the parties and after thorough consideration of all the factors involved. My government concluded, first, that France and Thailand undoubtedly became the owners of the gold both under international monetary practice and the ordinary law governing commercial transactions. The earmarking of gold is an accepted method of transferring title thereto, and in the opinion of the financial authorities of this Government, should be treated in good faith as an accepted method of international payment. In the present cases these earmarkings were not only registered in the books of the Japanese banks but specific gold bars were physically marked and segregated and acknowledgments of custody for the Bank of Indochina and Bank of Thailand respectively were executed.

My government has concluded that there are no considerations to justify disregarding the property rights of France and Thailand. As a matter of law the gold is clearly not Japanese. It is true that much of the gold was transferred during a period when the countries concerned were at war with certain of the members of the FEC or were under enemy occupation. There is nothing in international law, however, which makes compensation for goods and services illegal, whether made to a neutral, a cobelligerent, or an occupied-enemy power. There is nothing, moreover, in the practice of the Allied Powers in the postwar gold settlements in Europe which could justify disregarding the present transfers. No efforts were made in those settlements to set aside transfers of gold by the enemy powers except in the case of gold which had been looted. Since the present case involves the ownership of physical property, title to which was lawfully transferred, it is entirely

[1] Issued on Oct. 3, 1949.

[2] Statement made by Major-General Frank R. McCoy in the Far Eastern Commission meeting on Sept. 15, 1949.

distinct from monetary claims which these and other countries may have in consequence of commercial and financial transactions during the war. My government agrees entirely that the availability of Japanese assets and foreign exchange resources to pay monetary claims must be considered in the light of competing claims arising out of the war and the occupation.

Lastly, my government concluded that notwithstanding the values involved this matter does not present a policy question which is appropriate for consideration by the Far Eastern Commission, but rather the implementation by the Supreme Commander, under a supplementary directive issued by the United States in accordance with section 1 of paragraph III of the terms of reference of the FEC, of the general decision of the Far Eastern Commission with respect to the assets of members of the United Nations and their nationals. The directive which my government proposes to issue thus is of an administrative nature and does not determine any policy questions which fall within the province of this Commission.

In response to the specific request of the Australian member my government has prepared and will circulate to the members here a memorandum giving certain factual information about the transactions involved. As indicated previously my government intends shortly to issue the proposed directive, which will be filed with the Commission.

Replies to Queries at 163rd FEC Meeting

1. The total value of the gold earmarked for France and Thailand is approximately $81,000,000 of which $37,300,000 (approximately 33,000,000 grams) is earmarked for the Bank of Indochina and $43,700,000 (approximately 38,800,000 grams) for the Bank of Thailand.

2 (a). 20,777,000 grams of gold were earmarked for the Bank of Indochina pursuant to a commercial agreement made on May 6, 1941. Under this agreement yen accruing to the credit of Indochina were converted from time to time into gold. The commodities supplied by Indochina consisted principally of rubber and rice. The last earmarking under this arrangement was in May, 1943. Under a further agreement, for the use of French ships by the Japanese, one-third of the yen paid to Indochina were converted by earmarking gold. Under this agreement 439,000 grams of gold were earmarked for the Bank of Indochina in May 1943. The balance, 11,840,000 grams of gold, was earmarked in payment for supplies purchased by the occupation forces in Indochina, one-third of the yen accruing to Indochina being subject to conversion. The last earmarking under this arrangement was in September 1942.

(b). Gold was earmarked for Thailand under a series of arrangements whereby yen credits were established by the Japanese in payment for baht credits given by Thailand to Japan, a portion of the yen to be converted into gold. The first such agreements, in 1941, involved the granting of credits to finance trade between the two countries. The later advances of baht were made as a result of demands by the Japanese military. In both cases the primary commodity purchased by the Japanese was rice; other important commodities were tin and rubber. The goods and services were supplied by Thailand from early 1941 until the middle of 1945.

3 (a). Gold was earmarked for the Bank of Indochina in 1941, 1942, and 1943. Approximately one-third of the gold was earmarked before December 7, 1941.

(b). Gold was earmarked for Thailand between August 28, 1941, and July 5, 1945, inclusive.

4. In all cases, specific bars were physically marked and segregated, and acknowledgments of custody for the Bank of Indochina or the Bank of Thailand, as the case may be, were executed. The Thai Government under the agreements was permitted to inspect the gold in the Bank of Japan and is in possession of full documentation indicating the specific bars owned by and set aside for it. Some gold, not included in the amount now under earmark, was physically transferred to Thailand.

5. The total amount of gold held by Japan at the time of surrender was approximately 182,000,000 grams (including gold under earmark).

6. The following amounts of gold found in Japan are under earmark in addition to that earmarked for Thailand and France:

(a). Gold bars aggregating 213,927.2 grams are earmarked for the Bank of Italy. This earmarking was made in 1942 pursuant to a transaction whereby the Yokohama Specie Bank purchased United States dollars from the Italian Government for Japanese diplomatic purposes in Argentina and Chile, undertaking to make repayment in Japan, 40 percent in yen and 60 percent in gold bullion. No action has yet been taken with respect to the release of this gold.

(b). There are 607,268.9 grams of gold under earmark for the Federal Reserve Bank of China, an agent of the Japanese puppet regime in China. These ingots were produced from gold mined in occupied China and sent to Japan for refining. The Federal Reserve Bank of China purchased the gold from the mining company, but the gold remained in the custody of the Bank of Japan. The Supreme Commander has indicated that he is treating this gold as looted and is submitting the question of its disposition to the Restitution Advisory Committee in Tokyo for a recommendation whether restitution should be made to China under Far Eastern Commission directives.

THE DEPARTMENT

Department Leases "Prospect House"

[Released to the press October 14]

On October 12, 1949, the Department of State leased the esidence of Mrs. James Forrestal, widow of the late ecretary of Defense, for a period to run to June 30, 1950, ith the right of renewal. The residence, located at 3508 rospect Avenue, NW. and known as "Prospect House," as been leased fully furnished and will serve as a United tates Government guest house for distinguished foreign isitors during the period while the White House is under- oing repairs and until the Blair Houses again become vailable for Department of State use.

The Department expects to have the House in operation eginning November 1. The first distinguished guest will robably be His Imperial Majesty The Shah of Iran when e arrives in Washington November 16.

ppointment of Officers

Thomas T. Carter as Chief of the Aviation Division, ffice of Transport and Communications, effective October 1949.

Henry A. Byroade as Director of the Office of German d Austrian Affairs, effective October 8, 1949.

nfirmations

On October 13, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomi- tion of Jack K. McFall to be an Assistant Secretary of ate.

PUBLICATIONS

omic Energy Booklet Businessmen Released

[leased to the press by AEC October 9]

A new booklet describing how to do business h the United States Atomic Energy Commis- n is now available from the Superintendent of cuments, the AEC announced today.

The booklet is entitled *U.S. Atomic Energy mmission Contracting and Purchasing Offices Types of Commodities Purchased.* It has n prepared to assist businesses interested in ng products used in the national atomic energy gram. It is designed particularly for the lance of small business concerns.

The booklet answers the questions: What is bought for the AEC? Who buys it? Where are the procurement offices located? It contains lists of the supplies, materials, and equipment being purchased by or for the AEC and its contractors, the addresses of the purchasing offices and agents, and instructions on how a business firm may be considered to receive invitations to bid.

"In order to obtain business from the AEC or its contractors," the booklet states, "it is not necessary to employ counselors, advisers, or any agents or agencies. Such persons or agencies cannot perform any service which any reader of this booklet cannot perform for himself."

The booklet is available from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. for 10 cents.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

On October 13, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomination of James Bruce to be Director of Foreign Military Assistance.

Resignations

The President on October 13, 1949, accepted the resignation of J. Klahr Huddle as American Ambassador to the Union of Burma and United States representative on the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. For text of the President's letter to Mr. Huddle, see White House press release of October 13, 1949.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

Report of Activities of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial problems covering its operations from April 1, 1948, to September 30, 1948. H. Doc. 120, 81st Cong., 1st sess. vii, 68 pp.

The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Report of Subcommittee No. 5, National and International Movements, Hon. Frances P. Bolton, Chairman, Eightieth Congress. Supplement III, Country Studies. A. The Coup D'etat in Prague. H. Doc. 154, Part 1, 81st Cong., 1st sess. v, 27 pp.

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The Department of State bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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WORKING IN THE U.N.—A CHALLENGE TO BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS

Address by President Truman[1]

PRESIDENT ROMULO, MR. LIE, DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES, AND FELLOW GUESTS: We have come together to lay the cornerstone of ie permanent headquarters of the United Na-ons. These are the most important buildings in ie world, for they are the center of man's hope for ace and a better life. This is the place where the ations of the world will work together to make at hope a reality.

This occasion is a source of special pride to the ople of the United States. We are deeply con-ious of the honor of having the permanent head-arters of the United Nations in this country. At e same time, we know how important it is that e people of other nations should come to know first hand the work of this world organization. e consider it appropriate, therefore, that the ited Nations should hold meetings from time to ne in other countries when that can be done. For e United Nations must draw its inspiration from e people of every land; it must be truly repre-tative of and responsive to the peoples of the rld whom it was created to serve.

nificance of U.N. Day

This ceremony marks a new stage in the growth the United Nations. It is fitting that it should e place on United Nations Day, the fourth an-ersary of the day the Charter entered into ect. During the four years of its existence, this organization has become a powerful force for promoting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world. The construction of this new headquarters is tangible proof of the steadfast faith of the members in the vitality and strength of the organization, and of our determination that it shall become more and more effective in the years ahead.

The Charter embodies the hopes and ideals of men everywhere. Hopes and ideals are not static. They are dynamic, and they give life and vigor to the United Nations. We look forward to a continuing growth and evolution of the organization to meet the changing needs of the world's peoples. We hope that eventually every nation on earth will be a fully qualified and loyal member.

We who are close to the United Nations sometimes forget that it is more than the procedures, the councils, and the debates, through which it operates. We tend to overlook the fact that the organization is the living embodiment of the principles of the Charter — the renunciation of aggression and the joint determination to build a better life.

But if we overlook this fact, we will fail to realize the strength and power of the United Nations. We will fail to understand the true nature of this new force that has been created in the affairs of our time.

A World Compact

The United Nations is essentially an expression of the moral nature of man's aspirations. The Charter clearly shows our determination that international problems must be settled on a basis acceptable to the conscience of mankind.

[1] Made on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone the Secretariat Building of the permanent United ions Headquarters in New York City on Oct. 24, 1949, released to the press by the White House on the same .

Because the United Nations is the dynamic expression of what all the peoples of the world desire, because it sets up a standard of right and justice for all nations, it is greater than any of its members. The compact that underlies the United Nations cannot be ignored—and it cannot be infringed or dissolved.

We in the United States, in the course of our own history, have learned what it means to set up an organization to give expression to the common desire for peace and unity. Our Constitution expressed the will of the people that there should be a United States. And through toil and struggle the people made their will prevail.

In the same way, I think, the Charter and the organization served by these buildings express the will of the people of the world that there shall be a United Nations.

This does not mean that all the member countries are of one mind on all issues. The controversies which divide us go very deep. We should understand that these buildings are not a monument to the unanimous agreement of nations on all things. But they signify one new and important fact. They signify that the peoples of the world are of one mind in their determination to solve their common problems by working together.

Social and Economic Forces

Our success in the United Nations will be measured not only in terms of our ability to meet and master political controversies. We have learned that political controversies grow out of social and economic problems. If the people of the world are to live together in peace, we must work together to establish the conditions that will provide a firm foundation for peace.

For this reason, our success will also be measured by the extent to which the right of individual human beings are realized. And it will be measured by the extent of our economic and social progress.

These fundamental facts are recognized both in the language of the Charter and in the activities in which the United Nations has been engaged during the past four years. The Charter plainly makes respect for human rights by nations a matter of international concern. The member nations have learned from bitter experience that regard for human rights is indispensable to political, economic, and social progress. They have learned that disregard of human rights is the beginning of tyranny and, too often, the beginning of war.

For these reasons, the United Nations has devoted much of its time to fostering respect for human rights. The General Assembly has adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Genocide. Other important measures in this field are under study.

I am confident that this great work will go steadily forward. The preparation of a Covenant on Human Rights by the Human Rights Commission is a task with which the United States is deeply concerned. We believe strongly that the attainment of basic civil and political rights for men and women everywhere—without regard to race, language, or religion—is essential to the peace we are seeking. We hope that the Covenant on Human Rights will contain effective provisions regarding freedom of information. The minds of men must be free from artificial and arbitrary restraints in order that they may seek the truth and apply their intelligence to the making of a better world.

Another field in which the United Nations is undertaking to build the foundations of a peaceful world is that of economic development. Today, at least half of mankind lives in dire poverty. Hundreds of millions of men, women, and children lack adequate food, clothing, and shelter. We cannot achieve permanent peace and prosperity in the world until the standard of living in underdeveloped areas is raised.

It is for this reason that I have urged the launching of a vigorous and concerted effort to apply modern technology and capital investment to improve the lot of these peoples. These areas need large expansion of investment and trade. In order for this to take place, they also need the application of scientific knowledge and technical skills to their basic problems—producing more food, improving health and sanitation, making use of their natural resources, and educating their people.

To meet these needs, the United Nations and its agencies are preparing a detailed program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas.

The Economic and Social Council last summer defined the basic principles which should underlie this program. The General Assembly is now completing and perfecting the initial plans. The fact that the Economic Committee of the Assembly voted unanimously for the resolution on technical assistance shows that this is a common cause which commands united support. Although differences may arise over details of the program, I fervently

hope that the members of the United Nations will remain unanimous in their determination to raise the standards of living of the less fortunate members of the human family.

The United States intends to play its full part in this great enterprise. We are already carrying on a number of activities in this field. I shall urge the Congress, when it reconvenes in January, to give high priority to proposals which will make possible additional technical assistance and capital investment.

Majority Atomic Energy Plan

I should like to speak of one other problem which is of major concern to the United Nations. That is the control of atomic energy.

Ever since the first atomic weapon was developed, a major objective of United States policy has been a system of international control of atomic energy that would assure effective prohibition of atomic weapons, and at the same time would promote the peaceful use of atomic energy by all nations.

In November 1945, Prime Minister Attlee of the United Kingdom, Prime Minister King of Canada, and I agreed that the problem of international control of atomic energy should be referred to the United Nations. The establishment of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission was one of the first acts of the first session of the General Assembly.

That Commission worked for three years on the problem. It developed a plan of control which reflected valuable contributions by almost every country represented on the Commission. This plan of control was overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly on November 4, 1948.

This is a good plan. It is a plan that can work, and more important, it is a plan that can be effective in accomplishing its purpose. It is the only plan so far developed that would meet the technical requirements of control, that would make prohibition of atomic weapons effective, and at the same time promote the peaceful development of atomic energy on a cooperative basis.

We support this plan and will continue to support it unless and until a better and more effective plan is put forward. To assure that atomic energy will be devoted to man's welfare and not to his destruction is a continuing challenge to all nations and all peoples. The United States is now, and will remain, ready to do its full share in meeting this challenge.

Goals in Human Relations

Respect for human rights, promotion of economic development, and a system for control of weapons are requisites to the kind of world we seek. We cannot solve these problems overnight, but we must keep everlastingly working at them in order to reach our goal.

No single nation can always have its own way, for these are human problems, and the solution of human problems is to be found in negotiation and mutual adjustment.

The challenge of the twentieth century is the challenge of human relations, and not of impersonal natural forces. The real dangers confronting us today have their origins in outmoded habits of thought, in the inertia of human nature, and in preoccupation with supposed national interests to the detriment of the common good.

As members of the United Nations, we are convinced that patience, the spirit of reasonableness, and hard work will solve the most stubborn political problems. We are convinced that individual rights and social and economic progress can be advanced through international cooperation.

Our faith is in the betterment of human relations. Our vision is of a better world in which men and nations can live together, respecting one another's rights and cooperating in building a better life for all. Our efforts are made in the belief that men and nations can cooperate, that there are no international problems which men of good will cannot solve or adjust.

Mr. President, Mr. Lie, the laying of this cornerstone is an act of faith—our unshakable faith that the United Nations will succeed in accomplishing the great tasks for which it was created.

But "faith without works is dead." We must make our devotion to the ideals of the Charter as strong as the steel in this building. We must pursue the objectives of the Charter with resolution as firm as the rock on which this building rests. We must conduct our affairs foursquare with the Charter, in terms as true as this cornerstone.

If we do these things, the United Nations will endure and will bring the blessings of peace and well-being to mankind.

WHAT DOES INTERNATIONAL STANDARDIZATION MEAN TO THE UNITED STATES?

by Joseph A. Greenwald[1]

The best way to explain what international standardization means to the United States is to describe our economic foreign policy and how international standardization can contribute to that policy.

After two world wars and a number of world depressions, we realize that neither political nor economic isolationism is possible for the United States. The United States must recognize its economic leadership and must be prepared to do its part in reestablishing sound economic conditions throughout the world. At the American Legion Convention this year the President said, "World prosperity is necessary to world peace. Furthermore, world prosperity is necessary to our own prosperity in the United States." Our foreign economic policy will promote our national prosperity in the long run through the restoration of the economy of Europe and other war-devastated areas and through the revival of world trade. It will also result in many direct and immediate political and economic benefits. We are determined to avoid the dangerous and self-defeating policies of economic nationalism.

Economic Objectives

By greatly oversimplifying it, our economic foreign policy can be reduced to two objectives: (1) increasing world production and (2) reducing barriers to trade. To achieve these objectives, the United States has taken the lead in building the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the International Bank, the Internatio Monetary Fund, and the proposed Internatio Trade Organization. The United States also i tiated action to reduce tariffs reciprocally throu the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade a to help put Europe on its feet through the Eu pean Recovery Program. The proposed techn assistance program for underdeveloped ar based on Point 4 of the President's inaugural dress, is designed to promote a progressive rise standards of living throughout the world, wh is our best insurance of a peaceful future.

It is felt that our ultimate foreign policy jectives can be achieved by promoting the free f of goods across national borders in ever increas quantities. The economic destruction and disl tion resulting from the war makes it necessary take certain steps toward restoring the prod tive capacity of our friendly neighbors along w our efforts to reduce barriers to trade. In the derdeveloped areas, we must help the people le modern agricultural and industrial methods to able them to make an increased contribution t expanding world economy and a balanced w trade. Thus the European Recovery Program the proposed Point 4 program are essential p of our economic foreign policy. It is obvio impossible to carry on trade which implies an change of goods when one of the parties has n of the goods. Consequently, we must assist o nations in increasing their production. As t programs become successful and as foreign g compete with ours, the benefits of these progr to the United States may appear obscure. may even be accused of "cutting our own thro

[1] An address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Standard Association in New York, N. Y., on Oct. 13, 1949.

Justification of the Aid Programs

In justification of these programs, it has been pointed out that we are dependent upon foreign countries for many vital minerals and other raw materials. It is stated that without foreign trade, many of our industries would suffer. It is also argued that we need to sell many things abroad; that we must have foreign markets for our cotton, wheat, and tobacco; and that our prosperity would be seriously damaged if the export of our products were cut off. To these arguments should be added one based on the traditional principles of a free enterprise economy. Rather than thinking of our programs for increasing production abroad as something which will ultimately result in competition for United States producers, it should be remembered that human wishes and desires are infinite. Advertising, moreover, is constantly creating new desires. It should be possible, therefore, to have a continuously expanding world trade.

The need for thinking in terms of the indefinite expandability of consumers' wishes cannot be emphasized too strongly. The American system of free competitive enterprise is not based upon the theory of the mature or contracting economy. One can be optimistic enough to believe that when the wartime backlog of demand for durable goods has been exhausted, American industry, operating under a profit motive, will not rely upon the replacement demand, but will develop new products which American and foreign consumers will purchase. In many cases these new products will be improvements on old ideas, such as ball point pens. In other cases, the innovation may be something like the automobile, which will in turn start off a tremendous chain of allied products and industries. The future expansion of trade and production will very likely be in the area of many of the products and devices now used by Buck Rogers. Raising production and standards of living in underdeveloped areas will introduce the people in these areas to new products and give them the effective purchasing power with which to buy them.

Reduction of Trade Barriers

In encouraging the reduction of barriers to international trade, the United States is founding its policy upon the basic philosophy which has enabled it to achieve the greatest level of production in history. We are convinced that a system of free competitive enterprise is the best way promoting the general welfare of people throughout the world and preserving to them the benefits of democracy. Under this system the decisions regarding what is to be produced are made by the impartial forces of the market. The freedom derived from this system could be called the "freedom of choice"—a freedom characterized by the democratic process of "one dollar—one vote." The benefits of specialization are lost when artificial barriers, whether private or governmental, distort the production pattern which would be established in a free competitive system. Furthermore, where these barriers limit production or trade, the decisions are taken out of the hands of the voter or consumer with dollars, and his freedom of choice is restricted.

Competition and Standardization in Trade

The postwar trend has been away from free enterprise and free trade. Competition is generally considered something which came and went with Adam Smith. But 23 nations adhered to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which provides a mechanism for reducing governmental barriers to trade, and a number of European countries have begun to investigate the effect of private restrictive business practices and cartels upon national productivity. International standardization can help in restoring some degree of competition in international trade.

Aid of Standardization to American Business

In implementing United States foreign economic policy through international standardization, the benefits will accrue not only on the rather idealistic level of promoting world peace and prosperity, but also on the dollar-and-cents level of increasing American foreign trade. For example, the well-known case of the international unification of sound track location on 16 mm. sound film has made it possible for the American motion picture industry to sell its products abroad. In this case the benefits were equally important in the field of ideas, because we have been able, through American motion pictures, to present our way of life in every corner of the earth. The adoption of different television standards in various countries may impede the flow of ideas through this new medium as well as impede the sale of television sets across national borders. And different electrical voltages and cycles continue to make use of American electrical appliances abroad difficult.

Standardization Techniques in World Production

With respect to our foreign economic policy objective of increasing world production, the report of the second session of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity is significant. It is the view of the Council that low cost production and high productivity can be obtained only by utilizing standardization, specialization, and simplification procedures and methods. The adoption of standardization techniques would be a great factor in reestablishing the European economy on a self-supporting basis. In connection with the Technical Assistance Program for underdeveloped areas, standardization is equally important, but the emphasis is different. In providing assistance to these countries, attention will be directed primarily toward the basic problems of agriculture, public health, and resource development. Here the question of inspection and grading is important in the development of markets. For example, Liberia produces palm oil which is an essential strategic material used in the production of steel. The United States steel industry, however, finds palm oil from Liberia unsatisfactory because of its low quality. Thus there is a need for inspection and grading procedures in Liberia which we hope will bring up the quality of Liberian palm oil. Our economic mission in Liberia is assisting the Liberian Government in establishing a grading and inspection service. A more basic requirement in many of the underdeveloped countries is the establishment of uniform standards of weight and measurement. It is hoped that these standardization techniques will be part of the American know-how which we will transmit to the industrially backward countries of the world.

International Standards and International Trade

International standardization can play an even more important role in achieving our objective of reducing barriers to and smoothing the flow of international trade. The lack of international standards often results in the exclusion of certain goods from a particular market where the national standards of the consuming country differ from the standards or practice in the producing country. This situation is most undesirable where the national standards are made compulsory by the government of that country. A current example of this type of situation is the problem met by American automobile manufacturers in marketing cars with sealed beam headlights in Europe and, conversely, the difficulty encountered by British automobile manufacturers attempting to sell in certain states in the United States. Standards can also be used to obstruct international trade when they are adopted by organizations and private manufacturers to exclude the products of other manufacturers from a certain area. However, I am sure that these cases are not very numerous and they constitute abuses of standardization and its principles.

Effect of Standardization on Sales of American Products

On the other hand, effective international standardization can open up wider markets for American products. By the adoption of dimensional standards the problem of replacement parts and the use of allied products will no longer act as a deterrent to foreign purchasing. Inspection and certification procedures will instill confidence on the part of foreign buyers and encourage sales in new markets. The adoption of international standards of quality and standards of fitness for purpose or performance will also serve to make it easier to sell goods in international trade. Standardization also enables the buyer and seller to speak the same language. It promotes fairness in competition and puts tenders on a comparable basis in international trade. In the field of scientific and technological research, standardization is also important in connection with libraries, documentation, and the adoption of uniform terms, definitions, and symbols. Standard methods of sampling and testing are important for research as well as trade.

Since international standardization is almost in the same category as virtue, that is, most people are in favor of it, it should not be necessary to exhort people to participate in international standardization projects. However, like virtue, everyone agrees that it is a good thing, especially for their neighbors, but not everyone takes positive steps to do something about it. In pointing out the advantages that will flow from achieving the objectives of our economic foreign policy and in indicating the role of international standarization in implementing that policy, the desirability of taking active steps to achieve international standardization should be clear.

U.S. Urges System of Verification in Control of International Armaments

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

There is a grave responsibility on all of us as members of this Council to guard against deluding the peoples of the world by our discussions here on the subject of disarmament. It is not so important to find who is at fault, as it is to correct misunderstanding.

Disarmament is not an easy business or a simple business. It is a cruelty and a fraud to make it appear that it is.

Anyone who is thinking scientifically about disarmament knows that it is wholly impossible of achievement unless it is approached gradually and on a basis of orderly and systematic evolution.

We have heard much involved discussion about the necessity of developing conditions of world confidence before disarming and, conversely, disarming in order to engender conditions of world confidence. Actually the problem is not as circular as it may seem. It is rather the problem of the infant who must learn to crawl before he can walk and leap. It is playing fast and loose with the hopes and aspirations of men to make them think that by some magic we can transform ourselves instantly from knights to bishops.

Our Soviet colleagues profess a great impatience about this matter of disarmament. They have charged over and over again that the separation of atomic weapons from all other weapons for separate treatment in the Atomic Energy Commission and the Conventional Armaments Commission was deliberately planned and engineered to bring about a blockage against progress in both fields. They have proposed an across-the-board disarmament of one-third of the armaments and armed forces of the five permanent members of the Security Council without any indication of how such a hit-and-miss scheme would be accomplished and with almost complete indifference as to the necessity of obtaining authentic and verified data concerning the armaments and armed forces to be thus arbitrarily divided. They have scoffed at the French census and verification proposals which we have now before us as an idle divertissement from the real task of immediate and effective disarmament.[2]

But how can these things all be accomplished at once? Have the Soviets some magic formula by which they can do many things at one and the same time? If so, they have certainly kept it completely to themselves if they are to be judged on the record of their performances in the Atomic Energy Commission and in the Commission for Conventional Armaments.

Let us consider for a moment the objection which they have made the core of all of their arguments in the Commission for Conventional Armaments—the separation of the field of atomic energy and atomic weapons for consideration by the Atomic Energy Commission from the field of conventional armaments and armed forces which was turned

[1] Made before the Security Council on Oct. 14, 1949, and released to the press by the U. S. Mission to the United Nations on the same date.

[2] The text of the French resolution of Oct. 14 (S/1408/rev. 1) states:

"The Security Council recognizes as an essential part of any effective system of disarmament the submission by states of full information on conventional armaments and armed forces together with adequate procedures for complete verification of such information.

"As regards the principle of submitting information on atomic weapons, the Council recalls that the submission of full information on atomic material and facilities, including atomic weapons, is an integral part of the United Nations plan of control and prohibition approved by the General Assembly on November 4, 1948, to ensure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and to ensure effective prohibition of atomic weapons."

over to the Commission for Conventional Armaments. How would it have been possible for one and the same body at one and the same time to have considered together the widely dissimilar problems of these two fields? Surely there can be no question but what the assignment of these two phases of the total disarmament problem to one commission would have required a division of the problem into its two principal parts and the formation of subcommittees to deal with them separately. Any attempt to deal with them together simultaneously would have resulted in utter confusion and would have left us today far short of the substantial progress which has already been achieved in the atomic field and the more limited progress attained in the area of conventional armaments and armed forces.

I do not say that the blocking of this progress was the objective toward which our Soviet colleagues were striving. What I do call upon them to demonstrate, however, is how the work of either the Atomic Energy Commission or the Conventional Armaments Commission has in any way been hampered by the separation of the one from the other.

This is one of the principal areas in which the peoples of the world have become thoroughly confused. They do not understand jurisdictional distinctions, and they are not especially interested in trying to understand them. But they do understand the importance of one person or one body trying to do only one thing at a time, and they do understand the importance of taking first things first.

Those were the considerations which led the General Assembly to take up as one of the first items of its business in the First General Assembly of January 1946 the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission to work out a system for the control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. That decision of the General Assembly was a unanimous decision, and the proof of its wisdom is seen clearly in the events which have transpired in the nearly 4 years which have elapsed since it was made.

The Soviet representatives have tried to argue that this division of the armaments field between two commissions was deliberately brought about simply to make it possible to play the inaction of one commission off against the other. The complete refutation of this argument lies in the outstanding achievement of the Atomic Energy Commission in evolving a complete and effective plan of control of atomic energy and elimination of atomic weapons—a plan which has met with the acceptance and approval of the overwhelming majority of the member states of the United Nations. This is a record of action, not inaction—a record which could not have been achieved had the problems of the atomic field been commingled and confused with the wholly different problems in the field of conventional armaments.

The Atomic Energy Commission had more than a year's head start on the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The record of its achievement is, therefore, a greater one. But the Conventiona Armaments Commission has made progress of its own as we have witnessed here in our recent consideration of the Commission's second progress report and as we are now witnessing further in our consideration of the French census and verification proposals. Here again it is doubtful if even this admittedly limited progress could have been achieved had the two fields been merged together for single treatment.

We have recognized from the very beginning that the two fields are intimately related to each other—that they are two parts or phases of the single over-all problem of disarmament. But we have insisted that the only way in which any orderly progress could be achieved was to deal with the quite different problems of the two fields in parallel fashion rather than in the complete mixture the Soviet has been contending for.

I wish to emphasize that the problem of the control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons is of an entirely different nature from the problem of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments. Atomic energy poses a new and unique problem to the world. The nuclear fuels used or produced in atomic energy plants are the same nuclear explosives used in atomic weapons. Their conversion from one to the other could take place rapidly and without warning. Therefore, controls over such plants must be of an entirely different nature, which are neither necessary nor desirable in the field of conventional armaments.

The dispute is not one of technical niceties. It is one based on considerations of common sense and common experience. It is simply a matter of taking one thing at a time in order to get something done. In their efforts to make out of it some sinister plot by the majority, the Soviet representatives have been trying to muddy the waters so that they will fail to reflect clearly the true Soviet countenance, which is one of complete opposition to any real plan of effective disarmament.

The same attitude has been evidenced by the Soviet in advancing their one-third disarmament proposal and in their opposition to the census and verification proposals presently pending before us. They charge that these latter proposals have been brought up as a diversion and distraction from the real business of disarmament. They would impatiently brush them aside as an irrelevance.

But you can not disarm first and then agree on a plan of disarmament. That is what they would have us do. They might as well suggest that we build a house and then hire an architect to draw up the plans for the house.

To be well-built, the house of disarmament must built carefully according to well thought-out ans and firmly on strong foundations. We do service to the world or to ourselves to rush into phazard constructions without plans of validity d materials of tested strength.

For honest and effective disarmament in the ld of atomic energy and atomic weapons we have well-considered plan—the plan approved by the erwhelming majority of the United Nations at e Third General Assembly last fall. It is to is plan that we direct the attention of all who uld seek an answer to the baseless charge of the viet representative in his statement here a few ys ago when he asserted that "the leading circles the United States of America have bent all efts to prevent the prohibition of the atomic apons from being adopted and to exclude the lection of information on this weapon."

Similarly, in the field of conventional armants and armed forces, the census and verifican proposals advanced by the French and apved by the Commission for Conventional Arments represent an honest and effective step in direction of the development of a plan for disnament comparable to that which has already en developed for the atomic field. They are, it true, a long way from an actual plan of disnament and they are not put forward, as the viet representative has charged, as any substie for such a plan. But they are a beginning d an honest beginning, and anyone who is sinely in favor of disarmament can not help but port them.

In its avowed eagerness to get ahead rapidly th the business of disarmament how can the viet oppose them? Can it be because they proe for a tight and effective system of verifican which will insure accurate results; a system verification which has been significantly absent m every single proposal advanced by the Soviet, luding its most recent proposal advanced here he conclusion of our last meeting?

The United States Government has supported French census and verification proposals in Commission for Conventional Armaments, and it is supporting them here in the Security Council, precisely because after careful and prolonged study they have been found to be constructive proposals, constituting a bona fide response to the request of the General Assembly in its resolution of November 19, 1948. The United States recognizes what these proposals entail in the system of inspection and checking for which they provide. We are willing to submit ourselves to such a system of inspection and checking. We do not feel sensitive about it or regard that its being called for is any reflection upon our integrity or our sovereignty.

If the Soviet's impatience with the slowness of progress toward disarmament is genuine, there is an obvious means by which it can insure that the process is speeded up. Let them accept these census and verification proposals as a first step and then let us together go forward with the business laid out for the Commission for Conventional Armaments. We are ready to go forward just as swiftly as they, provided we are traveling together on a road that leads to disarmament. But we refuse to set out upon a blind alley with them.

We of the United Nations are indebted to the French for their careful painstaking work in blazing the beginning of a trail with their census and verification proposals. We are further indebted to them for illuminating the trail for us by the draft resolution which they have just introduced to meet the glaring inadequacies of the resolution put forward by the Soviet representative last Tuesday.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the necessity of keeping the peoples of the world clear as to what is going on in the work of the United Nations toward disarmament. They cannot be reminded too often that there is no quick and easy short cut to disarmament. They must not be deluded by those who would make it appear that there is such a way.

What a vast relief it would be if we in the United Nations could make possible some reduction in the heavy expenditures for armaments necessary for world security.

The census and verification proposals would advance us toward that objective. The United States Government will support these proposals as contained in the draft resolution submitted by the distinguished representative of France.

The United Nations and American Security

by Deputy Under Secretary Rusk[1]

It is particularly fitting that the Department of State bring back to the birthplace of the United Nations a report on some of its accomplishments and some of its tribulations. It can be only a partial account. The United Nations has long since outrun the possibilities of a single speech, article or report, a single motion picture or book. Therein lies a major problem. If the United Nations is to accomplish what is expected of it under the Charter, it must be strongly supported by the peoples of its member states. But if people are to support it, they must know about it and understand its work. But we have learned that the day-to-day constructive work of thousands of United Nations men and women around the world is not news, commands no headlines, attracts no attention. Peacemaking is not as dramatic as war making. The telling of the story of the United Nations is becoming increasingly essential and increasingly impossible.

To say that the United Nations is 4 years old can no longer be a plea that this minor child is not somehow fully responsible for its performance. The United Nations is a public institution whose organization is now substantially complete; it must justify its existence and its claim to our loyalties and resources in the same way as must other institutions—by performance—by efficient, effective, and productive performance. Its friends do it no service in pretending that its youth is an alibi.

I have elected to speak here in San Francisco on "The United Nations and American Security." I did so because I felt that in this city which has a special relationship to the United Nations, it would be proper to try to get at the heart of the matter and to assess this world organization against its severest test. The United Nations will stand or fall as it is able to maintain the peace. The organization arose out of a world-wide coalition against Axis aggression. The mai-tenance of international peace and security is t dominant theme of the Charter. With peace, t governments and peoples of the United Natio will at least have a chance to get on with the ec nomic, social, humanitarian, and legal objecti outlined in the Charter, objectives which are bo important in themselves and aimed at removi some of the basic causes of war. If a major w breaks out, the United Nations will be shaken to foundations and its very existence comes into qu tion. The United Nations must fact the fact t it must preserve the peace—or else. But here discover that we are saying no more than that t United Nations must face the major test wh confronts the human race itself. We must prese the peace—or else.

Obligations of Membership

Before we turn to the work of the United N tions in the security field, we should note tha is an organization which has little existence beyo its member governments. Decisions are made members. Its resolutions are carried out, if t are carried out, by its members. The action wh might be taken by the Security Council or by Assembly in any given situation depends upon willingness of the members to take action. I not believe that there is a single case where Charter has prevented the United Nations fr taking the action necessary to maintain the pe The Charter has allowed all that its members h been willing to do. There is unlimited flexibi within the Charter for further growth; we h not begun to occupy the wide reaches of the Ch ter in our search for sanity in international r tions. When we speak of the United Nati therefore, we are speaking of ourselves as a le ing member—and of other governments peoples who make it up. If we point a finge the United Nations, to credit it with succes charge it with failure, remember that we are pointing at ourselves.

[1] An address delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California on the occasion of United Nations Week in San Francisco, Calif. on Oct. 21, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

How is the United Nations going about the busi-
ess of preventing war?

andards of Conduct

First, it has established in the Charter a high
andard of conduct for its members. The ringing
hrases of the Charter are not merely an expres-
on of lofty aspiration and sentiment—they are
bligations upon governments. Within them we
nd guides for the further advancement of the
ace—and with them we also find the minimum
andards which must be met if we are to have
eace.

All Members shall settle their international disputes
peaceful means.

All Members shall refrain from the threat or use of
rce against the territorial integrity or political inde-
ndence of any state.

hese compelling propositions apply to all, large
nd small, European or Asiatic, Communist, So-
alist or capitalist, free and totalitarian, power-
l and weak. Our primary question is: How are
e to live at peace with each other despite our
eat differences in political organization, eco-
omic theory, or social objectives; how to live at
ace despite the differences of race and religion
ancient animosity, despite incredible wealth and
believable poverty, despite self-conscious inde-
endence or the irritations of foreign rule? The
arter tells us: Settle your disputes by peaceful
eans and don't threaten or use force against the
rritory or the independence of others. Simple
opositions designed to surmount differences and
build a peace.

It is interesting to note that the standards of
e Charter are publicly acknowledged by all the
embers, without exception, as the measure of na-
onal conduct. Members may differ sharply, may
arge each other with the most serious offenses,
ay debate bitterly what the Charter means and
w it should be applied to specific cases. But
us far, each member has sought to defend its
se in terms of compliance with the Charter,
wever farfetched some of us may think such an
ort becomes. No delegation has yet come for-
ard to deal cynically in debate with the Charter
elf, an interesting acknowledgement of the
oral ascendancy of the Charter and its hold upon
e minds of men throughout the world.

Even Mr. Vyshinsky, upon arrival in New York,
ated:

he Soviet Delegation feels confident that the
nited Nations is—as the head of the Soviet Gov-
nment, Stalin, had said—a serious instrument
r the maintenance of peace and international
curity. There can be no doubt that the General
Assembly will be able to solve successfully the important tasks it faces, provided that the members display a sincere desire to cooperate with each other and act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter."

I suggest that, despite our fear that Mr. Vyshinsky didn't mean it and that the conduct of his government would hardly bear him out, nevertheless it is a very good thing that he and his colleagues feel compelled to frame their propaganda within the concepts of the Charter. It is true that we have witnessed attempts to seize and distort our most respectable words such as "democracy," "peace," the "will of the people." But, on balance, I believe we gain; for I do not believe that the Russian people can be persuaded forever that aggression is peace, that tyranny is democracy, that falsehood is truth, and that suppression is freedom. 1984 is not here yet.

I know, from direct experience, that the standards of the Charter make themselves felt in the great mass of decisions which are made daily in the Foreign Offices of the world's governments. "How does this fit the Charter?" "How will this look in the United Nations?" These are constantly recurring questions where decisions are being made on difficult matters of policy. We suspect that in those chanceries where decisions are taken which are clearly contrary to the Charter that the question arises, "How can this be made to look in the United Nations?"

Insofar as the United States is concerned, the standards of the Charter are effective and are enforced. We are committed to them as basic elements of our policy. They are enforced by our people, through close inspection of our conduct, vigorous debate, and a persuasive expression of opinion both through normal political machinery and through the great national nongovernmental organizations. I can assure you, for example, that a clear condemnation by the Commonwealth Club of an act of ours in the field of foreign affairs would be taken as a very serious matter in the Department of State.

Thus far, the members of the United Nations have established a good record of compliance with the Charter. Unfortunately, the record is not good enough to give us confidence that we shall have peace. A powerful minority, the Soviet Union and a small collection of satellites, has refused to accept the minimum standards required by the Charter. I had occasion to say in Boston last week, "If we are concerned about the Soviet Union, it is not because they wish to organize themselves along Communist lines—if they wish to waste their energies and resources that is their business. But we are concerned because the Soviet Union is pursuing a course of Russian imperialism incompatible with the minimum conduct required by the international community of nations."

Settling of Disputes

To turn to a second point, the United Nations is successfully settling disputes—disputes which have in them the seeds of war. Members have committed themselves to settle their disputes by peaceful means. The Security Council and the General Assembly are available to help if help is required. In the field of settling disputes, the United Nations has operated with great success, with flexibility, imagination, and persistence which have not yet been fully recognized.

In the cases involving Iran, Syria and Lebanon, and Berlin, it was possible to reach something like a definitive settlement. In these three cases, it is interesting to note, one or more of the Big Five were involved. Other cases, such as Greece, Palestine, Kashmir, Indonesia, and Korea are still in the process of settlement.

GREECE

In Greece, the outlook for Greek independence is better than at any time since the war. Guerrillas in Greece itself have been reduced to an insignificant number. Incursions of guerrillas out of Albania have been driven back by vigorous action on the part of the Greek Army. Just this week, guerrilla forces announced that they have given up the fight. The border between Greece and Yugoslavia is rapidly being restored to normal conditions. If the Greek case can be successfully disposed of, many factors will have contributed. The reviving determination and morale of the Greeks themselves, the watchdog activities of the United Nations Balkan commissions, the spotlight of world public opinion focused on the situation by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the program of direct assistance to Greece by the United States, and the inability of the Kremlin to maintain its authority along the northern Greek frontier are all factors. An effort is now being made by the General Assembly to bring a final conclusion to this case. If Greece's northern neighbors are ready to put their borders with Greece on a normal basis and to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of Greece, a settlement is possible. A settlement is not possible at the expense of Greek freedom, under any formula which merely permits those forces who have failed to destroy Greece to reenter in another guise to take up their aggression all over again. If a settlement comes, as I believe it will, the Greek case will have provided another instance of effective United Nations action in the interest of peace and the independence of its members.

PALESTINE

In Palestine, the United Nations has been confronted with a problem of almost inconceivabl complexity and difficulty. The emotions of th peoples concerned were deeply engaged. The de mands of the parties were mutually exclusive, wit little chance for compromise. The historica moral, and legal issues were confused and inco clusive. The full story will be told when the hi torian can have a cool and steady look at the recor But I believe that the story will show that tl United Nations throughout its effort sought wit great persistence to find a solution by peacef means of a sort which would permit Jew and Ar to live at peace with each other in the Holy Lan War broke out, and it was ended. Palestine now living under an armistice; there is no reas to suppose that fighting will be resumed. It m be a long time before governments can bring the peoples to accept a formal settlement but little l little the processes of normal life will retur Meanwhile, the United Nations remains a chann of communication and an effective means wherel the parties can approach each other and at the sa time present their views to world judgment. T immediate tasks are to find a practical way to ta care of the hundreds of thousands of homele and to resolve the peculiar complexities of the Ho City of Jerusalem. There are no easy answe but we can expect the United Nations to ass the parties in solving the hard ones; in any eve I believe the final answer will mean peace—a will commend itself to fair and impartial opini There are many Arabs and Jews alive today b cause of the United Nations and because of t unarmed, unknown, and unsung men who labor patiently and courageously to make peace possib in Palestine.

KASHMIR

In Kashmir, the United Nations was confront by a problem arising from the partition of Ind into the independent states of India and Pakist a part of the unfinished business of that great p litical event. The basic issue is the dispositi of Kashmir. The main question, however, is int woven with a complex of religious feeling, n tional prestige, legal subtleties, and economic pr sures. The matter has been before the United N tions for almost 2 years. Underlying the need i a settlement is the tragic prospect of a renewal Moslem-Hindu strife which took the lives of hu dreds of thousands in 1947 at the time of the par tion. Although an effective cease-fire is now effect, the shape of a political settlement is still come. The United Nations Commission has n been able to bring about an agreement by med tion, although both sides have accepted the imp tant idea that the people of Kashmir by a plebisc should have the right to determine their own p litical future. But the details of procedure ha not been agreed upon; Pakistan has accepted an tration of truce issues as a means of moving

dispute toward a settlement; India has, however, efused. In just what way the United Nations will ontinue its effort to find a way out, it is not posible to say. That it must and will continue to ry, goes without saying. The art of peacemaking s the laborious art of picking up the pieces and tarting all over again, despite set-back and disouragement. We can hope that the high fevers ave been talked out of the Kashmir dispute by lmost endless United Nations debate, and I believe hat a solution will be found which will not include var between India and Pakistan.

NDONESIA

In Indonesia, we were confronted by a situation which threatened the peace of southeast Asia, which could have stirred deep racial antipathies etween East and West and which pitted the exlosive force of rising nationalism against prewar olonial systems. The question raised in the Secuity Council some exceedingly troublesome quesions of Charter interpretation, questions which ad to be set aside in order to get at the settlement which was required to maintain the peace. Alhough the story of the Indonesian case is long nd complicated, there is a fair prospect for a atisfactory ending. At a round-table conference ow in session at The Hague, we hope that there hall be evolved a fundamental agreement which vill satisfy the nationalist aspirations of the ndonesians and retain a cooperative arrangement etween Dutch and Indonesians without which a oung United States of Indonesia would have very ough sailing. For the new Indonesian Governnent will have to organize the political and ecoomic life of the country and its moderate leaders nust be prepared to demonstrate at once their bility to withstand the assaults of extremists of nany varieties including Communists. To accomlish this tremendous task, the new government vill need the sympathetic encouragement and asistance of the Netherlands. There is good reason o believe that moderate Dutch and moderate Inonesian leadership can work out an agreement of istoric importance—if it can be done soon.

OREA

In Korea, unfortunately, the prospect for a nified, independent Korea is not encouraging. he case went to the General Assembly because the Jnited States concluded that Korean unity and ndependence, promised to them by the Allies durng the war, should not be frustrated indefinitely y the failure of ourselves and the Soviet Union o agree. The General Assembly established proedures under which the country would be united nd a constitution and government erected which would represent the freely expressed wishes of the Koreans themselves. The Soviet Union boycotted the United Nations Korean Commission and refused to admit it into north Korea. Korea is now split, with the southern and larger portion under a government established by the procedure provided by the United Nations and with the northern portion cut off from the non-Communist world by its Communist rulers. The Government of the Republic of Korea, that is the government in southern Korea, is acknowledged as the only legitimate government in Korea by the great majority of the governments of the world. The eventual outcome of this unfortunate situation cannot be predicted, but it is the most direct example we now have of the inability of the United Nations to bring about a settlement, where the Soviet Union is in position to enforce a "veto" on the ground.

These are not the only disputes which have come before the United Nations but these suffice to set the pattern and to permit a judgment. On the positive side, we can report that the United Nations has come upon fighting and has brought it to an end. The restraining hand of the world community is maintaining peace, even though a troubled peace, in places where the alternative would be war. The United Nations has encountered the most powerful emotions of the human race and has brought them under a degree of control. It has applied the poultice of endless negotiation and debate where time and discussion seemed able to reduce the heat of controversy. It has shown great flexibility in the instruments selected for particular disputes — committees and commissions, mediators and conciliators, Security Council and General Assembly, negotiation by formal or informal means, through public or private talks—changing from one to the other where a change of pace or of forum seemed desirable. The United Nations has been able to put aside national prestige where prestige might have prevented a settlement, for no nation has been able to assert a right to make war contrary to the Charter or turn aside from the processes of peaceful settlement because of considerations of national prestige. In no case which has thus far come to the United Nations has the fighting spread beyond the limits of the specific dispute—despite the presence of important great-power interests in the areas affected. Men have been developed in the work of the United Nations, both at Lake Success and in the field, who have become expert in the settlement of disputes—a reservoir of skill and good sense on which we can draw as other disputes arise to plague the peace of the world.

Mobilizing Public Opinion

Finally, the United Nations has mobilized world public opinion behind the Charter and in the interest of peace. When the history of this period is

written, I believe it will show that organized public opinion has been much more powerful than we are now inclined to believe. If there is a struggle for power, in the first instance it is a struggle for power over men's minds. If conduct contrary to the Charter can be quickly confronted by the firm and unmistakable opposition of the rest of the world, the cost of such a policy becomes very great.

Fields in Which Agreement Has Not Been Reached

If the United Nations has done a great deal to maintain the peace, and I believe the record will show conclusively that it has, the anxieties of our current scene suggest that there must be a number of things which the United Nations has not been able to do.

LACK OF SOVIET COOPERATION

Specifically, the United Nations has not been able to obtain compliance by the Soviet Union with its obligations under the Charter nor the cooperation of the Soviet Union in carrying out the purposes and principles upon which the organization was founded. To the extent that the loyal participation of the Soviet Union is not required, the United Nations, by and large, is getting on with its job. To the extent that the help and assistance of the Soviet Union is essential, the United Nations is frustrated, faltering and disappointing. It is a serious charge, but it is based on sober fact.

VETO

The impact of Soviet policy is felt not merely in its abuse of the veto in the Security Council—an abuse which is threatening to sap the prestige of that vital body. The more important veto is on the ground, in places like Greece and Korea, where settlement has been frustrated by a refusal to use the elementary processes of peace. Commissions established by the Security Council and by the General Assembly have been boycotted. Of the eleven specialized agencies, organized to carry out essential technical and economic work for the United Nations, the Soviet Union belongs only to two—the International Telecommunication Union and the Universal Postal Union, both of which predated the United Nations. Where the United Nations has sought to carry out a major humanitarian effort as in the International Refugee Organization, the program for Palestine Refugee Relief, or the International Children's Emergency Fund, the contribution from Moscow has been zero.

ATOMIC ENERGY

In another field, the problem is even more acute. The production of an atomic explosion by the Soviet Union underlines in red the fact that we have made no appreciable progress toward an effective system of international control of atomic energy. From the moment of the first public knowledge of the existence of an atomic bomb, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada have sought to bring about a system of effective international control in order that mankind would not be confronted by the spectre of an atomic armaments race. Other nations joined in the same effort in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and, eventually in the General Assembly itself. The majority plan which resulted from this serious and devoted effort is, we think, the framework for an effective international control, the only one which has thus far been developed. We have repeatedly declared that we are prepared to study closely any proposals from any source which offer equally effective or more effective control than is provided by the majority plan. This is a matter on which we dare not deceive ourselves. If the Soviet political system is such that it cannot stand the strain of the knowledge and controls implicit in an effective plan of control, it is cold comfort to think that we understand why we have competitive atomic weapons. Without effective international control, we are back to our fundamental, we must prevent war.

Performance From Soviets Needed

These are among the reasons why we have stated that the main issue of our day is peace—and that on this issue the Soviet Union confronts not the United States alone but the rest of the world. The rest of us have very little to ask of the Soviet Union—no new sacrifice, no expenditure of resources or lives or prestige. We want it to settle its international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of its force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other states. Nothing more. These are already the solemn pledge of the Soviet State—we need performance. If this promise, made at the close of an awful war, is now treated with contempt, how much shall we pay for more promises—or how content can we be with our security?

Under the circumstances, would it be better for us all if the Soviet Union should leave the United Nations? The question arises in moments of exasperation and irritation and occasionally flits like a ghost along the corridors of Lake Success. As we see it, the answer is simple—we should deeply regret the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the United Nations. What we really want them to do is not to withdraw but to join. It is important that Premier Stalin is pledged to the Charter along with the other leading statesmen of the world and that their integrity is involved in compliance with its obligations. It is important that Soviet delegations join

vith the rest of us to answer for our national con-
luct before the Security Council, the General As-
embly and the other organs of the United Na-
ions. We believe that the basic self-interests of
f the governments and peoples of the world lie in
he conduct required by the Charter. We do not
lespair, therefore, that this basic self-interest can
ventually assert itself and compel the Soviet
Jnion to work with the rest of us on a basis com-
atible with peace. If there is possibility for
greement on specific matters, the machinery of
he United Nations makes it easy to ascertain
vhere such possibility lies and to work out an ac-
ommodation without painful costs in pride or
restige. In any event, if the Soviet Union is an
ctive participant in the annual debates of the
General Assembly, there will be less opportunity
or it to make a tragic miscalculation about the at-
itudes of others and less temptation to hazard ad-
enture through a misunderstanding of what the
est of the world would abide.

s the U.N. Assuring American Security?

It has taken a considerable time to come back to
ıy subject. Is the United Nations paying its way
ı terms of American security? I am convinced
ıat it is. We are confronted by the major hur-
le of Soviet policy. Let us assume that we shall
ventually get over that hurdle, that even though
e pass through a period of discomfort and ten-
ion, we manage somehow to work out a tolerable
asis on which the Soviets can live in the world
vith all the rest of us. If we can be even thus
ıodestly optimistic about the future, then we have
very possible reason for supporting the work of
ıe United Nations in the security field. Its ulti-
ıate purposes are our own; its standards are those
e would set for ourselves. It provides ma-
hinery for as much effort as we and other mem-
ers are willing to make at any one time toward
ıe accomplishment of our common aims. The
ormal machinery is being powerfully reinforced
y strong personal friendships among the leaders
f the world, regularly renewed at the table of the
Jnited Nations. Disputes are being settled, fight-
ıg is being stopped, troubles are being localized.
he weight of the world organization is being
ıccessfully thrown behind the concept of law and
eaceful settlement. Since I believe we mean to
omply with our own obligations, I believe we
ıall have nothing to fear from the judgments of
ıe United Nations. And since I believe that
ıere is no prospect of peace for ourselves unless
ıere be a general system for maintaining peace
ıroughout the world, we shall gain much from the
ıccess of the United Nations.

But you may prefer to take a more gloomy view and may wish to assume that we shall not see a change in Soviet policy for a long time to come. If that is your view, you are compelled to give the United Nations even more of your support. For if we are to prevent a major war, it must be through the clearly demonstrated determination of the world community to resist aggression with all the means at its disposal. This essential solidarity in defense of the Charter is not a matter of passing a resolution or signing a treaty. It will come gradually, through countless acts of cooperation among men of good will and common sentiment. If danger comes, it will be most effectively met not on the basis of reluctant decisions made under the shadow of tragic events but on the basis of a common cause and an inescapable decision made in the long process of building a peace.

Our anxieties shall be with us for some time to come. We shall solve some of our problems and shall undoubtedly accumulate others. The Secretary of State recently told the General Assembly that those we cannot solve, we must endure. But I am convinced that we are developing an instrument in the United Nations which can remove the technical impediments to the maintenance of peace and a forum in which the issue of peace will not turn on tragic accident. More we cannot expect from the United Nations. There is no formula by which we can surely know whether man is wise enough to survive. But we shall try, with faith and hope and persistence, and we shall find that we are of a goodly company of men from all parts of the earth.

Conciliation Committee Suspends Activities

Letter From the President of the General Assembly to the Chairman of Committee I

U.N. doc. A/C. 1/503
Dated Oct. 18, 1949

The Conciliation Committee created by the First Committee at its 276th meeting on 29 September 1949 to reach a pacific settlement of existing differences between Greece on one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other, after holding twenty-nine meetings has authorized me to report with regret that in spite of its best efforts it was unable to develop a basis of conciliation on which an agreement could be reached between the Governments of Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece.

However, the Committee believes that the discussions served a useful purpose in clarifying and in some cases narrowing the points of difference

between the Governments concerned and can serve as a starting point in case conditions in the future should warrant the resumption of the Committee's work. I need hardly add that the Committee would be happy to resume its efforts at any time during the present session whenever the parties concerned consider this to be desirable.

In the meantime, the Conciliation Committee has no alternative but to suspend its activities in order that the First Committee may resume its discussion of the question of the threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece. That discussion was postponed pending the work of the Conciliation Committee. The reason for that postponement now unfortunately no longer exists.

I regret that I have to make a report of this negative character. I am confident that the members of the First Committee will accept my assurance that the Conciliation Committee did everything in its power to facilitate agreement between the parties concerned. Whether by this means or by direct negotiations between the interested Governments, it is essential to reach such an agreement if conditions of security and stability are to be restored in the areas concerned.

Greek Guerrillas Cease Activities

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press October 17*]

As a result of the Greek Army offensives in October in the Grammos-Vitsi areas, Greek Government forces now for the first time since the war command the northern borders of Greece. Guerrilla forces operating within Greece amount to approximately two thousand, scattered in small groups over the entire country. In most cases, these groups are mainly concerned with self-protection and raiding for food and are continually being pursued and harassed. There has been a noticeable trend of the leaders and some of the members of these groups to work their way toward Albania.

Most of the guerrillas who fled from Greece as the result of the Grammos-Vitsi campaigns entered Albania. There are approximately eight thousand five hundred guerrillas located in Albania. There is estimated to be about three thousand guerrillas in Bulgaria. Some of these guerrillas in Bulgaria entered the country as the result of recent operations in northeastern Greece, but the majority of them have been in Bulgaria over a period of time as a part of guerrilla operations and hospitalization which has taken place in Bulgaria. There is no objective information available to the Department giving evidence that the guerrillas in either Albania or Bulgaria have been disarmed or interned.

According to the United Nations Special Committee, the Yugoslav Government has closed the Greek borders, precluding the entry of fleeing guerrillas, and has not recently lent support to these forces. In general, the closed border appears to have been effective, except in a few cases in which some guerrilla forces have entered Yugoslavia where the terrain is very rugged and sparsely manned by the Yugoslavs. It is now believed that there is a large number of guerrillas now remaining in Yugoslavia.

Unconfirmed reports have indicated that guerrillas located in Albania are being moved by sea or air from Albania to Bulgaria, Rumania, and possibly other satellite countries. The Department is in possession of no information indicating the purpose of this reported redisposition.

The "cease fire" guerrilla announcement is, in any case, a practical recognition of the state of affairs existing at this time. The stated purpose of the announcement, in order to "save Greece from destruction," must be viewed with some scepticism in as much as during guerrilla operations in force in Greece, they engaged to the fullest extent possible in the destruction of the Greek economy and resorted to every crime against humanity, including murder, arson, kidnapping, wholesale slaughter, abrogation of all liberties, and terrorizing whole areas. Now that these guerrillas who are located in Greece are forced to devote their activities to self-preservation and the majority of the guerrilla force because they are located outside of Greece, can no longer indulge in bringing about ruin and disaster, it is natural that they would attempt to make political salvage by attributing their defeat to the tardily announced desire "to save Greece from destruction."

Repatriation of Greek Children

Secretary-General Trygve Lie announced that the international Red Cross organizations submitted a complete report on their negotiations with the authorities in various countries concerning the repatriation of Greek children with a view to promoting the early return to their homes.[1]

In his note he stated that in the course of 194, he had been "in communication with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies as well as the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia."

[1] U.N. doc. A/1014.

Debate on Violation of Human Rights in Eastern Europe Continued

Statement by Benjamin V. Cohen,
U. S. Alternate Representative to the General Assembly[1]

I am sorry that the Soviet Union representative has suggested that we have abused and done violence to the treaty procedures in attempting to invoke them to deal with the complaint we have made. I should have thought that Sir Hartley Shawcross had so adequately disposed of that point this morning that it would be unnecessary for me to say more. But I fear, from listening to Mr. Vyshinsky's speech, that he did not hear or understand what Sir Hartley has said.

Mr. Vyshinsky constantly refers to the first clause of the final clauses in the satellite treaties—that is article 37 in the Rumanian treaty. That provides, for the first 18 months after the coming into effect of the treaty, that the heads of the three diplomatic missions—the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States—acting in concert, will represent the Allied and associated Powers in dealing with the ex-enemy governments in all matters concerning the execution and interpretation of the present treaty.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Vyshinsky ignores, as far as he possibly can do, the second clause of the final clauses of these treaties, which is the clause that we are relying upon. It is article 38 of the Rumanian treaty. I will read it, because I do not know how it could be worded more plainly or more clearly. It says:

> Except where another procedure is specifically provided under any Article of the present Treaty, any dispute—I repeat—any dispute concerning the interpretation or execution of the Treaty, which is not settled by direct diplomatic negotiations, shall be referred to the Three Heads of Mission acting under Article 37, except that in this case the Heads of Mission will not be restricted by the time limit provided in that Article.

Now I would like to ask whether that clause that I have read to you can have any meaning if there can be no dispute that is not commonly presented by the three powers, because what purpose would there be in providing that the dispute should be referred to the three heads of mission, if the three principal powers had to agree in advance that there was a dispute.

But that is not all. Read on in this clause and it says: "Any such dispute not resolved by them . . ." If they had agreed in advance to present the dispute, there could be no possibility, it seems to me, that the dispute would not be resolved by them. But this clause reads, as I have said:

> . . . Any such dispute not resolved by them within a period of two months shall, unless the parties to the dispute mutually agree upon another means of settlement, be referred at the request of either party to the dispute to a Commission composed of one representative of each party and a third member selected by mutual agreement of the two parties from nationals of a third country. . . .

I submit that no one can read that article without clearly understanding that it covers any dispute between any signatory of the treaty and the ex-enemy states, party to the treaty.

Insofar as Mr. Vyshinsky raises a point that a dispute as to whether there is a dispute is not a dispute, I submit that that is a philosophy and an argument that does not belong in the realm of affairs of practical men.

I am sorry Mr. Vyshinsky is not here while I am speaking because I would like to recall to him what he and I so well remember, that the treaty procedures were devised by the Council of Foreign Ministers and by the Paris peace conference to provide means of breaking a deadlock when disputes arose. The Soviet delegation, at the Council of Foreign Ministers and at the peace conference, had desired to leave the settlement of disputes to the heads of missions, that is to the great powers. That is just as Mr. Vyshinsky would like to have it believed the treaties read.

But we never consented to having the treaties read in this way, and the provisions for the setting-up of a disputes commission with an independent third member, capable of making a decision when

[1] Made in the *ad hoc* Political Committee on Oct. 12, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the United Nations on the same date. For Mr. Cohen's statement of October 4, see BULLETIN of Oct. 24, 1949, p. 617.

the head of a mission or the parties to the dispute could not agree, was finally accepted and written into the peace treaties.

The protracted discussions which took place before the Soviet delegation accepted the clauses in the treaties makes it extremely difficult for Mr. Vyshinsky now to urge that the Soviet delegation was not completely aware of their purpose and meaning. The speakers opposing our proposal have argued that in their judgment the charges of treaty violations that the United States and other parties to the treaties have made against Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, are without foundation. They have further argued that the treaty procedures do not cover charges of the character we have made. Their arguments do not and cannot alter the fact that we have made these charges, and we have asserted that in our judgment the treaty procedures are applicable to them.

As we are all committed to the peaceful adjustment of disputes it would seem obviously correct and proper for the Assembly to seek the legal service of the International Court of Justice as to whether the treaty procedures do apply to such disputes as are involved in the charges we have presented. We ourselves have no doubt that the treaty procedures do apply, but we have indicated our willingness to be bound by the advisory opinion of the court.

If the representative of the Soviet Union, and other representatives, who share his views are so certain of their position it is indeed difficult to understand why they should oppose, rather than welcome, an impartial and definite decision.

The Soviet representative has particularly objected to question IV which we propose to submit to the Court. He says an affirmative answer to this question would be clearly contrary to the treaties. If he so believes, and I am afraid that this argument applies also to the representative of France, why are they unwilling to have an opinion from the Court on this subject? Mr. Vyshinsky says the question indicates an intent to bring about arbitration with one of the parties excluded, but the representative of the Soviet Union overlooked in his argument an important part of the question to be put to the Court.

The question is expressly predicated on the failure of one party to appoint a representative to the Disputes Commission. There is no suggestion that a party to the dispute should be denied the right to be represented on the Disputes Commission. The question is whether the Commission can proceed if one of the states party to the dispute refuses to appoint its representative? Can it be that a party to a treaty can frustrate its execution by his own default? That, I submit, is a proper question for us to put to the Court.

The claims put forward by the Soviet Union regarding these treaties, however, raise other and even more serious issues. It is a grave cause fo concern to us, and we think to the Assembly, tha at the same time that the Soviet U on is unwillin to employ existing treaty procedures, it shoul be suggesting further treaties, and further so called peace pacts. It is not my purpose to antici pate, in this Committee, a debate on the Sovie proposals for a peace pact among the great power but it is pertinent here to inquire what purpos any treaty can serve if it is to remain the sovereig right of any party to refuse to recognize th treaty at its own judgment and discretion.

We believe that treaties when made should b carried out. We believe in treaties as instrument of law. We do not believe in treaties as instru ments of propaganda. We are opposed to th facade theory of treaties under which states rer der lip service to important principles and ther instead of accepting safeguards for their observ ance, find easy means of escape and evasion.

Under the Charter, the peoples of the Unite Nations express their determination to establis conditions under which justice and respect for th obligations arising from treaties and othe sources of international law can be maintaine We stand by the Charter and the law of the Cha ter which we have all undertaken to protect an defend.

The serious charges, which we have brought u der the peace treaties and are prepared to esta lish under the impartial procedures provided those treaties, cannot be disposed of, in our vie by mere assertion that Bulgaria, Hungary, an Rumania are only doing what is being done other states.

We have already indicated that we do not cha lenge the right of any country to punish genui attempts to overthrow the government by forc or to see that proper judicial procedures and saf guards are observed. Of course, other states pro ecute treason and similar acts done with intent overthrow the lawfully established government force. Their task, it is true, in protecting the democratic institutions has been enormously co plicated by the efforts of the Soviet Union to u the world Communist movement as an instrume to promote and carry out in other countries stealth, intimidation, and force, whatever polici are laid down by the Soviet Union.

The use by the Soviet Union of the world Co munist movement as an instrument of Soviet fo eign policy has complicated the problem not on of non-Communist countries but even of Co munist countries which do not completely subo dinate their own policy and their own interests those of the Soviet Union.

But we are not now dealing with the situati in the Soviet Union, or in the United States, or the United Kingdom, or in Yugoslavia, or Greece. We are dealing with the situation in B garia, Hungary, and Rumania. To these cou tries we have assumed by reason of our wartir pledge special responsibilities to their peop

f we only could, in fulfillment of our joint re-
onsibilities to these people, agree upon minimum
mmon standards of human rights, we might
deed have a foundation on which we could build
during peace throughout the rest of the world.

We regret the unwarranted accusations which
e Soviet representative has made concerning the
otives of the United States in raising this ques-
on of violation of human rights and fundamental
eedoms in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania.
ur concern has been, and will continue to be, to
what is possible to see that pledges which have
en given—that the peoples of these countries
ould have governments of their own free choice
d should enjoy human rights—are not violated
ignored. In supporting freedom of elections,
eedom of press and publication, and freedom of
ligious worship, the United States is not at-
mpting to impose any particular political group
any particular institutions on the peoples of
lgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, as the Soviet
presentative has alleged. On the contrary, it is
e Soviet Union working through a minority rul-
g group which has imposed its own imperialist
ns on these peoples. In these circumstances it
behooves the Soviet Government to characterize
e invocation of the peace treaties by other signa-
ry states as intervention in the domestic affairs
Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, or to con-
se the basic issues of human rights by labeling as
itors, Fascists, reactionaries, saboteurs, and
mmon criminals all persons who do not accept
e fiat of the Communist high command. It was
tainly never thought at the time the treaties
re drafted that the provisions concerning the
solution of Fascist organizations meant that
eryone friendly to the United States was to be
garded as a Fascist.

Our complaint is not of the miscarriage of jus-
e in isolated cases. Our complaint is against
pattern of conduct disclosing a clear design to
press not only expressions of independent opin-
n but all sources of independent opinion. The
ses of Petkov, Maniu, Cardinal Mindszenty,
d the Protestant pastors are only the high points
a long series of incidents and events evidencing
intent upon the part of these governments to
ny to their peoples their elementary human
hts. These incidents and events disclose, in
r view, an intent on the part of these govern-
nts under the guise of suppressing treason and
version to usurp by force and intimidation
thority in the name but contrary to the wishes
their peoples.

As I have said, governments to have a moral base
st rest in some way on the free and continuing
sent of the governed. Some of the representa-
es here, particularly the representative of Po-
d, have shown great interest in conditions in the United States. I freely admit that in the field of human rights no nation is completely without sin or shortcomings. But in the United States we are not turning back the clock of human freedom, we are making substantial progress.

I need only refer to the opinions of our Supreme Court which have given in recent years increased vitality to our Bill of Rights. It would not be appropriate for me to comment upon the New York Communist trials which are now *sub judice*, but I believe it would be proper for me to observe that all parties to the trials recognize that the proceedings are to be governed by the high standards set in the recent opinions of the United States Supreme Court.

The comments, fair and unfair, which some of the representatives have made on conditions in the United States are taken largely from the American press and from American publications. The writers quoted have not been gaoled or liquidated for writing what they think. Nor is peaceful political opposition stifled or intimidated in the United States. Mr. Dewey and Mr. Wallace are free to continue their attacks on the Administration's policies as their consciences dictate. Any thought of suppressing or liquidating them would be regarded not only as reprehensible but ridiculous by the Administration's supporters as well as their critics.

We resolve our differences and choose our political leaders in free electoral contests. But what is of even greater importance, the struggle to advance and safeguard the human rights of our people is led not by underground leaders in fear of their lives but by people active in the economic and political life of our country, many of our business leaders and—last but not least—the President of the United States himself. It was indeed President Truman who established a nonpartisan Civil Rights Commission to consider ways and means of safeguarding more adequately the civil rights of all our people, without regard to race or religion. Many people active in public life—including the President—are urging the acceptance of the Commission's recommendations. There may be, and there are, serious differences among us regarding these and other policies, but the freedom of the people to discuss them is unimpaired. With us, government does rest on the free and continuing consent of the governed.

Our people need no iron discipline. If we want a peaceful world where men and nations devoted to different ways of life can live in freedom, let us strive for common understanding as a rudimentary human right that every individual should enjoy, no matter what system of government he may live under. Let us give effect to the determination expressed in the Charter by the peoples of the United Nations to reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the individual. To that end let us respect our treaty and our Charter obligations.

The United States in the United Nations

[October 22–28]

Cornerstone Laid for New United Nations Headquarters

On October 24, the fourth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, Secretary-General Trygve Lie laid the cornerstone of the new permanent headquarters of the United Nations. Ten thousand people took part in the celebration for which a special plenary meeting of the General Assembly was convened on the Manhattan headquarters site. President Truman, who gave the major address, declared that the Charter embodies the hopes and ideals of men everywhere.

General Assembly Plenary Action

Elections.—On October 20, the General Assembly elected Yugoslavia, Ecuador, and India to the Security Council. After Yugoslavia defeated Soviet-sponsored Czechoslovakia, Soviet Representative Andrei Vyshinsky denounced the result as a violation of the Charter. In remarks, ruled out of order by Assembly President Romulo, Mr. Vyshinsky declared that the Assembly should be bound by a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" and hence should elect Czechoslovakia a candidate. He declared that Yugoslavia "was not, cannot, and will not" be considered as a representative of the Eastern European Countries.

After the Security Council elections, the Ukraine withdrew its candidacy from the Economic and Social Council in favor of Czechoslovakia. Mexico, Iran, the United States, Pakistan, Canada, and Czechoslovakia were chosen on the first ballot to fill the six Economic and Social Council positions. Argentina and Iraq were elected to 3-year terms on the Trusteeship Council and the Dominican Republic was elected to a vacancy on the Trusteeship Council.

Freedom of Information.—The General Assembly on October 20 and 21 approved resolutions dealing with freedom of information: One postponed further action on the draft convention on freedom of information to the fifth session of the General Assembly; the other was recommended that the Economic and Social Council ask the Human Rights Commission to include adequate freedom of information provisions in the draft covenant on human rights. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the United States delegate, expressed confidence that the Human Rights Commission could formulate the necessary freedom-of-information principles. She regretted the action of tl Social Committee in not opening for signature the current session the already completed new gathering convention.

Finance.—The General Assembly took favo able action on six reports from the Finance Con mittee, including the financial report of the Unit Nations for the year ended December 31, 194 financial report of the International Childrer Emergency Fund, organization of United Natio Postal Administration, and scale of assessments.

Korea.—On October 21, the General Assemb approved the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee's repo and resolution on Korea. This resolution, oppos by the Slav states (including Yugoslavia) co tinues the United Nations Commission on Kor and directs it to observe and report any develo ments which might lead to or otherwise invol military conflict in Korea. A Soviet proposal abolish the Commission was defeated. Unit States Alternate Representative Charles Fal speaking before the plenary on behalf of the re lution, said that the resolution was "an expressi of the purpose of the General Assembly to prom the independence of a long-suffering and valia people whom we should aid to achieve what many of us enjoy—freedom and independence."

Human Rights.—The General Assembly October 22, with only the Soviet bloc in oppositi decided to refer to the International Court of J tice legal questions relating to settlement by pe treaty procedures of differences arising from man rights violations in Bulgaria, Hungary, a Rumania. United States Representative Ben min V. Cohen spoke on behalf of the *Ad H* Political Committee's recommendation. His c cluding remarks were: "Freedom can be shared all men and all nations. Freedom can unite u tyranny inevitably will divide us. Whatever m est progress we can make in dealing with the qu tion before us will be a progress toward the ba goal of the United Nations—peace with just and freedom for all."

Committee Action

Political Committee—Greece.—On October the Committee heard a report from General Ass bly President Romulo who stated that the Gr Conciliation Committee had met 29 times with being able to develop a basis of conciliation am the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Gre During the following week, there was lengthy cussion on a resolution put forward by the Un of Soviet Socialist Republics demanding that

reek Government repeal the "sentences of eight roic fighters against the Hitlerite invaders," iginally condemned to death by an Athens mili- ry court. In the course of the discussion, United ates Representative Benjamin V. Cohen said, Ve are all concerned about military executions in e world today." Mr. Cohen pointed out, how- er, that the United Nations was not in a posi- on to deal with individual cases at this time, and urged that the Committee concentrate on mat- rs which give rise to conditions of instability— this case, the threats to the security of Greece.

Sub-Committee 17.—The subcommittee ap- oved on October 20 a draft resolution that Libya established as a single, independent, and sover- gn state and that independence be effective as on as possible and in any case not later than nuary 1, 1952. The resolution provided for a nstitution to be determined by consultation of presentatives of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica, ripolitania, and Fezzan, and for a United Nations mmissioner appointed by the General Assembly d a Council to aid and assist him, the latter to nsist of one representative each of Egypt, ance, Italy, Pakistan, United Kingdom, and the ited States, one representative of the peoples of ch of the three regions, and one representative the minorities.

The subcommittee also approved recommenda- ns that Italian Somaliland should become an dependent sovereign state 10 years from the ective date of an Italian trusteeship agreement nless the General Assembly decided otherwise at end of that period). The trusteeship agree- nt would be negotiated by Italy with the Trus- ship Council for submission to the Assembly, possible, during the present session and in any se not later than the fifth regular session.

After exhaustive debate on the question of itrea, agreement was finally reached October in the subcommittee to postpone the matter to ow study and investigation by a United Nations mmission to report to the Interim Committee by ril 15, 1950, which in turn would make its commendations to the fifth session of the Gen- l Assembly.

Ad Hoc Political Committee—Field Service.— e Committee opened consideration of the report the Special Committee on United Nations Field rvice and the two draft resolutions recommend- the establishment of a 300-man field service d a panel of field observers. John Serman oper presented United States views as favoring th the field service and panel.

Economic Committee.—The Committee adopted October 22 a revised Cuban resolution on the nomic development of underdeveloped coun- es and opened general debate on the full em- yment item. Australia presented a resolution ich stressed the importance of coordinated ac- n to maintain full and productive employment specially in countries which are responsible for an important share of world trade," and recom- mended that all governments "consider as a mat- ter of urgency" their Charter responsibility to take action, as the need arises, designed to promote full and productive employment. United States Alternate Representative, Wilson D. Compton, de- scribed the United States economic situation and supported the Australian resolution. A Czecho- slovak speech alleged deterioration in the United States economic situation.

Social Committee.—The Social Committee unanimously approved a resolution establishing advisory social welfare services on a continuing basis and providing for their inclusion in the United Nations budget. The committee also took note of the Chapter dealing with the social, hu- manitarian, and cultural questions of the Economic and Social Council's report.

Trusteeship Committee.—The Committee dis- cussed in detail administrative unions which per- mit the consolidation of certain functions affecting more than one trusteeship territory under a single administrative body. The debate centered on the question of whether such unions infringed upon the political rights of the inhabitants of trust terri- tories. In general, administering powers defended administrative unions while nonadministering powers were generally suspicious of such arrange- ments. In the course of the discussion, the United States Representative Charles Fahy remarked that all trust territories should retain their original identity and that the Trusteeship Council should be able to exercise its powers of supervision. However, he pointed out, each union represented a separate case and hence the committee should not pronounce generalized judgments.

Administrative and Budgetary Committee.— The Committee completed action on several items, including the first reading of the 1950 budget and the headquarter item. It adopted a resolution taking note of the Secretary-General's report which summed up the status of construction activities.

Legal Committee.—The Committee discussed at length the draft declaration on the rights and duties of states, which comprises part II of the report of the International Law Commission. The United States proposal took note of the document and commended it as a "noble and substantial con- tribution toward codification of international law." Milan Bartos of Yugoslavia declared his government would like to have a convention based on the declaration of the rights and duties of states. He declared that the founding of the United Nations offered "the greatest and most justified hopes of the people, that it would lead to prevention of new wars of aggression, of wars which are, as we all know, the result of the attempt of certain states to impose their will upon other nations or states by means of interference, threat or use of force, or to aggrandize their territories at the expense of other peoples."

Effective International Cooperation Through the Organization of American States

Statement by President Truman[1]

Columbus Day provides a fitting opportunity for me to meet in a friendly and informal way with my distinguished neighbors, the Ambassadors on the Council of the Organization of American States. This organization is an outstanding example of effective international cooperation. The United States Government supports it wholeheartedly. The success of the inter-American system should encourage the peoples of other parts of the world to persevere in their efforts to solve common problems by mutual trust and helpfulness.

We have demonstrated how much can be accomplished when nations temper their national aspirations with concern for the interests of all. This is evident in the work of the American Republics for economic and social development. With increasing emphasis, we are striving to make possible a better life not only for people today but for generations still unborn. Our desire for security, in fact, is not primarily in order that our lives may remain unchanged, but that we may progressively realize our vast possibilities.

It is this spirit which motivates the growing exchange of technical knowledge and skill that has been taking place among our countries. We look forward to even more vigorous technical cooperation through all available channels, including the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We intend increasingly to help one another in the efforts of each to help himself.

We look to the Organization of American States for support of programs to raise living standards and to foster balanced economic developmer throughout the hemisphere. And since materi improvement would be sterile without cultural an intellectual growth, we should make every effo to intensify cultural and intellectual cooperatio

The organization has a great responsibility fo strengthening the peace and security of the Ame icas and for inducing governments to respect the freely accepted international obligations. We i the inter-American system subscribe fully to tl principle of nonintervention in the internal external affairs of any American Republic. A the same time, we are definitely committed to tl proposition that our solidarity and high aims a fostered by the exercise of representative demo racy in the American states. I am confident th you will continue to provide inspiring leadersh toward the achievement of these aims.

As for this government, Secretary Achesc stated recently before the Pan American Socie in New York that the good-neighbor policy is f us a firmly established national policy.[2] I ful support the principles and objectives outlined l him on that occasion.

The United States is honored and happy to the host country of the Organization of Americ States. We want you to feel most welcome and e tirely at home among us as you continue your i valuable work in behalf of all the peoples of t American Republics.

Reply to the President by Ambassador Joseph Charles, Acting Chairman of the Council

Mr. President: The members of the Council the Organization of American States are deep appreciative of your cordial invitation, whi

[1] Made at a meeting of the Ambassadors to the Council of the Organization of American States on Oct. 12, 1949, and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

[2] Bulletin of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 462; see also Department of State publication 3647.

ves us the opportunity to pay our respects to u on this Continental anniversary.

October 12th is celebrated in all our countries, cause it marks the entry of the Western Hemi- here in the current of world history, where they e playing an increasingly important role. For e Organization of American States, it is a sym- l of one of the fundamental bases on which our er-American system rests, namely, the common ctors in our historical background and the sim- rity of our political and social institutions. It most appropriate, therefore, that we should ob- ve this day not only as representatives of our spective Governments, but in our collective pacity as the Council of the Organization.

For it is through the Organization of American ates, given its present form in 1948 as the latest p in the development of our inter-American stem, that the American Republics are express- their community of interest and their common otion to the same ideals of international order l morality. In the last century and a quarter re has been evolving on the American Continent a pattern of international relations founded on the premise that the security and the welfare of each of our countries depends upon the security and the welfare of all, and that what affects one member of the community inevitably has its repercussions in all the others.

Such a system can be achieved only slowly, as the result of a conscious effort on the part of the several Governments, supported by their people. The growth of our system of inter-American relations, Mr. President, is due in no small part to the interest and support of your Government. The wise and enthusiastic cooperation of your representatives, at inter-American conferences, on the Council of the Organization of American States, and in the several specialized organizations, has contributed in large measure to the progress that has been achieved in the realization of the political, economic, social, and cultural objectives of the Organization of American States.

I am confident, Mr. President, that I voice the sentiment of each and every member of the Council when I say that on this auspicious occasion we renew our pledge to strive for the further realization of the high purposes for which our Organization stands.

nclusions of the Inter-American Peace Committee ith Reference to the Situation in the Caribbean [1]

The Inter-American Peace Committee, convoked he initiative of the Representative of the United tes to consider the situation that certain lamen- le events have shown to exist in the political as of the Caribbean, has given that delicate blem due attention and has studied carefully various aspects of the situation with the valu- e collaboration of those Governments that were d enough to send observations and suggestions.

The Committee believes that its duty in this tter is limited to the solemn reaffirmation of cer- n standards and principles, that are basic for erican peace and solidarity, principles and ndards whose proper observance would, in the nion of the Committee, not only keep such a uation as the one under consideration from aris- , but avoid even the slightest symptom of turbed relations among the American States.

With the intention, then, of using to full ad- ntage this occasion for once more calling to the ention of the American conscience the lofty and indispensable postulates of our international relationships, the Committee believes it pertinent to formulate the following conclusions:

1. To reiterate the necessity that all the Member States of the American community continue to be guided in their international conduct by the principle of non-intervention, which is the basic principle of the Organization of American States and hence of Pan-Americanism, solemnly set forth in the "Additional Protocol Relative to Non-Intervention" signed at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Buenos Aires, 1936), and the latest and definitive expression of which is to be found in article 15 of the Bogotá Charter, in the following words:

> No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements.

2. To recall, in connection with the foregoing, that the desire to avoid intervention in the internal

[1] Transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United ions by the Mexican Ambassador on Sept. 15, 1949. See doc. S/1407, Oct. 13, 1949.

or external affairs of other States and, even more, the duty of each State to prevent its territory from being used for the preparation or initiation of aggression toward one or more States with which it is at peace, led the American States to sign the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States in the Event of Civil Strife, in 1928; and that, in line with these ideas, the Second Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers, in Resolution VII, recommended to the Governments of the American Republics some fundamental rules with respect to civil strife, applicable to the situation under study.

3. To express the fervent hope of the Committee that the aforementioned Convention on the Rights and Duties of States be ratified as promptly as possible by the American countries that have not yet done so; and also that it be clarified and perfected at some future inter-American meeting, if this should be considered necessary.

4. To consider the Resolution approved on December 24, 1948, by the Council of the Organization, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, with special emphasis on the paragraph in which the Council referred to the need (which might apply to any Government) of taking "adequate measures to rid its territory of groups of nationals or foreigners, organized on a military basis with the deliberate purpose of conspiring against the security of other sister republics, and of preparing to fight against their Governments."

5. To express, likewise, the desirability that the American nations make every effort, within the limits of their constitutional powers, to avoid any systematic and hostile propaganda, whatever its medium of expression, against other countries of the Continent or their respective Governments.

6. To consider the desirability of the maintenance, as far as possible and in consonance with Resolution XXXV of the Bogotá Conference, of continuity of close and cordial diplomatic relations among the American States, since, as the preamble of the said Resolution states, "the development of the activities and the full benefits of inter-American cooperation can be realized more effectively if continuous and friendly relations are maintained among the States."

7. To point out that a common denominator of American political life is the adherence, within the sovereignty of each State and in accordance with the characteristics of its own people, to the principles and the exercise of democracy, expressed formally in solemn American obligations (Declaration XXVII of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936; Recommendation LXXII of the Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, 1938; Resolution VII of the Second Meeting of Consultation, Habana, 1940; Charter of Bogotá, 1948; Resolution XXXII of the Bogotá Conference), outstanding among which is the statemen in paragraph (d) of article 5 of the Bogotá Cha ter, which reads as follows:

> The solidarity of the American States and the high ai which are sought through it require the political organi tion of those States on the basis of the effective exerc of representative democracy;

8. To make public its aspiration that the Chart of the Organization of American States, which, provided for in Resolution I and XL of the Bogo Conference, is the basic instrument of continent solidarity and is at present the means of det mining the organization of the system and component parts, receive definitive confirmati through ratification by all the Governments, that the juridical and political structure of t Continent will be as complete and permanent could be desired.

9. To repeat also its equally firm belief th at all times, and especially in the critical atm phere that characterizes the present internatio situation, American solidarity should be streng ened even more, if possible, so as to overcome portunity, through the unity of our peoples, a threat to world peace that might arise.

10. To state the Committee's belief that, to ca out the foregoing conclusion, it will be of gr help if each American Government dissemina among all its inhabitants the fullest possible formation as to the international obligations sumed by the American States, particularly matters of non-intervention and of rights duties of states in the event of civil strife.

11. To express its opinion that the effective plication, by the American Governments, of points to which the Bogotá Conference Resolut XXXII, on Preservation and Defense of Dem cracy in America, refers will result in establish democratic institutions still more strongly in hemisphere.

12. To offer once more the continuing willi ness of the Inter-American Peace Committee lend its services (within the limits of Resolut XIV of the Second Meeting of Consultation) the pacific and friendly settlement of any con or difference that at any moment might arise tween two or more American States.

13. To point out likewise, that, in addition the services that the Inter-American Peace C mittee is ever ready to offer, there are in the in American system, and concretely in the Organ tion, various means of recourse, the proper ap cation of which is a guarantee of a reason settlement of any conflict that might arise betw them: that is, the methods of pacific settlen that appear in the Pact of Bogotá and in o inter-American instruments, and also the Mee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, either in acc ance with article 40 of the Charter or as O of Consultation in accordance with the provis of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal sistance.

14. To state that the foregoing conclusions do not apply exclusively, in the opinion of the Committee, to the situation referred to in the preamble of these conclusions, but to all the American Republics without exception.

The Committee has agreed, finally, to express to the American Governments that were good enough to transmit to it their helpful views as to the situation it has been studying, the appreciation of this group for their valuable and indispensable collaboration.

LUIS QUINTANILLA, *Chairman*
Ambassador, Representative of Mexico
ENRIQUE V. COROMINAS
Ambassador, Representative of Argentina
GONZALO GUELL
Ambassador, Representative of Cuba
PAUL C. DANIELS
Ambassador, Representative of the United States
HILDEBRANDO ACCIOLY
Ambassador, Representative of Brazil
SANTIAGO ORTIZ
Secretary of the Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.
September 14, 1949

I.S. Delegations 'o International Conferences

lilitary Medicine and Pharmacy Congress

On October 17, the Department of State an- ounced that Maj. Gen. Raymond W. Bliss, Sur- on General, United States Army, has been named airman of the United States delegation to the welfth International Congress of Military Medi- ne and Pharmacy. Under the auspices of the exican Government, this meeting is scheduled be held at Mexico City, October 23–29, 1949. amed to serve as delegates were:

orge E. Armstrong, Brig. Gen., Deputy Surgeon General, United States Army
rry G. Armstrong, Maj. Gen. Deputy Surgeon General, United States Air Force
el Thompson Boone, Rear Admiral, General Inspector, Medical Department, United States Navy
llace H. Graham, Brig. Gen., (MC) USAF, Personal Physician to the President
ward J. Kendricks, Brig. Gen., Chief, Staffing and Education Directorate, Office of the Surgeon General, United States Air Force
fford A. Swanson, Rear Admiral, Surgeon General, United States Navy
Ralph C. Williams, M.D., Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service; Chief, Bureau of Medical Services, United States Public Health Service

The Congress will consider such topics as: (1) new medical and social problems encountered by the military services; (2) pathology and treatment of lesions caused by the atomic bomb; (3) war psychosis; and (4) care and evacuation of the sick and wounded.

The First Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy was sponsored by the Belgian Government in 1921 to bring together military medical services of participating states for the purpose of promoting the protection of human life in the armed forces. The Eleventh Congress of this series was held at Basel, Switzerland in June 1947.

ILO: Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees

On October 18, the Department of State announced that the following delegation will represent the United States at the first session of the International Labor Organization (ILO) Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers, scheduled to be held at Geneva, October 24–29:

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

Robert J. Myers, Special Mission to France, Economic Cooperation Administration, Paris, France
Edward B. Persons, chief, ILO Branch, Office of International Labor Affairs, United States Department of Labor

EMPLOYEES REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

Richard P. Doherty, director, Employer-Employee Relations Division, National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.
Frank L. Rowland, executive secretary, Life Office Management Association, New York, N.Y.

WORKERS REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

Paul R. Hutchings, president, Office Employees International Union, Washington, D.C.
Herman D. Kenin, member, International Executive Board, American Federation of Musicians, Portland, Oreg.

This session of the Advisory Committee will continue work started by the ILO prewar expert committees by preparing the way for the development of conventions regarding the rights of performers in the fields of radio, television, and mechanical reproduction of sound, and regarding rest periods in commercial establishments. The agenda for the first session includes also discussion of general working and living conditions of salaried and professional workers, the position of the salaried inventor, and manpower and training programs.

Problems in American Foreign Policy

by Secretary Acheson[1]

As I understand Al Smith's conception of the conduct of government—I am not speaking of that moral and spiritual compass from which he got his direction, but of the art of translating purpose into accomplishment—it was twofold.

First, any course of action must be deeply rooted in popular understanding and popular support—not merely in theory but in fact. And second, the administration for executing it must be made efficient by being simply designed so that responsibility and authority coincide and so that knowledge is mobilized and brought to the point of action. He then picked his men carefully and backed them to the limit.

These principles do not solve the problems of foreign affairs but they help tremendously those of use who work daily upon them.

What are those problems? Greatly oversimplified, but not untruly distorted, there are two sets of problems which react upon one another. And these are not peculiarly American problems. They exist, in more or less degree, in every country in what we call the free world.

One set of problems arises from the conduct in international affairs of the Soviet Union, as the aggressively imperialist power of our times, seeking to extend its dominion where its grasp and its reach coincide, and to cause confusion and disintegration where its grasp falls short.

The second is a set of problems which would exist if the Soviet Union did not.

Those are the problems, economic, social, political, which arise, as in Europe, from the disruptions of war and changed relationships with other parts of the world—as in Asia, from a great awakening of peoples to a new revulsion again the acceptance of poverty and hunger and to consciousness of national independence.

In the American Republics, in the Middle Ea in Africa, there is the same demand for and mov ment toward the development necessary for a be ter life. Movement means the affirmation of t worth of new ends, the creation of new ideals, ne challenges to Americans who, of all people, belie that life is not, and cannot be, static, and that mat rial advance is not achieved by embracing the d carded tyrannies of the barbaric past.

Now, you see at once that these two sets of prc lems are interrelated. The thrust of Soviet i perialism in Eastern Europe or Asia affects n only those areas, but also their relations with oth areas. And this in turn adds to the difficulty those other areas in solving their problems, whi are difficult enough, in all conscience, without e traneous impediments.

Similarly, the success or lack of success of pa of the free world in gaining a strength and stab ity affects the direction and vigor of Sov thrusts. So few problems are isolated. Most a part of a very complicated mosaic.

But this is not the end of the matter. Natic are usually symbolized in our minds as indiv uals—Uncle Sam, John Bull, Marianne, et cete But they are not individuals. They are many dividuals—millions of them. And in the f world, at least, they are held more or less loos together by many institutions, of which gove ment is only one—such as, churches, labor unio business and farm organizations, political part

Within the nation are many stresses a strains. What a nation should do, if it were c person with one will and one mind, is often v different from what it actually can do, and d

[1] An address delivered before the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation in New York, N.Y. on Oct. 20, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

o, when those in charge of its government resolve ıe multiplicity of thrusts into a single decision.

These, then, are in rough outline some of the roblems which confront the worker in the field of ır foreign relations. But even they are not all. He must understand that the posture of his own ɔuntry is one of the most potent factors affecting ɔth its will and its power. And by its posture, mean, for instance, whether it is economically igorous or distracted by troubles; I mean the ate of its defenses; I mean whether its people are ɔking inward upon a conflict of purposes, or outard with calm determination. All this must eight his judgment.

He must know also the limitations of the power f his own country and the limitations of his wn position within it. In most cases a decision ı policy and resultant action does not settle the ıatter under consideration. The action of others more often than not the controlling factor. merican assistance to other nations is always ıarginal assistance. The issue turns primarily pon their own will and effort. They may lead ı hopeful results, as in European recovery, or to ıilure, as in China.

One of my colleagues remarked of Americans in ɔreign affairs, that there is a general belief that ıyone may put a nickel in us and we must come ɔ with a policy to solve any problem. To think ıis oversimplifies the problems and completely isunderstands our role in world affairs.

We can help greatly those who are doing their most to succeed by their own efforts. We cannot rect or control; we cannot make a world, as God d, out of chaos. There are some, apparently, ho think that we should do this, and in less than days!

So we must think of ourselves, to paraphrase ɔrds of Justice Holmes, not as little gods outside e community of nations, but as ganglions within —as less than it, and as gaining our significance om the beneficence of our function and effect thin it.

Similarly, one who works upon the foreign relaɔns of the United States must understand his sition within the country and the government. tal as our foreign relations are to us, they are t the totality of our interests. There are thouıds of other interests with which our interests road must be harmonized. So within our minds d within the government, the Department cant think of itself as an institution apart, in ɔnopolistic control of an isolated field of activity. The Department is one of many staff arms of the esident. It must work in harmony with, in derstanding of, and often through these other ns. Its recommendations must fit into a total ɔgram which the American people are prepared support.

This means, of course, that the Department is not and cannot be an aloof organization. It must be close to the American people, constantly reporting the facts without which informed judgment or criticism cannot be made. It must not be afraid to tell the truth when that is painful and unpleasant, as it was in the China white paper. It must not be afraid to recommend and fight for courses which are hard and long when any other course would be a deception and a fraud.

This I think we do. We certainly try our best within our abilities. We know that otherwise we cannot hope for success.

In the long run, and very often in the short run, it is you citizens of this republic, acting directly through public opinion and through the Congress, who decide the contours of our policies and whether those policies shall go forward or waver and stop. We do our best to keep you informed and advised.

It rests in your courage and resolution and sacrifices to provide that national posture of steadiness and dependability which will make our country helpful, effective and respected in the community of nations.

For one further thing we look to you—for understanding of the complexity and volume of this work and for some part of your thought. The work of a foreign office does not consist solely of a few people pondering the great questions which you read about on the front pages of your newspapers. It consists also of an almost incredible number of programs and actions which must be carried out by a large number of people coordinated and directed toward our major ends.

It may surprise you to learn that last year the United States participated in 6,000 international meetings; that the Department of State received from its representatives in the field 340,000 reports—more than a thousand every working day—each of which had to be analyzed and its information brought to focus at the point of action. All of this cannot be made simple and understandable in capsule form. It takes work and thought not only by the devoted and loyal men and women who do this work, but also by the American people.

It is in these ways that we are trying to implement, in the field of foreign affairs, Al Smith's concept of the art of translating purpose into accomplishment.

We cannot do our job, any more than he could have done his, except in a frank and intimate relation with people outside of government. We do not ask, any more than he did, that this relationship be one of blind and unquestioning acceptance of all we think and do. When people agree with us, we want their support; when they do not, we want their frank and constructive criticism.

In either case, whether they agree or disagree with what we are doing, we hope they will regard us as ordinary American people, trying our best to do a job in a highly complicated set of circumstances and to do it in a way which Al Smith would have understood and approved.

Greek Citizens of Soviet Origin Deported to Soviet Central Asia

On October 17 the Department of State announced that it has confirmatory reports of the mass deportations of non-Russian elements from the Soviet Caucasus, which have been denounced by the Government of Greece. These deportations began in mid-June and included the forced migration of approximately 17 thousand Greeks as well as others in circumstances of extreme hardship.

Most of these persons were small-scale farmers, tradesmen, and artisans long established in the area. In mid-June they were suddenly, without warning or notification, removed from their homes and loaded on to cattle cars bound for the Republic of Kazakhistan in Soviet Central Asia. Reports state, for instance, that in the early morning hours of June 14, MVD (Soviet Secret Police) troops suddenly removed the entire population of foreign origin of the Caucasus town of Gagry, separating wives from their husbands and parents from their children. It is reported that one Greek woman was seized with her two small children in the middle of the night and embarked for the 2-week trip to Central Asia on an evacuee train containing no food or water. Her Russian husband was forced to stay behind. On arrival in Kazakhistan, according to other accounts, the forced migrants were simply deposited by the railroad siding without shelter or other elementary provision for their human requirements. They have since been scattered on various collective farms.

Reports indicate that the deportees are now living in small mud huts, called *zemlianki* in Russian, without light or fuel and plagued by fleas and mosquitoes. They are seriously undernourished and have received no clothing other than the light summer garments they were wearing when they left the mild climate of the Caucasus. The death rate is mounting and will become critical during the severe Russian winter unless conditions are improved. Meanwhile the deportees are forbidden to wander more than 5 miles from their concentration centers under threat of 20 years imprisonment.

The Soviet census of 1939 put the number of persons of Greek origin living in the U.S.S.R. at 285,896. Some of these are descendants of families established for generations in the Black Sea area of Russia; others migrated to the U.S.S.R. from Asia Minor after the First World War. Many are Soviet citizens, but the repeated and un answered Greek protests to the Soviet Govern ment refer only to persons still claimed as Greel citizens.

U.S. Rejects Soviet Charges on Policy in Germany

[*Released to the press October 17*]

Following is the text of a note delivered o October 17, 1949, by the United States Embass in Moscow to the Soviet Foreign Office in reply t the Soviet note regarding the West German Go ernment:

The United States Government has received th note delivered to its Ambassador at Moscow by th Soviet Government on October 1, relating to th establishment of the German Federal Republi

The United States Government does not deer it necessary to enter into a detailed discussion c the various charges set forth in the Soviet not The attention of the Soviet Government is how ever invited to the public statement made by th Acting Secretary of State on October 6, of whic a copy is attached for convenient reference.[1]

The United States notes with incredulity th western action with regard to Germany is cha acterized as designed to convert Germany into "drill ground," *place d'armes*, and center of di turbance in Europe. The United States Gover ment recalls its systematic efforts to achieve th full demilitarization of Germany and its pr posal of a four-power disarmament and demil tarization treaty, an offer repeatedly rejected b the Soviet Government. The United States Go ernment also recalls in this connection the fa that there has been developed in the Soviet Zo of Germany a large, centralized police force, police force moreover which is well equipped wi military weapons and led by former Germ army officers.

The Government of the United States reaffirr its belief in the Potsdam principles which call f the democratization of Germany and the trea ment of that country as an economic unity. hopes that the time is not far distant when t Soviet Government instead of seeking to impo its arbitrary will upon the Germans of its zone w cooperate with the western Allies in enabling the Germans of all Germany, within the fran work prescribed by international agreements, work out their common political destiny witho dictation and with democratic freedom of actio

[1] BULLETIN of Oct. 17, 1949, p. 590.

ıe Department of State: A Reflection of U.S. Leadership

Deputy Under Secretary Peurifoy[1]

These are difficult, even crucial, times, and the le of action which they require of us as the lead- nation of the free world is something all of us st thing about clearly. It is no exaggeration atever to say that the safety of the United States ing the next decade rests more heavily upon the lerstanding its citizens will have of foreign af- rs than it will upon battleships, planes, or mic bombs.

he scale on which the Department of State must rate is a direct reflection of the role of leader- p the United States has assumed in the world oday.

et me tell you what this means in terms of ts and figures in the organization and adminis- ion end of the Department of State, which pens to be my bailiwick. The slow, steady ease of problems and repsonsibilities of the partment of State in its 160-year history was denly jolted by the turn of events that led us the last war. In the brief span of years since ı United States foreign relations have become aried, so widespread, and so intense that the anization to handle them has gone through an recedented growth and a good deal of realine- t.

ninistrative Functions

nder my supervision are 4 offices and 18 di- ons—all in Washington—made up of approxi- ely 2,500 employees, or one-third of our entire artmental staff. Ten years ago the total staff he Department in Washington was made up of people. This low figure was due to the fact the Department of State was the only one of major executive agencies that had not expe- ced a big expansion during the depression s and the years just prior to the war. Today, have about 13,000 foreign service personnel located in areas throughout the world. About 5,000 of these are United States citizens. Ten years ago our foreign service staff totaled 3,966 people of whom about 1,600 were United States citizens.

Our many duties in organization and administration include employment, training, assignment, and transfer of personnel; budget justifications before Congress, budget allotments to departmental areas and foreign posts; security—the protection of classified material and the screening of personnel to protect against Communist infiltration; passports and visas; the administration of United States Government property abroad, and countless other functions.

All of these operations are essential to the successful running of any organization. Moreover the total organization must be so set up in order to perform its mission in the most efficient manner possible. As a consequence, while the Department was engaging in more and more functions, while its normal functions were being expanded and complicated by the increasing scope of our relationships with the world at large, it was undergoing periodic reorganizations calculated to increase operational efficiency.

We have just completed a rather basic change in the structure of our organization which has made for considerable streamlining of operations. This was the result of the Hoover Commission survey and especially the task-force study conducted under the leadership of Secretary Acheson. I had the pleasure of assisting in both the survey and putting the commission's recommendations into practice.

From the outline of the administrative functions that I have enumerated, you can imagine how complicated this housekeeping job can be. Even so, in directing it, it would be impossible not to become more and more involved in matters of program and policy. That is because the job must, of course, be geared to the goal our foreign policy is pursuing and the means we are taking to reach that goal.

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[1] n address delivered before the Colleton County Press ciation in Walterboro, S. C., on Oct. 24, 1949, and re- d to the press on the same date.

Scale of Action

I would like, then to tell you something of the scale of action that world conditions require of us. Let me go into this point by asking what is our goal, or, in other words, what is our foreign policy? There are those who say we have none. Well, the answer is not difficult to find. Reduced to its simplest form it is peace, peace and the protection of our freedom, and all that it means to us individually and collectively.

This goal finds its source in our people. It is motivated by your desire, mine and that of all other loyal Americans. That is why our foreign policy is a strong one; that is why our people have been willing to bear the burden of its cost.

We want peace, we want cooperation among governments, understanding among people. We have no ideas of aggrandizement at the expense of other countries. We have no territorial claims. We all know that America can no longer be isolated and self-supporting without serious complications and risks to national security. We couldn't isolate ourselves from World War I. It was impossible to stay out of the last World War. As communications and transportation bring people, even on opposite sides of the world, closer and closer together, cooperation and understanding become more and more important to self-preservation.

Now, if we situate our goal of peace in the context of postwar conditions we find that those conditions themselves have dictated to us the courses of action we are following in our leadership role. Let us look into some of the major foreign policy actions we are taking.

One of our principal actions is the Marshall Plan. Through the Economic Cooperation Administration we are giving aid and assistance to Western European countries, helping them recover from the last war. This action fits perfectly into the pattern of peace, freedom, and understanding.

Economic and Defensive Measures To Aid Europe

We were confronted with the hard fact of the inability of Western European nations to extricate themselves from the economic straits in which the destruction of war and the bleeding of prolonged occupation had left them. The chaos was too complete for them to cope with alone. That meant that people were living in conditions where they were the easy prey of the advocates of communism as the cure-all of economic ills. Physical weakness of nations made them easy targets for Communist infiltration which proved to be a very serious threat to national sovereignties. We had to take the lead and throw our economic weight into the balance. The results have not been 100 percent perfect. There is still much room for ec nomic improvement. But one point that cann be overstressed is that as a result of ERP fr countries have been able to strengthen themselv internally and the grip of communism on t peoples has been broken, or at least loosened. I ternal security is now reflected in greater effor toward economic revival.

Our adherence to the North Atlantic pact— truly unprecedented event in United States dipl matic history—and our parallel program of mil tary assistance to free nations support another co ner of our policy structure for peace.

Both these measures are defensive and in dire response to the record of postwar Soviet expa sionism and the aggression of international co munism. The North Atlantic Treaty joins t gether in defensive alliance the free nations of t North Atlantic community under the concept th an attack on one is an attack on all. It advanc the cause of peace by making the price of aggr sion, any aggression from any quarter, so high th it becomes impractical. The idea of mutual a and self-help that is the basis of the pact is t foundation stone of the military assistance pr gram. Under this measure we are continuing strengthen Greece and Turkey against overt Co munist pressure, and we are helping our partn in the pact create a defense mechanism backed w real power.

Thus, we firmly believe that these actions fit t pattern of peace. They testify to our sincer and they establish evidence immediately to t peoples of Western Europe and the rest of t world that we support peace and intend to ba up those nations that share our desire for peace.

Support of the United Nations

Another major action that is fundamental our foreign policy is our unflagging support of United Nations. As a matter of fact, Presid Truman listed this as the first point in our fore program in his inaugural address last Janua You will recall that we decided, even before war was over, that the concept of internatio cooperation that had proved so successful in w ning the war should be the basis of postwar effo toward peace.

As a consequence, we were prime movers at San Francisco conference out of which the Uni Nations was born. We subscribe wholehearte to the basic purposes and principles of the Uni Nations which, incidentally, coincide directly w our own basic policy. Just take a look at art 1 of the United Nations Charter. It opens w these words:

> The Purposes of the United Nations are: 1. To main international peace and security, and to that end: to effective collective measures for the prevention and moval of threats to the peace, . . .

Today the United Nations is 4 years old. some it has been a disappointment. But

hould not be so. A look at the record will show ıat even in spite of the almost insurmountable bstacles with which it has been faced it has given good account of itself. For a 4-year-old organiation it can point to some very remarkable chievements, principally in the social and ecoomic fields. Furthermore, it has gained four recious years of experience as an effective mechnism for handling some of the most intricate inrnational business.

Those who are disappointed in the United ations point to the Security Council as an exnple of United Nations failure. Here, indeed, ıe United Nations has not succeeded as well as ıd been hoped. The unpleasant truth is that it ıs been prevented from achieving success in this ld because the big-power cooperation that was sential to success did not materialize. Instead ere is a long, sad record of Soviet obstruction—isuse of the veto in security matters. But even spite of this, the United Nations has demonrated to the world that it can be an effective rce for the preservation of peace. It demonrated that fact in several international disputes at might have developed into widespread warre. There was the Palestine question, where nited Nations mediation brought peace; Iran, om which Soviet troops were refusing to withaw according to treaty obligations; Korea, ıere a new republic was established as a result free elections held under the auspices of the nited Nations; there was the "cease-fire" in Inıesia which has given both sides an opportunity work out their difficulties; likewise, in the Kashir the United Nations successfully brought about ease-fire order and is now arranging a plebiscite settle the jurisdictional dispute between India d Pakistan.

Above and beyond these specific accomplishents both the General Assembly and the Security uncil of the United Nations exert a tremendous ect on world opinion and its moral force. It is ll established as an international forum in which fferences can be aired by contending parties and eir merits adjudged by the world at large.

Unquestionably the Security Council debate on e Berlin question had a bearing on the lifting of e blockade. It is important to remember, too, ıt contact between the Soviets and the Western wers was reestablished in this matter by United tions delegates and on United Nations ground.

ıblem of Aggressive Communism

I hope I have not conveyed to you the idea that e pursuit of our foreign aims is a simple matter. e contrary is true. One thing, however, that ıst have struck you in this discussion is that to arge extent our scale of action has been complicated by Soviet policy. It is certain that the economic revival of Western Europe would have been much easier without internal communistic pressures inspired from abroad. It is equally certain that if the principles of the United Nations were adhered to by Soviet Russia there would be no need for the regional defense arrangements the free nations have been forced into making. In this connection, it is fortunate that the Charter of the United Nations made provisions for such regional defenses.

We recognize the major problem of the world as aggressive communism. There has been a somewhat reluctant realization of the problem it presents, its evil nature, and its relentless pursuit of its eventual goal of world domination.

Communism, in essence, is not merely a political or economic theory. It is a philosophical system, with its own concept of the nature of man, his rights, and his destiny. It is opposed in every respect to all the beliefs that have been the strength of our Western civilization. It believes that man is weak and unable to govern himself and so must be controlled by strong masters—that is the police state which employs some of the most ruthless methods of control this world has ever known. As you know, Christianity is not surviving in countries under Communist domination, and I tell you that both Christianity and communism cannot exist in the same world.

The forces of communism are employing these methods wherever they hold sway. The ill treatment of local nationals in Communist-dominated countries is unbelievable. Right now Czechoslovakia is being terrorized. The persecution of religious leaders is another example. Certain citizens of Communist-controlled countries who were employed by our embassies and those of other Western democratic countries have been subjected to insufferable treatment. Our own official staffs in many satellite countries undergo many unpleasant experiences. The people who go to these countries to do a job for this country deserve considerable credit.

In China, for example, our personnel in consulates that are being closed are being subjected to arrest and all sorts of other delays in efforts to return home. We know that they will get back eventually but the delays and other difficulties they are encountering are the full responsibility of the Government of Soviet Russia.

Our dealings with Russia are complicated further by the fact its representatives are never empowered to make decisions on their own. If a delicate negotiation goes off in a direction unforeseen by the masters of the Kremlin, Soviet representatives must go back to the Kremlin for further instructions.

Another difficulty with which we are faced and which is inherent in all dictatorships is that not only the Russian people but their government, too, are not aware of the true facts concerning us. Agents of the Kremlin cannot report true facts.

They must, for their own salvation, report what their rulers want to hear.

In the last war, those who heard German propaganda broadcasts aimed at undermining the morale of our troops were only amused at what they heard. The errors and stupidity of Goebbel's organization were laughable. Russian propaganda is no better, but it does have an effect on the Russian people. For instance, Russian listeners were told recently that the news of the Russian atomic explosion created panic among the American people. They weren't told that our people were somewhat more concerned with the outcome of the World Series.

We are making a considerable effort through the United States Information Service, operating under the direction of the Department of State, to get the truth across to the Russians as well as to the rest of the world. The people of Russia like those of the satellite nations realize that the only news they are permitted to receive is controlled by their government. Many of them risk imprisonment to listen to our radio broadcasts. Th alarms the Soviet Government which is employin scores of radio transmitters to "jam" our pr grams.

This problem of communism that we are co fronting is something without exact parallel history. We have no blueprints to follow, no p procedures of demonstrated value to use. We a relying on our judgment, our national moral i tegrity, and on our faith in the justness of o cause. We have had to improvise, and our impr visations have worked. We haven't solved t problem, but we have made considerable progre We have effectively checked the spread of co munism in Europe; we are building a workab economic structure as well as an effective defen force among our friends in Europe. We have t initiative, and we are constantly pressing it. are not alarmed by the atomic development Russia, but we realize that we must remain stro and in that way maintain peace until the Sov Government accepts what we believe to be tru that permanent peace is possible even with diff ing economic systems—and that all concerned c and must get along together for the benefit of

Trading Ideas With the World

EDUCATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION RELEASES THIRD REPORT

Released to the press October 23

"Genuine understanding and mutual respect and confidence which result from trading ideas with the world are as important to national security as economic aid and military preparedness," Dr. Harvie Branscomb, chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, stated today in making public the Commission's third quarterly report[1] to the Secretary of State.

This is the first comprehensive review of all United States Government activities in the field of educational and technical exchange under the International Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402, 80th Congress). The Commission's report urges that this country's exchange program under that act which has been limited largely to the Latin Ameri countries, be placed on a broad-scale basis throu out the world without further delay. It also sents a series of major policy recommendation the Secretary designed to increase the effective of the programs.

Throughout the report emphasis is given to role of private organizations in achieving inte tional understanding through educational change.

In his statement announcing submission of report to the Secretary, Chairman Bransc said:

"While present unfavorable circumstances f us to devote a major share of our efforts to m tain large scale armaments, we must not lose s of the fact that the atom bomb will never wi peace, nor in the long run prevent war. En ing peace and prosperity will be achieved

[1] *Trading Ideas With the World*, Department of State publication 3551, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. for 55¢.

hen peoples know that they have common inter-sts and concerns, understand each other, and work ogether harmoniously toward common goals. I elieve that this is the number one fact of inter-ational life today. It is the humanizing fac-or in the conduct of international relations. The rogram of trading ideas with the world, which is ow only in its infancy, is doing more than any-ning else to make foreign affairs everyone's af-airs."

The Commission was established by Public Law 02 to insure public participation in this peoples-o-peoples program of international educational nd technical exchange. Its members were ap-ointed by President Truman in July 1948, each epresenting an important segment of the Ameri-an public in the educational, cultural, scientific, chnical, and public service fields. They are:

hairman

Harvie Branscomb, chancellor, Vanderbilt University

ice Chairman

Mark Starr, educational director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union

embers

Harold Willis Dodds, president, Princeton University
Edwin B. Fred, President, University of Wisconsin (Replaces Karl T. Compton who resigned upon his appointment as head of the Research and Development Board)
Martin R. P. McGuire, professor, Catholic University

The report cites many specific examples of the fectiveness of the educational exchange and tech-cal cooperation activities of the Department of tate and the other United States Government gencies participating in the program. Typical the achievements listed is the work of three merican geologists in Brazil who in cooperation ith Brazilian geologists have discovered nearly million tons of strategically important manga-se ore deposits.

Also cited is the work of a fisheries mission hose assistance to the Government of Mexico has en instrumental in more than doubling the com-ercial fisheries' production during the past few ars. This will increase the United States and exican food supply.

Similarly remarkable achievements are cited in ublic health, education, and other key fields.

Recommendations which the Commission made the Secretary deal with issues of great concern public leaders—exchanges with Iron Curtain untries, United States financial assistance to stitute foreign students, the proposal to use nnish war debt payments for an educational-change program, the negotiations of inter-tional cultural agreements, short-term study ojects for American students, and the effect of migration laws and regulations on exchange-of-persons programs. With respect to this last problem, the Commission's independent findings and recommendations were of concrete assistance in determining the content of new regulations later issued by the Attorney General and the Secretary of State.

The first section of the 88-page document reports on the entire range of the educational and technical exchange programs—the Department's work here and abroad to aid unofficial exchanges; the scientific and technical projects, the activities of the United States libraries overseas, the operations of the binational cultural institutes, the program for aiding American-sponsored schools abroad; book exhibits and exchange; translation programs; the exchange of professors, specialists, teachers, and students.

The second half of the report deals with the total program by activity and by each country where conducted.

Fulbright Exchange Opportunities Announced

[*Released to the press October 11*]

Opportunities for 648 Americans to undertake graduate study, teaching or research abroad during the 1950–51 academic year under the terms of the Fulbright Act were announced today by the Department of State. A comparable number of opportunities will be available for foreign nationals to come to the United States for similar purposes. The countries in which these opportunities will be available are Belgium, Luxembourg, Burma, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and France.

Competition for awards will open on October 15 and close on December 1. Persons wishing to apply should send their inquiries to the following agencies:

For graduate study: Persons now enrolled in American colleges and universities should apply to the Fulbright Program Advisers on their campuses. Others should apply directly to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

For university teaching, or advanced research: to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C.

For teaching in American secondary schools abroad: to the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW., Washington 25, D.C.

For teaching in national secondary schools abroad: to the United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

Additional exchanges in 1950–51 will be carried out in Italy, Norway, and Iran. The number of grants available in these countries will be an-

nounced later, and applications will not be accepted until such announcement is made.

These awards are made under Public Law 584, 79th Congress, the Fulbright Act, which authorizes the Department of State to use certain foreign currencies and credits acquired through the sale of surplus property abroad for programs of educational exchange with other nations. Grants are normally made for 1 academic year and are renewable only in exceptional cases. Grants to Americans usually include round trip transportation, tuition or a stipend, a living allowance, and a small amount for necessary books and equipment. Grants to foreign nationals include round-trip transportation only, and their expenses in the United States must be met from other sources. All grants under the act are made in foreign currencies.

Opportunities in each country are listed below:

Belgium and Luxembourg: 22 American graduate students to study in Belgian universities; 1 American teacher to teach English conversation and American civilization at a lycee in Brussels; 1 American professor to teach American literature and civilization at a Belgian university; 2 travel grants to American professors for a direct exchange with Belgian professors; 2 American research scholars for research in Belgium or the Belgian Congo. Travel grants to the United States for nationals of Belgium and Luxembourg are offered to: 5 professors or research scholars; 1 primary or secondary school teacher; and 21 students.

Burma: 3 American graduate students to study in Burmese universities; 1 teacher of general science for the Central State High School; 12 professors to teach at the University of Rangoon, the State Training College for Teachers, the University College at Mandalay, the Agricultural Teachers' Training School at Taunggyi, the Post-Primary School at Myitkyina, and the American Medical Center at Namkham, in such fields as geography, geology, physical education, educational psychology, agriculture, orthopedic surgery, zoology, and medicine; 2 research scholars in such fields as education and social science for research at the State Training College for Teachers and the University of Rangoon. Travel grants will be offered for 25 Burmese nationals to come to the United States; and 60 awards will be offered to Burmese nurses for training at the American Medical Center.

Greece: 12 American graduate students; 18 primary or secondary school teachers to teach English, music, science, physical education and other subjects at Athens College, Anatolia College, Pierce College, American Farm School, and the YWCA and YMCA Training Schools; 4 professors, 1 to teach American life and civilization at the University of Athens, 1 to teach rural sociology a the Superior School of Agriculture, and 2 fo teaching assignments not yet specified; 6 researc scholars. Travel grants will be available to Greek professors or research scholars and 20 stu dents. 257 scholarships will be provided for Gree students to attend American-sponsored schools i Greece.

Netherlands: 25 American graduate students; primary or secondary school teachers to teach hi tory, education of the blind, and of the deaf an dumb, sport physiology, dietetics, social casewor and other general subjects; 10 professors to teac the following subjects: international law an astronomy at the University of Leiden, dentistr at the University of Utrecht, nuclear physics at th University of Groningen, sociology at the Munic pal University of Amsterdam, linguistics at th University of Nijmegen, dogma and New Test ment at the Vrije Universiteit at Amsterdar supersonics at the Technical Institute at Delf plant physiology at the Agricultural College Wageningen, business efficiency at the Econom College of Rotterdam or Tilburg; 2 resear scholars in the fields of chemical technology ar biochemistry to conduct research at the Technic Institute at Delft and the University of Utrech Travel grants will be available for 5 Netherlan professors or research scholars and 80 students a teachers.

New Zealand: 10 American graduate student 2 primary or secondary school teachers to tea in New Zealand schools; 2 professors and 2 r search scholars. Travel grants will be availa for 16 New Zealand nationals to come to the Unit States.

Philippines: 6 American graduate students professor and 14 secondary school teachers to tea at the Philippine School of Arts and Trades various aspects of vocational education; 2 resear scholars. Travel grants will be available for Philippine nationals to come to the United Stat

United Kingdom: Opportunities are offer both in Great Britain and in the colonial pendencies. For Great Britain: 153 Americ graduate students; 40 professors and resear scholars. For the colonial dependencies: American graduate students, professors, or search scholars. Travel grants will be availa for 192 persons from Great Britain, and for citizens of the colonial dependenices. In additi partial travel grants will be awarded to 250 Br ish and American teachers participating in t Anglo-American teacher interchange program.

France: 220 American graduate students; primary or secondary school teachers; 10 p fessors, 3 in the field of American literature a civilization, 1 in mathematics, 1 in sociology, 1 chemical engineering, and 4 unspecified; 29 search scholars. Travel grants will be availa for 272 French citizens to come to the Uni States.

eorganization of the Department of State

Released to the press October 4]

Effective October 3, 1949, the political, economic, and international organization work of the epartment of State was reorganized in accordnce with the Department's plan of reorganization hich is based on the recommendations of the ommission on Organization of the Executive ranch of the Government and the Department's organization Task Force Number 2.[1]

The following Bureaus under the supervision the Under Secretary are as follows:

ureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA), under the direction of Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary
ureau of European Affairs (EUR), under the direction of George W. Perkins, Assistant Secretary
ureau of Far Eastern Affairs (FE), under the direction of W. Walton Butterworth, Assistant Secretary
ureau of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (NEA), under the direction of George C. McGhee, Assistant Secretary
ureau of United Nations Affairs (UNA), under the direction of John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary

The Offices of European Affairs (EUR), Ameri- n Republics Affairs (ARA), Near East and frican Affairs (NEA), Far Eastern Affairs 'E), and United Nations Affairs (UNA) and eir constituent divisions, except the Division of ternational Conferences, were abolished and the nctions, personnel, and records of each were ansferred respectively to the new Bureau having rresponding jurisdiction.

The Office of Transportation and Communicaons (TRC) was transferred to the direction of illard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for conomic Affairs.

The constituent divisions of the Offices of Inrnational Trade Policy (ITP), Financial and evelopment Policy (OFD), and Transport and ommunications (TRC) will henceforth be known policy staffs.

The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA) as organized as follows:

ice of the Assistant Secretary (ARA)
ice of East Coast Affairs (EC)

ice of North and West Coast Affairs (NWC)
ice of Middle American Affairs (MID)
ice of Regional-American Affairs (RA)

[1] BULLETINS of June 26, 1949, p. 835; May 29, 1949, p. 2; and Mar. 13, 1949, p. 333.

The Bureau of European Affairs (EUR) was organized as follows:

Office of the Assistant Secretary (EUR)
Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs (BNA)
Office of Eastern European Affairs (EE)
Office of Western European Affairs (WE)
Office of European Regional Bureau Affairs (RA)

The Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs (FE) was organized as follows:

Office of the Assistant Secretary (FE)
Office of Chinese Affairs (CA)
Office of Northeast Asia Affairs (NA)
Office of Philippine and Southeast Asia Affairs (PSA)

The Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs (NEA) was organized as follows:

Office of the Assistant Secretary (NEA)
Office of Greek-Turkish-Iranian Affairs (GTI)
Office of African and Near Eastern Affairs (ANE)
Office of South Asian Affairs (SOA)

The Bureau of United Nations Affairs (UNA) was organized as follows:

Office of the Assistant Secretary (UNA)
Office of International Administration and Conferences (IAC)
Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs (UNE)
Office of Dependent-Area Affairs (UND)
Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs (UNP)

The Division of International Conferences was transferred to the new Office of International Administration and Conferences. The International Administration Staff now in the Office of United Nations Affairs is constituted as the Division of International Administration in the Office of International Administration and Conferences.

The specific transfer of responsibilities to the Regional Bureaus with respect to economic, intelligence, and public affairs work, and the designation of the principal officers in each of the new or reorganized organizational units will be announced shortly.

The Bureau of European Affairs consists of the following organizational units under the supervision of the designated officers:

Assistant Secretary for European Affairs.	George W. Perkins
Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs.	Llewellyn E. Thompson
Executive Director	Arthur G. Stevens
Adviser, UN	G. Hayden Raynor
Special Assistant	Raymond E. Murphy
Labor Adviser	To be announced later
Intelligence Adviser	To be announced later
Staff Assistant	Boies C. Hart, Jr.

Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs (BNA):

Director	Henry R. Labouisse
Deputy Director	Livingston Satterthwaite
Officer in Charge, United Kingdom and Ireland Affairs.	Wayne G. Jackson

Officer in Charge, Dominion Affairs.	William P. Snow
Officer in Charge, Northern European Affairs.	Benjamin M. Hulley
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs.	To be announced later

Office of Eastern European Affairs (EE):

Director	G. Frederick Reinhardt (Acting)
Deputy Director	To be announced later
Officer in Charge, U.S.S.R. Affairs.	G. Frederick Reinhardt
Officer in Charge, Balkan Affairs.	John C. Campbell (Acting)
Officer in Charge, Poland, Baltic and Czechoslovakian Affairs.	Fred K. Salter
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs.	To be announced later

Office of Western European Affairs (WE):

Director	Theodore C. Achilles
Deputy Director	Homer M. Byington
Officer in Charge, Italian Affairs.	Leonard Unger (Acting)
Officer in Charge, French-Iberian Affairs.	Elim O'Shaughnessy
Officer in Charge, Swiss-Benelux Affairs.	Frederick E. Nolting
Officer in Charge, Economic affairs.	Roswell H. Whitman

Office of European Regional Affairs (RA):

Director	Edwin M. Martin
Deputy Director	Douglas MacArthur, II
Officer in Charge, Economic Organization Affairs.	Ben T. Moore
Officer in Charge, Special Problems Affairs.	To be announced later
Officer in Charge, Public Affairs.	Antonio A. Micocci (Acting)

The Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs consists of the following organizational units under the supervision of the designated officers:

Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.	George C. McGhee
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.	Raymond A. Hare
Executive Director	John W. Jago
Intelligence Adviser	W. Wendell Cleland
Labor Adviser	William J. Handley
Politico-Economic Adviser	Henry L. Deimel, Jr.
Politico-Military Adviser	David A. Robertson
Refugee Adviser	Arthur Z. Gardiner
United Nations Adviser	Harry N. Howard
Staff Assistant	Alton W. Hemba

Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs (GTI):

Director	John D. Jernegan
Deputy Director	William M. Rountree
Officer in Charge, Greek Affairs.	Leonard J. Cromie
Officer in Charge, Turkish Affairs.	C. Robert Moore
Officer in Charge, Iranian Affairs.	C. Vaughan Ferguson
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs.	To be announced later

Office of South Asian Affairs (SOA):

Director	Elbert G. Mathews
Deputy Director	Donald D. Kennedy
Officer in Charge, India-Nepal Affairs	Joseph S. Sparks
Officer in Charge, Pakistan-Afghanistan Affairs	Thomas Eliot Weil
Officer in Charge, Burma-Ceylon Affairs	Richard E. Usher
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs	To be announced later

Office of African and Near Eastern Affai (ANE):

Director	To be announced later
Deputy Director	Gordon H. Mattison
Deputy Director	James S. Moose, Jr.
Officer in Charge, Lebanon-Syria-Iraq Affairs	Harlan P. Clark
Officer in Charge, Palestine-Israel-Jordan Affairs	Fraser Wilkins
Officer in Charge, Arabian Peninsula Affairs	Richard H. Sanger
Officer in Charge, Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Affairs	Wells Stabler
Officer in Charge, Northern Africa Affairs	Samuel K. C. Kopper
Officer in Charge, Southern Africa Affairs	Leo G. Cyr
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs	To be announced later

The organizational units under the Bureaus Inter-American Affairs, Far Eastern Affairs a United Nations Affairs will be announced at later date.

Bureau of Inter-American Affairs

[*Released to the press October 11*]

The Department of State announced today th effective October 3, 1949, the Bureau of Inte American Affairs (ARA) was established und the supervision of the Assistant Secretary f Inter-American Affairs.

The Bureau consists of the following organiz tional units under the supervision of the desi nated officers:

Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs	Edward G. Miller, Jr.
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs	Willard F. Barber
Executive Director	William P. Hughes
Economic and Labor Adviser	Ivan B. White

The Intelligence adviser and the Public Affairs Advis will be named at a later date

Staff Assistant	Norman M. Pearson

Office of Middle American Affairs (MID)

Director	Paul J. Reveley
Deputy Director	Edward G. Cale
Special Assistant	Thomas C. Mann

ficer in Charge, Mexican Affairs	Paul J. Reveley
ficer in Charge, Central America and Panama Affairs	Murray M. Wise (Acting)
ficer in Charge, Caribbean Affairs	Leonard H. Price (Acting)

ffice of East Coast Affairs (EC)

rector	Howard H. Tewksbury
icer in Charge, Brazilian Affairs	DuWayne Clark
icer in Charge, River Plate Affairs	Rollin S. Atwood

ffice of North and West Coast Affairs (NWC)

rector	Sheldon T. Mills
icer in Charge, North Coast Affairs, (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador)	William L. Krieg
icer in Charge, West Coast Affairs, (Chile, Bolivia, Peru)	Harold M. Randall

ffice of Regional American Affairs (RA)

ector	John C. Dreier

ureau of Far Eastern Affairs

eleased to the press October 13]

Effective October 3, 1949, the Bureau of Far stern Affairs (FE) was established under the pervision of the Assistant Secretary for Far stern Affairs.

The Bureau consists of the following organizanal units under the supervision of the designated icers:

sistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs	W. Walton Butterworth
puty Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs	Livingston T. Merchant
ecutive Director	William D. Wright, Jr.
elligence Adviser	Cyrus Peake
por Adviser	Philip B. Sullivan
onomic Adviser	Merrill C. Gay
ited Nations Adviser	Ruth E. Bacon
ff Assistant	To be announced later

ce of Chinese Affairs (CA)

rector	Philip D. Sprouse
puty Director	Fulton Freeman, Acting
cer in Charge, Political Affairs	Troy L. Perkins
cer in Charge, Economic Affairs	Robert W. Barnett

ce of Northeast Asian Affairs (NA)

ector	John M. Allison
puty Director	U. Alexis Johnson
Officer in Charge, Japan and Soviet Far Eastern Affairs	Harold W. Moseley
Officer in Charge, Korea Affairs	Niles W. Bond
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs	Edward M. Doherty

Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs (PSA)

Director	Charles S. Reed
Deputy Director	Richard R. Ely
Officer in Charge, Thai, Malayan and Indochinese Affairs	Kenneth P. Landon
Officer in Charge, Indonesian and Pacific Island Affairs	William S. B. Lacy
Officer in Charge, Philippine Affairs	John F. Melby
Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs	Charles J. Shohan

Public Affairs

Officer in Charge	Bradford Connors

Address Before International Surgery Meeting

On October 10 H. Walton Butterworth, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, made an address before the International Society of Surgery, which group was holding its meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana. The text of Mr. Butterworth's remarks was issued as Department of State press release 776 of October 10.

Correction to Report on Military Assistance to Foreign Countries

In the BULLETIN of September 26, 1949, pages 480 and 481, under heading C, the first two paragraphs should read as follows:

C. TRANSFERS FROM GOVERNMENT STOCKS UNDER THE PLENARY POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

The President, acting under his plenary powers of Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of protecting primary security interests of the United States, authorized the transfer of military supplies and equipment from United States Government stocks to France and Italy. The transfer to France under this authority consisted of certain ordnance, quartermaster, signal and engineer items. In addition a small quantity of new equipment was procured for the French program.

The transfer to Italy consisted of small quantities of military equipment and supplies, primarily, ordnance and signal equipment, which were needed to complete the reequipment of Italian security forces which had been rearmed mainly with surplus Allied material in Italy. In authorizing this transfer, the limitations imposed upon Italy by the treaty of peace were scrupulously observed.

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November 7, 1949

The Department of State bulletin

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November 7, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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FINANCING AND OPERATION OF AIR NAVIGATION SERVICES

by Paul T. David

The rescue operations for the *Bermuda Queen*, forced down 800 miles east of Newfoundland on October 14, 1947, brought forcibly to the public attention the functions of the North Atlantic Ocean stations.

A 1946 international agreement had established 13 locations between North America and Europe at which stationary vessels were to be posted to maintain weather observation, search and rescue, and aeronautical communication services. This agreement was drawn up for a 3-year period at a conference on ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) North Atlantic Ocean stations in London in 1946.[1] From April 20 to May 12, 1949, a second conference was held in London to revise and renew that international agreement.

Increased air traffic between North America and Europe had emphasized the need for ocean stations. The PICAO (Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization) North Atlantic Route Service Conference, held in Dublin on March 4, 1946, officially recognized the need for establishing, operating, and coordinating these stations. The Interim Council of PICAO, in June 1946, approved the recommendations of the Conference to the effect that PICAO take action to establish 13 stations in the North Atlantic.

Under the 1946 agreement, the United States was to operate 7½ of the 13 stations. Until a few months ago, funds, ships, and men were available for only 5½ stations. Other parties to the agreement included the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Ireland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Norway. These parties had also been delayed in carrying out their terms of the agreement, but they had completed their part prior to the 1949 conference.

The 1949 conference successfully carried out its objectives for stabilizing the program for the future: it reconsidered the technical requirements, agreed on a technical, financial, and operating program, and drafted and opened for signature a new agreement which could be expected to come into effect.

Although the 1946 agreement remained generally satisfactory for most of the parties, the United States believed that it should be changed in major respects. The United States felt strongly that fewer than 13 stations could meet the requirements, that the vessel requirements for each station should be separately appraised and taken into account, and that greater recognition should be given to the benefits derived by the coastal shipping, agriculture, and industry of western Europe and northeastern North America from the improved weather forecasting made possible by the stations.

The Conference reluctantly accepted a 10-station network as the program for the future and agreed upon the locations indicated by the accompanying map. The locations represent a compromise between conflicting requirements since the stations would be most useful for search and rescue and aeronautical communications if located directly on major air routes, whereas the most advantageous locations for weather observation would be somewhat different. The two stations nearest the most heavily traveled air route, Gander-Shannon, are located very nearly on course.

The Conference readily agreed that in assessing operating responsibilities vessel requirements of

[1] For an article by J. Paul Barringer on the 1946 conference, see BULLETIN of Nov. 17, 1946, p. 901.

the various stations should be taken into account. The vessel requirements were appraised at 25 vessels, 3 each for Stations A, B, and C, 2½ each for D and E, 2 for H, and a total of 9 for I, J, K, and M collectively. These requirements reflect the fact that vessels posted at the stations more distant from base and in the more unpleasant operating locations require longer periods of relief and in transit between base and station.

All were agreed that the relative responsibilities of the various participants should be assessed mainly in terms of trans-Atlantic airline traffic, which is a simple measure of the relative aeronautical benefits that the participants derived. The recognition of nonaeronautical benefits, as proposed by the United States and Canada, proved highly controversial and agreement could not be reached on any specific plan for such recognition.

The Conference abandoned the effort to arrive at precise rules for the assessment of relative responsibilities. It did accept a proposal by which the European states were to provide 9 vessels for the 4 stations offshore from Europe and to join in the operation of Station A, between Greenland and Iceland, for which the Netherlands was to provide one vessel. Canada was to continue to provide one vessel for Station B, and the United States was to provide the remaining 14 vessels for Stations A, B, C, D, E, and H.

The new agreement was opened for signature on May 12, 1949, and has been signed on behalf of all parties. It will come into effect and will supersede the 1946 agreement for the accepting governments when accepted by governments responsible for not less than 18 of the vessels. It is to remain in effect until June 30, 1953, unless earlier superseded by the next agreement, which is expected to be prepared by a conference to be held in 1952.

The Conference thus succeeded in continuing a program which will utilize the combined efforts of 11 states, 6 of whom, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States, will assume operational responsibilities. Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden are to make substantial cash payments to specific European-operating states. Ireland and Portugal, although not engaged in trans-Atlantic airline operation, will make small cash contributions for the general purposes of the program.

The technical work of the Conference was a marked advance from that of the 1946 conference and can be expected to have its effects in higher and more uniform standards of ocean station operation. Unfortunately it is true that a number of the participating states have not been able and are not willing to provide nonmeteorological services to the extent provided by the United States at the stations which it operates. The vessels currently operated by the European states are typically smaller in tonnage and in crew strength than the United States vessels.

The Conference arrived at a substantial reassessment of operating responsibilities, mainly because of the shift from a station basis to a vessel basis in the making of assessments. On a vessel basis the United States share came down from 21/35 to 14/25 of the program, or from 64 to 56 percent with a reduction of one-third, from 21 to 14, in the number of vessels to be operated by the United States.

The second conference on North Atlantic Ocean stations was one of three conferences on joint financing and operation of air navigation services that were held in London from April 20 to May 1, 1949. The other two were the ICAO Conference on Air Navigation Services: Greenland and the Faroes; and the ICAO Conference on Air Navigation Services: Greece. The three conferences were held simultaneously since the problems were interrelated and the interested governments were largely the same. A single delegation represented the United States at all three conferences.

Greenland and the Faroes

The ICAO Conference on Air Navigation Services: Greenland and the Faroes arose out of circumstances very similar to those which led to the ICAO Conference on Air Navigation Services in Iceland a year earlier.[2] The Government of Denmark had given repeated notice that its acceptance of the technical recommendations of ICAO for weather observation stations, communication facilities, and radio aids to air navigation in Greenland and for the Loran station in the Faroes would be subject to a claim for reimbursement by the states operating airlines across the North Atlantic, pursuant to the convention on international civil aviation.

The procedures followed in the present conf

[2] Rear Admiral Paul A. Smith, "ICAO Conference on Navigation Services in Iceland," The Department of State BULLETIN, February 6, 1949, vol. XX, p. 164.

ence were similar to those in the Iceland case and led to similar outcomes. The Conference was successful in adopting a final act on May 12, 1949, in which it recommended that the interested states be assessed in stated amounts for the financing of the services, that the states accept such assessments, and that the Council of ICAO enter into an appropriate agreement with Denmark. The United States assessment will be approximately 330 thousand dollars annually at the present rate of exchange for Danish kroner and is subject to adjustment from year to year on an actual cost basis.

The Council of ICAO accepted the recommendations of the Conference on June 6, 1949, and took the necessary action to assess Belgium, Canada, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The agreement between the Council and Denmark was approved by the Council on June 17, 1949, and was signed on behalf of the two parties on September 9, 1949.

The assessments are subject to the consent of the states concerned and await their future action. At the Conference, Canada and Norway indicated reservations for their assessments, and Belgium also indicated reservations for a part of its assessment on special grounds.

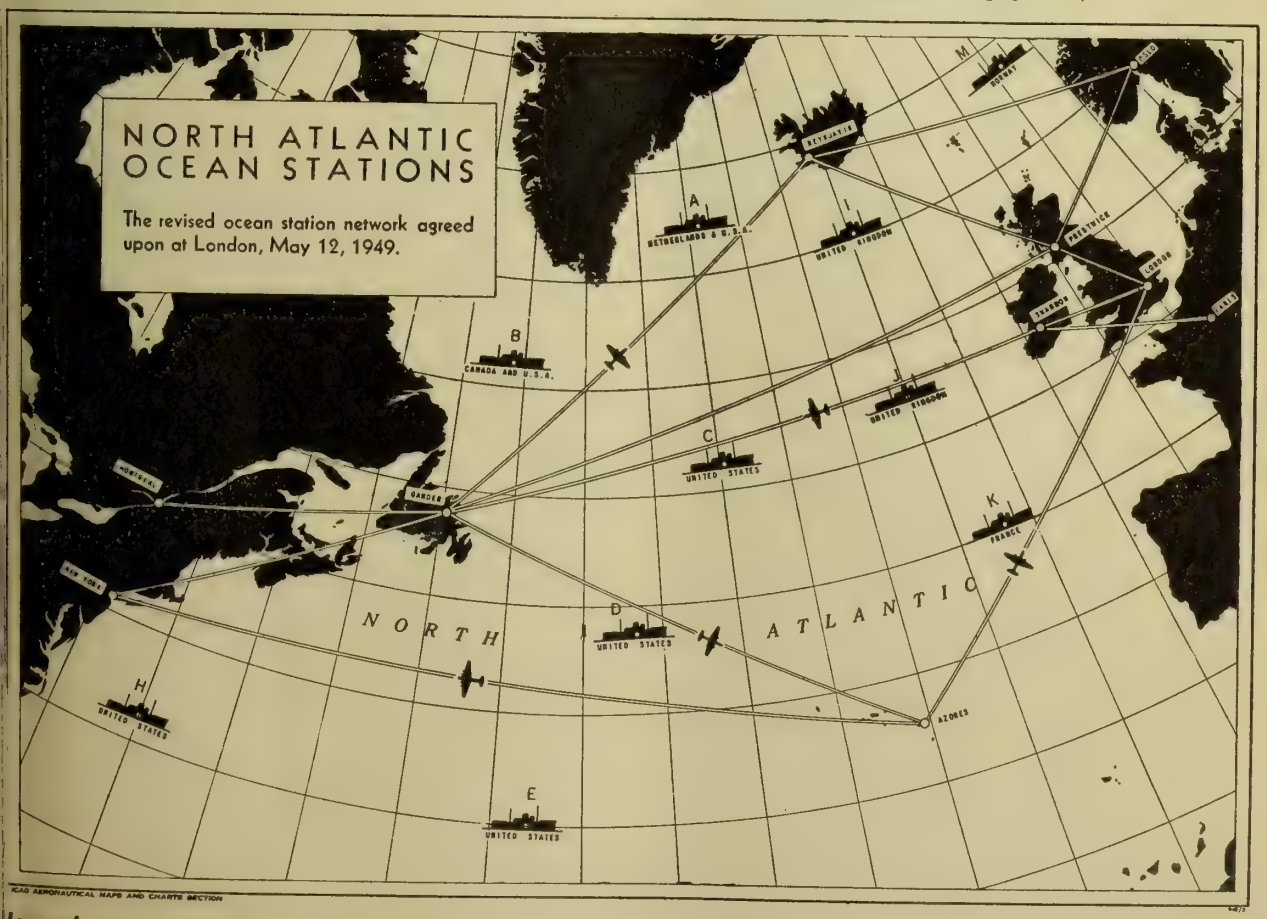
The future success of the arrangement is clouded by these reservations, particularly that of Canada, whose airlines are among the major users of the facilities. The reservation is based upon Canada's view that it is already disproportionately burdened in providing services for North Atlantic aviation, particularly since the accession of Newfoundland.

The Council of ICAO will further consider the problem. It does not appear unsurmountable, but it does indicate some of the difficulties involved in the further implementation of the provisions for international financing of air navigation services when necessary under the convention on international civil aviation.

Greece

The ICAO Conference on Air Navigation Services: Greece arose from the request of Greece, first

(*Continued on page 715*)



International Control of Atomic Energy

Statement by the Representatives of Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America

U.N. doc. A/1050
Dated Oct. 25, 1949

On 24 October 1949, the representatives of Canada, China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America agreed to send to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for transmission to the General Assembly, the following interim report on the consultations of the six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission:

"In paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 191(III) of 4 November 1948, the representatives of the Sponsoring Powers, who are the Permanent Members of the Atomic Energy Commission, namely, Canada, China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, were requested to hold consultations 'in order to determine if there exist a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes, and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons'.

"The first meeting took place on 9 August 1949. The consultations have not yet been concluded and are continuing but, in order to inform the General Assembly of the position which has so far been reached, the six Sponsoring Powers have decided to transmit to it the summary records of the first ten meetings."

It was agreed by the group that any of the representatives of the Governments taking part in these consultations retained the right to submit to the Assembly their observations on the course of the consultations so far. The representatives of Canada, China, France, the United Kingdon and the United States accordingly submit to th General Assembly this statement, which represent their joint views, in the hope that it may assis the Assembly in its consideration of this problen

Basis of Discussion

It was found desirable to approach these co sultations from the viewpoint of general principl rather than specific proposals which had been th basis of most of the discussion in the United N tions Atomic Energy Commission. To this en the representative of the United Kingdom offere a list of topics as a basis for discussion. Includ in this paper was a Statement of Principles rela ing to each topic (Annex I). It was pointed o that the United Kingdom Statement of Principl was based on the plan approved by the Gener Assembly,[1] but at the same time covered the esse tial topics with which any plan for the prohibiti of atomic weapons and the control of atomic ener would have to deal. The list of topics was th adopted as the basis for discussion. The rep sentatives of Canada, China, France, the Unit Kingdom and the United States made it clear th their Governments accepted the Statement Principles set forth in this paper and consider them essential to any plan of effective prohibiti of atomic weapons and effective control of ato energy for peaceful purposes. They expressed readiness of their Governments to consider a alternative proposals which might be put forwa but emphasized that they would continue to s

[1] See *Official Records*, AEC., Fourth Year, Spe Supplement No. 1.

port the plan approved by the General Assembly unless and until proposals were made which would provide equally or more effective and workable means of control and prohibition.

Prohibition of Atomic Weapons

At the request of the Soviet representative, the question of the prohibition of atomic weapons was taken up first. The texts which served as a basis for the discussion were point four of the Statement of Principles, and a Soviet amendment submitted to replace that text (Annex II). In the course of the discussion, the Soviet representative declared that the representatives of all six Sponsoring Powers were in agreement in recognizing that atomic weapons should be prohibited, and he therefore drew the conclusion that his amendment should be accepted. The other representatives pointed out that it had always been agreed that the production, possession or use of atomic weapons by all nations must be prohibited. But it was also agreed that prohibition could only be enforced by means of an effective system of control. This was recognized even in the Soviet amendment, but the remainder of the amendment contained a repetition of the earlier Soviet proposals for control which were deemed inadequate.

The Soviet representative insisted that two separate conventions, one on prohibition and the other on control, should be put into effect simultaneously. The other representatives maintained that the important point to be resolved was what constitutes effective control, and that this control had to embrace all uses of atomic materials in dangerous quantities. In their view the Soviet proposals would not only fail to provide the security required but they would be so inadequate as to be dangerous. They would delude the peoples of the world into thinking that atomic energy was being controlled when in fact it was not. On the other hand, under the approved plan, the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons would rest not only on the pledge of each nation, but no nation would be permitted to possess the materials with which weapons could be made. Furthermore, the Soviet Government took an impracticable stand as regards the question of timing or stages by which prohibition and control would be brought into effect.

Stages for Putting Into Effect Prohibition and Control

On this topic, the Soviet representative maintained that the entire system of prohibition and control must be put into effect simultaneously over the entire nuclear industry.

The representatives of the other Powers pointed out that this would be physically impossible. The development of atomic energy is the world's newest industry, and already is one of the most complicated. It would not be reasonable to assume that any effective system of control could be introduced and enforced overnight. Control and prohibition must, therefore, go into effect over a period of time and by a series of stages.

The plan approved by the General Assembly on 4 November 1948 does not attempt to define what the stages should be, the order in which they should be put into effect, or the time which the whole process of transition would take. The reason for this is that no detailed provisions on stages could be drawn up until agreement is reached on what the control system should be, and the provisions would also depend on the state of development of atomic energy in the various countries at the time agreement is reached. Until then, detailed study of the question of stages would be unrealistic.

Meanwhile, the approved plan covers the question of stages in so far as it can usefully be carried at present. The plan provides that the schedule of stages of application of control and prohibition over all the many phases of the entire nuclear industry is to be written into the treaty, with the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission as the body to supervise their orderly implementation. No other commitment or position on this question is contained in the approved plan.

Control

(a) *Means of Control*

The Soviet representative insisted, as in the past, that any plan of control, to be acceptable to the Soviet Union, must be based on the Soviet proposals for control, originally put forward in June 1947 (Document AEC/24, 11 June 1947), which provide for periodic inspection of nationally owned plants producing or using atomic materials, when declared to an international control organ by the Governments concerned.

The representatives of Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States recalled that the nuclear fuels produced or used in such plants are the very nuclear explosives used in the manufacture of weapons. A new situation therefore was created in the field of armaments where the conversion of a peaceful industry into a war industry could take place rapidly and without warning.

In dealing with such materials a system of control depending merely on inspection would be ineffective. For ordinary chemical or mineral substances and their processing inspection might provide adequate guarantees, but atomic development presented special problems which could not be solved in this way. Materials used in the development of atomic energy were highly radioactive and could not, therefore, be handled except by remote control. The process of measuring atomic fuels was extremely intricate and, at the present

stage of our knowledge, subject to appreciable error. It would be impracticable to rely on the inspection of plants and impossible to check the actual amounts of atomic materials inside piles or reactors against the amounts shown in the records.

A system of inspection alone would not prevent the clandestine diversion of atomic materials to war purposes from plants designed for peaceful use and would provide no guarantee that, in spite of any treaty, a nation which was determined to continue the secret manufacture of atomic weapons would be prevented from doing so. A plan based on periodic inspection, on which the Soviet Union insists, would be even less adequate than one based on continuous inspection.

The Soviet representative dismissed these arguments as exaggerated or non-existent.

Since there was evidence that an atomic explosion had been produced in the Soviet Union, the Soviet representative was asked whether he had any new evidence derived from Soviet experience to support his contention that periodic inspection would be sufficient to assure control. No answer has yet been received to this question.

The five Powers remain convinced that any system of inspection alone would be inadequate and that in order to provide security the International Control Agency must itself operate and manage dangerous facilities and must hold dangerous atomic materials and facilities for making or using dangerous quantities of such materials in trust for Member States.

(b) *Ownership*

During the consultations, the question of ownership, which has often been represented as the real obstacle to agreement on control, was the subject of an extended exchange of views.

The Soviet representative argued that international management and operation were equivalent to international ownership; and that neither international ownership nor international management and operation was essential to control. He stated that his Government would not accept either.

The representatives of the other Sponsoring Powers refuted the interpretation put by the Soviet representative on ownership, management and operation. For the reasons given they believed that the management and operation of dangerous facilities must be entrusted to the International Agency. Management and operation were clearly among the more important rights conferred by ownership. Since effective control would be impossible unless these rights were exercised by the Agency, the nations on whose territories such facilities were situated would have to renounce important rights normally conferred by ownership. This did not necessarily mean the complete devolution of the rights of ownership to the Agency; for example, the Agency would not have the right arbitrarily to close atomic power plants; it would have to conform to national legislation as regards public health and working conditions; it could not construct plants at will but only in agreement with the nation concerned. Moreover, the Agency would not be free to determine the production policy for nuclear fuel since this would follow provisions to be laid down in advance in the treaty. The treaty would also determine the quotas for production and consumption of atomic fuel. Finally, the Agency would hold materials and facilities in trust and would not therefore be able to manage or dispose of them arbitrarily or for its own profit but only for the benefit of Member States.

There might well be other rights which would normally be conferred by ownership and which were not specifically mentioned in the approved plan. Their disposition would follow a simple principle. If there were rights, the exercise of which could impair the effectiveness of control individual nations would be required to renounce them. Otherwise they might retain them.

If individual nations agreed to renounce national ownership of dangerous atomic materials and the right of managing and operating plants making or using them, in favor of an International Agency acting for the international community such agreement would be on the basic principle and there would be no need to quarrel over terminology.

(c) *Sovereignty*

A further argument put forward by the Soviet representative was that to confer on any international agency the powers suggested in the Statement of Principles would constitute a gross infringement of national sovereignty and would permit the International Agency to interfere in the internal economy of individual nations.

In answer to this argument it was pointed out that any plan for international prohibition and control must involve some surrender of sovereignty. The representatives of the other Powers argued that it was indefensible to reject a plan for the international control of atomic energy on the purely negative ground that it would infringe national sovereignty. The ideal of international co-operation and, indeed, the whole concept on which the United Nations was based would be meaningless if States insisted on the rigid maintenance of all their sovereign rights. The question was not one of encroachment on sovereignty but of assuring the security of the world, which could only be attained by the voluntary association of nations in the exercise of certain rights of sovereignty in an open and co-operating world community.

The Soviet representative remarked that, while some representatives had stated that their Governments were prepared to waive sovereignty pr

vided that the majority plan was accepted, the Government of the USSR would not agree to do so.

Basic Obstacles in the Way of Agreement

It appears from these consultations that, as in the past, the Soviet Union will not negotiate except on the basis of the principles set forth in the Soviet proposals of June 1947.

The essential points in the Soviet control proposals, and the reasons for their rejection by the other five Powers, as brought out in the consultations, are as follows:

The Soviet Union proposes that nations should continue to own explosive atomic materials.

The other five Powers feel that under such conditions ther would be no effective protection against the sudden use of these materials as atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union proposes that nations continue, as at present, to own, operate and manage facilities making or using dangerous quantities of such materials.

The other Five powers believe that, under such conditions, it would be impossible to detect or prevent the diversion of such materials for use in atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union proposes a system of control depending on periodic inspection of facilities the existence of which the national Government concerned reports to the international agency, supplemented by special investigations on suspicion of treaty violations.

The other five Powers believe that periodic inspection would not prevent the diversion of dangerous materials and that the special investigations envisaged would be wholly insufficient to prevent clandestine activities.

Other points of difference, including Soviet insistence on the right to veto the recommendations of the International Control Agency, have not yet been discussed in the consultations.

Conclusions

These consultations have not yet succeeded in bringing about agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the other five Powers, but they have served to clarify some of the points on which there is disagreement.

It is apparent that there is a fundamental difference not only on methods but also on aims. All of the Sponsoring Powers other than the U.S.S.R. put world security first and are prepared to accept innovations in traditional concepts of international co-operation, national sovereignty and economic organization where these are necessary for security. The Government of the U.S.S.R. put its sovereignty first and is unwilling to accept measures which may impinge upon or interfere with its rigid exercise of unimpeded state sovereignty.

If this fundamental difference could be overcome, other differences which have hitherto appeared insurmountable could be seen in true perspective, and reasonable ground might be found for their adjustment.

25 October 1949.

ANNEX I

List of Topics and Statement of Principles Prepared by the Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

1. *International system of control:*

(a) There should be a strong and comprehensive international system for the control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons, aimed at attaining the objectives set forth in the resolution of the General Assembly of 24 January 1946. Such an international system should be established, and its scope and functions defined by an enforceable multilateral treaty in which all nations should participate on fair and equitable terms.

(b) Policies concerning the production and use of atomic energy which substantially affect world security should be governed by principles established in the treaty. Production and other dangerous facilities should be distributed in accordance with quotas and provisions laid down in the treaty.

2. *International Control Agency:*

(a) There should be established, within the framework of the Security Council, an international control agency, deriving its powers and status from the treaty under which it is established. The Agency should possess powers and be charged with responsibility necessary and appropriate for the prompt and effective discharge of the duties imposed upon it by the terms of the treaty. Its powers should be sufficiently broad and flexible to enable it to deal with new developments that may hereafter arise in the field of atomic energy.

(b) The personnel of the Agency should be recruited on an international basis.

(c) The duly accredited representatives of the Agency should be afforded unimpeded rights of ingress, egress and access for the performance of their inspections and other duties into, from and within the territory of every participating nation, unhindered by national or local authorities.

3. *Exchange of information:*

(a) The Agency and the participating nations should be guided by the general principle that there should be no secrecy concerning scientific and technical information on atomic energy.

(b) The Agency should promote among all nations the exchange of basic scientific information on atomic energy for peaceful ends.

4. *Prohibition of atomic weapons:*

(a) International agreement to outlaw the national production and use of atomic weapons is an essential part of this international system of control.

(b) The manufacture, possession and use of atomic weapons by all nations and by all persons under their jurisdiction should be forbidden.

(c) Any existing stocks of atomic weapons should be disposed of, and proper use should be made of nuclear fuel for peaceful purposes.

5. *Development of atomic energy:*

(a) The development and use of atomic energy even for peaceful purposes are not exclusively matters of domestic concern of individual nations, but rather have predominantly international implications and repercussions. The development of atomic energy must be made an international co-operative enterprise in all its phases.

(b) The Agency should have positive research and developmental responsibilities in order to remain in the forefront of atomic knowledge so as to render itself more effective in promoting the beneficial uses of atomic energy and in eliminating the destructive ones.

(c) The Agency should obtain and maintain information as complete and accurate as possible concerning world supplies of source material.

6. *Control over atomic materials and facilities:*

(a) The Agency should hold all atomic source materials, nuclear fuels and dangerous facilities in trust for the participating nations and be responsible for ensuring that the provisions of the treaty in regard to their disposition are executed.

(b) The Agency should have the exclusive right to operate and manage all dangerous atomic facilities.

(c) In any matters affecting security, nations cannot have any proprietary right or rights of decision arising therefrom over atomic source materials, nuclear fuels or dangerous facilities located within their territories.

(d) The Agency must be given indisputable control of the source materials promptly after their separation from their natural deposits, and on taking possession should give fair and equitable compensation determined by agreement with the nation concerned.

(e) Activities related to atomic energy, which are non-dangerous to security, such as mining and milling of source material, and research, may be operated by nations or persons under license from the Agency.

7. Means of detecting and preventing clandestine activities:

The Agency should have the duty of seeking out any clandestine activities or facilities involving source material or nuclear fuel; to this end it should have the power to require reports on relevant matters, to verify these reports and obtain such other information as it deems necessary by direct inspection or other means, all subject to appropriate limitations.

8. Stages:

The treaty should embrace the entire programme for putting the international system of control into effect, and should provide a schedule for the completion of the transitional process over a period of time, step by step, in an orderly and agreed sequence leading to the full and effective establishment of international control of atomic energy and prohibition of atomic weapons.

ANNEX II

Amendments Submitted by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Point 4 of the List of Topics Prepared by the Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

4. *Prohibition of atomic weapons:*

(a) An international convention outlawing the production, use and possession of atomic weapons is an essential part of any system of international control of atomic energy. In order to be effective such a convention should be supplemented by the establishment of a universal system of international control, including inspection to ensure that the provisions of the convention are carried out and "to protect States observing the convention from possible violations and evasions".

(b) The Atomic Energy Commission should forthwith proceed to prepare a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and a draft convention on control of atomic energy, on the understanding that both conventions should be concluded and brought into effect simultaneously.

(c) Atomic weapons should not be used in any circumstances. The production, possession and use of atomic weapons by any State, agency or person whatsoever should be prohibited.

(d) All existing stocks of finished and unfinished atomic weapons should be destroyed within three months of the date of entry into force of the convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons. Nuclear fuel contained in the said atomic weapons should be used for peaceful purposes.

United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography[1]

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Security Council

Decisions Taken and Resolutions Adopted by the Security Council from Its First Meeting on 17 January 1946 to 31 December 1948. S/INF/2. July 18, 1949. 80 pp. mimeo.

Letter Dated 4 August 1949 from the Chairman of the Commission for Conventional Armaments Addressed to the President of the Security Council Transmitting a Working Paper and Other Documents. S/1372. August 9, 1949. 10 pp. mimeo.

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Letter Dated 11 August 1949 from the Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States of America to the President of the Security Council Transmitting the Report of the Administration of the British United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste 1 April to 30 June 1949. S/1374. August 11, 1949. 33 pp. mimeo.

[1] Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

Problem of Human Rights in the Balkans

EXCERPTS FROM A STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN[1]

We are again called upon to consider the ques-ion of the observance of human rights and funda-nental freedoms in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania.

Last spring the whole world was shocked by he trials and strange confessions of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and the Protestant pas-ors in Bulgaria. The Assembly then expressed ts deep concern in the charges made by my government and other governments regarding the iolation of human rights and fundamental free-loms in these countries, and endorsed the applica-ion by the signatories to the peace treaties of he treaty procedures to insure the observance of hese rights and freedoms.

In accordance with the Assembly's resolution f last spring, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand ave endeavored to apply the treaty procedures. But the Soviet Union has refused to cooperate in aving the charges of treaty violation considered y the three Heads of Mission of the Soviet Un-on, the United Kingdom, and the United States, s the treaties provide. Moreover the govern-ents of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania have efused to cooperate in setting up treaty com-issions to consider these charges, notwithstand-ng the fact that the treaties provide that such ommissions should be set up whenever the Heads f Missions are unable to resolve any dispute.

The resolution now before use, as approved by e *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, would have the ssembly express its deep and continuing concern egarding the charges of the violation of human ghts and fundamental freedoms in these coun-ies and its further concern regarding the failure f these countries to cooperate in the effort, under-aken here in the Assembly, to promote a solution.

Since Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania have aimed that the treaty procedures are not legally pplicable to these disputes, the resolution requests an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice to determine (1) whether the treaty procedures apply to these disputes, (2) whether the ex-enemy countries are obligated to cooperate in the carrying out of these procedures, (3) whether the Secretary-General is authorized to appoint the third member of a treaty commission if requested to do so by one of the parties to the dispute under the treaties, and (4) whether a commission composed of a representative of one party and a third member appointed by the Secretary-General constitutes a commission competent to settle the dispute if the other party fails to appoint its representative. In seeking to have the court advise the Assembly whether a treaty commission composed of two members can act if one of the parties refuse to participate, we are not trying to exclude any party from its right to participate in the proceeding. The question is whether one party may make a scrap of paper of its agreement to arbitrate by refusing to appoint its arbitrator.

When the Court gives its opinion, it should be clear beyond a reasonable doubt whether the treaty procedures can be used legally and effectively to secure a definitive decision on the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in these countries.

The resolution also provides that this matter shall be retained on the agenda of the next regular session so that the Assembly may decide in light of the Court's opinion and the actions of the parties what, if any, further steps should be taken by the Assembly.

Those who oppose the proposed resolution in the Committee argued that in their judgment the charges of treaty violations against the three former enemy countries are without foundation. They further argued that the treaty procedures do not cover these charges. Their arguments cannot alter the fact that we have made these charges in good faith believing them to be valid, that we have asserted that in our judgment the treaty procedures are applicable to these charges, and that a party to the treaty does not have a right by its own default to frustrate the operation of the treaty procedures.

[1] Made before the plenary session of the General Assem-y on Oct. 21, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. elegation to the General Assembly on the same date. r. Cohen is alternate U.S. representative to the General ssembly.

But since these arguments were advanced and since we are committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes, it is eminently proper for the Assembly to assist the parties through seeking the disinterested and objective advice of the International Court of Justice as to whether the treaty procedures apply and how they are to operate.

The United Nations is based on the principle of peaceful settlement of differences and respect for international obligations. There clearly exist serious differences between Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania on one hand and a number of member states on the other. Yet, the three governments rejected an invitation by the General Assembly to appear before this Assembly to state their own case as they see it and to cooperate with the Assembly in its efforts to adjust differences which have profoundly disturbed public opinion throughout the world. These same three governments have refused to participate in the Peace Treaty procedures. The Soviet Union has also refused to play its part in these procedures. This is a pattern of non-cooperation and lack of respect for the United Nations and for international obligations which cannot but cause deep anxiety to the members of the international community.

It is significant that last spring those who opposed the Assembly's putting this question upon the agenda urged that such disputes as might exist should be adjusted through the means of settlement provided by the Peace Treaties.

What purpose is there to negotiate procedures for the settlement of disputes if when a dispute actually arises, a party refuses to submit to such procedures? It is particularly significant to us that at the same time that the Soviet Union is unwilling to employ the existing treaty procedures it should be proposing further treaties and further so-called peace pacts. In our view there is no purpose in making treaties unless they are to be carried out. *Pacta servanda sunt.* Treaties should serve as instruments of law and orderly adjustment of relations among states. In our view treaties are not, and should not be used as, instruments of propaganda. We are opposed to the facade theory of treaties under which states render lip service to important principles and then instead of accepting safeguards for the observance of these principles devise easy means of escape and evasion.

We must face the facts in their disturbing clarity. Human rights, in our judgment, are being deliberately and systematically violated in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania where a minority group has seized the instrumentalities of government through force and intimidation and seeks to maintain itself in power by the suppression of all independent thought and opinion. This is not a question of social and economic prog ress under this or that political system. Here w are confronted with the results, in the three coun tries, of the world-wide effort by the Soviet Unio to use the world Communist movement as an in strument for carrying out by force and stealth it own imperialist objectives. It is this policy o the Soviet Union that makes it difficult for fre countries to protect their democratic institutior through democratic processes. Even the Com munist countries which do not completely sub ordinate their own policy and their own interes to those of the Soviet Union find themselves sub jected to threats and intimidation. It is th policy that has spread the lethargy of despotis over Eastern Europe. Men lacking in confiden in the genuine vitality of their own ideas forsak the paths of reason and freedom and resort to th eternally discredited and illusory short cuts tyranny and force. Even while we are transac ing our business here, the reports come to us r garding waves of a new despotism sweeping ov the once-free Czechoslovakia which Thom Masaryk reforged from the ruins of an ancie oppression, sweeping over the Czechoslovakia our recent coworkers for peace, Eduard Benes ar Jan Masaryk.

We realize that this problem as the other gre problems of the postwar era is not susceptible any dramatic speedy solution. But there can no advance toward a solution, however gradual may be, without a universal recognition that one form or another, governments to have a mor base must rest on the continued consent of the go erned.

If in fulfillment of our joint responsibilities the peoples of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Ruman we could only work together to agree upon mir mum common standards of human rights and t dignity of the human person, we might therel immeasurably strengthen the foundation on whi we hope to build enduring peace.

In the end, the success of our efforts for bett and more friendly international relations, in fa the success of all efforts to make the United N tions live and grow, is dependent upon our abili to eliminate all forms of tyranny over the mi and soul of men.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

Contained in U. N. doc. A/1023
Resolution adopted Oct. 22, 1949

WHEREAS the United Nations pursuant to Article 55 the Charter shall promote universal respect for, a observance of, human rights and fundamental freedo for all without distinction as to race, sex, language religion,

WHEREAS the General Assembly at the Second Part its third regular session considered the question of the servance in Bulgaria and Hungary of human rights a fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS the General Assembly, on 30 April 1949, adopted resolution 272 (III) concerning this question in which it expressed its deep concern at the grave accusations made against the Governments of Bulgaria and Hungary regarding the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms in those countries; noted with satisfaction that steps had been taken by several States signatories to the Peace Treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary regarding these accusations; expressed the hope that measures would be diligently applied, in accordance with the Treaties, in order to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and most urgently drew the attention of the Governments of Bulgaria and Hungary to their obligations under the Peace Treaties, including the obligation to co-operate in the settlement of the question,

WHEREAS the General Assembly has resolved to consider also at the fourth regular session the question of the observance in Rumania of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS certain of the Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the Treaties of Peace with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania have charged the Governments of those countries with violations of the Treaties of Peace and have called upon those Governments to take remedial measures,

WHEREAS the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania have rejected the charges of Treaty violations,

WHEREAS the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers concerned have sought unsuccessfully to refer the question of Treaty violations to the Heads of Mission in Sofia, Budapest and Bucharest, in pursuance of certain provisions in the Treaties of Peace,

WHEREAS the Governments of these Allied and Associated Powers have called upon the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania to join in appointing Commissions pursuant to the provisions of the respective Treaties of Peace for the settlement of disputes concerning the interpretation or execution of these Treaties,

WHEREAS the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania have refused to appoint their representatives to the Treaty Commissions, maintaining that they were under no legal obligation to do so,

WHEREAS the Secretary-General of the United Nations is authorized by the Treaties of Peace, upon request by either party to a dispute, to appoint the third member of a Treaty Commission if the parties fail to agree upon the appointment of the third member,

WHEREAS it is important for the Secretary-General to be advised authoritatively concerning the scope of his authority under the Treaties of Peace,

The General Assembly

1. *Expresses* its continuing interest in and its increased concern at the grave accusations made against Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania.

2. *Records* its opinion that the refusal of the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania to co-operate in its efforts to examine the grave charges with regard to the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms justifies this concern of the General Assembly about the state of affairs prevailing in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania in this respect;

3. *Decides* to submit the following questions to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion:

"I. Do the diplomatic exchanges between Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania on the one hand and certain Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the Treaties of Peace on the other, concerning the implementation of article 2 in the Treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary and article 3 in the Treaty with Rumania, disclose disputes subject to the provisions for the settlement of disputes contained in article 36 of the Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria, article 40 of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, and article 38 of the Treaty of Peace with Rumania?"

In the event of an affirmative reply to question I:

"II. Are the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania obligated to carry out the provisions of the articles referred to in question I, including the provisions for the appointment of their representatives to the Treaty Commissions?"

In the event of an affirmative reply to question II and if within thirty days from the date when the Court delivers its opinion the Governments concerned have not notified the Secretary-General that they have appointed their representatives to the Treaty Commissions, and the Secretary-General has so advised the International Court of Justice:

"III. If one party fails to appoint a representative to a Treaty Commission under the Treaties of Peace with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania where that party is obligated to appoint a representative to the Treaty Commission, is the Secretary-General of the United Nations authorized to appoint the third member of the Commission upon the request of the other party to a dispute according to the provisions of the respective Treaties?"

In the event of an affirmative reply to question III:

"IV. Would a Treaty Commission composed of a representative of one party and a third member appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations constitute a commission, within the meaning of the relevant Treaty articles, competent to make a definitive and binding decision in settlement of a dispute?"

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to make available to the International Court of Justice the relevant exchanges of diplomatic correspondence communicated to the Secretary-General for circulation to the Members of the United Nations and the records of the General Assembly proceedings on this question;

5. *Decides* to retain on the agenda of the fifth regular session of the General Assembly the question of the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, with a view to ensuring that the charges are appropriately examined and dealt with.

The Problem of the Independence of Korea

STATEMENT BY CHARLES FAHY [1]

The General Assembly is fulfilling its highest function when it speaks or acts on behalf of the independence of peoples and of governments. This is the present case, the case of Korea. The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, as the first action of this session of an important political matter, overwhelmingly resolved that the United Nations Commission on Korea should continue. The United States urges that the General Assembly now affirm the action of the Committee.

It is approximately 2 years since the General Assembly adopted its resolution of November 14, 1947, designed to bring about the creation of a government in Korea representing the people of that country, who were promised liberation and freedom as a consequence of the defeat of Japan. In the part of Korea south of the 38th Parallel, under United Nations observation, a free election was held. The Government of the Republic of Korea was established. American occupation forces were withdrawn. The lawful character of the new government was acknowledged by the Third General Assembly, at Paris, and that government has since been recognized by more than 20 member states of the United Nations.

No free election was permitted north of the 38th Parallel. There one-third of the people and one-half of the area of the country are behind a barrier erected by a puppet government, supported by the Soviet Union. The representatives of the United Nations are excluded and the authority of the General Assembly is flouted. A vast propaganda campaign is waged against the representative government chosen freely by the people in the area opened to United Nations observation south of the 38th Parallel.

The United Nations Commission on Korea, established at the third session of the General Assembly, has made a comprehensive report. It points out the threat of conflict, of explosive incidents, of the continuation of social, economic, and political barriers, of lack of unification. There is danger of a cruel civil war growing out of the bellicose manifestations of those who dominate north Korea.

The present resolution was adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to continue a United Nations Commission in Korea in aid of maintaining peace and furthering the unification and independence of Korea. So long as there exists in Korea the spirit of incitement to armed combat, and so long as upon occasion such conflict in fact occurs, the purpose of the General Assembly to bring about the unification and complete independence of Korea under a single national government, set up under the scrutiny of the Assembly's Commission, is endangered, as is also the safety and well-being of the Republic of Korea, and that of all its inhabitants. It is for this reason that the Committee resolution provides that the new Commission shall observe and report any developments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea. It is our view that a commission empowered to act in this field will serve as an important stabilizing and deterrent influence, and that in the event conflict should occur, the United Nations would have at hand testimony from a duly constituted agency regarding its nature and origin and regarding the responsibility for its occurrence.

There remains also the important task of working toward the realization of unity and independence for all Korea. The Committee resolution provides means whereby, in case the threat of military conflict should be suspended or mitigated, the Commission may assist in the establishment of a single national government over an undivided country. The Commission is to seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to friendly intercourse in Korea, and to make its good offices available and be prepared to assist, whenever in its judgment a favorable opportunity arises, in bringing about the unification of Korea in accordance with the principles endorsed by the General Assembly. It authority to utilize the services and good offices of persons whether or not representatives on the Commission, is designed to give it the broadest possible facilities in carrying out these functions.

We believe that a commission having these powers will be able to contribute substantially, in manner appropriate in the light of present condi

[1] Made in plenary session on Korea on Oct. 20, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Fahy is the U.S. alternate representative to the General Assembly.

tions in Korea, to the final solution of the problem of the independence of that country, through the establishment of a national government acting by, and on behalf of, the will of a united people. We accordingly support the Committee resolution, and of course shall vote against the Soviet draft resolution which was rejected in Committee by an overwhelming vote. We strongly recommend the Committee resolution to the favorable consideration of other delegations as an expression of the purpose of the General Assembly to promote the independence of a long-suffering and valiant people whom we should aid to achieve what so many of us enjoy—freedom and independence.

RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

U.N. Doc. A/1039
Adopted Oct. 21, 1949

The General Assembly,

HAVING REGARD to its resolutions 112 (II) of 14 November 1947 and 195 (III) of 12 December 1948 concerning the problem of the independence of Korea,

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea, and having taken note of the conclusions reached therein,

MINDFUL of the fact that, due to difficulties referred to in the report of the Commission, the objectives set forth in the resolutions referred to have not been fully accomplished, and in particular that the unification of Korea and the removal of barriers to economic, social and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea have not yet been achieved,

HAVING NOTED that the Commission has observed and verified the withdrawal of United States occupation forces, but that it has not been accorded the opportunity to observe or verify the reported withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces,

RECALLING its declaration of 12 December 1948 that there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea) having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of Korea reside; that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such Government in Korea,

CONCERNED lest the situation described by the Commission in its report menace the safety and well-being of the Republic of Korea and of the people of Korea and lead to open military conflict in Korea, 1. *Resolves* that the United Nations Commission on Korea shall continue in being with the following membership: Australia, China, El Salvador, France, India, Philippines and Turkey and, having in mind the objectives set forth in the General Assembly resolutions of 14 November 1947 and 12 December 1948 and also the status of the Government of the Republic of Korea as defined in the latter resolution, shall:

(*a*) Observe and report any developments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea;

(*b*) Seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea; and make available its good offices and be prepared to assist, whenever in its judgment a favourable opportunity arises, in bringing about the unification of Korea in accordance with the principles laid down by the General Assembly in the resolution of 14 November 1947;

(*c*) Have authority, in order to accomplish the aims defined under sub-paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) of the present paragraph, in its discretion to appoint observers, and to utilize the services and good offices of one or more persons whether or not representatives on the Commission;

(*d*) Be available for observation and consultation throughout Korea in the continuing development of representative government based on the freely-expressed will of the people, including elections of national scope;

(*e*) Verify the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces in so far as it is in a position to do so;

2. *Decides* that the Commission:

(*a*) Shall meet in Korea within thirty days from the date of the present resolution;

(*b*) Shall continue to maintain its seat in Korea;

(*c*) Is authorized to travel, consult and observe throughout Korea;

(*d*) Shall continue to determine its own procedures;

(*e*) May consult with the Interim Committee of the General Assembly (if it be continued) with respect to the discharge of its duties in the light of developments and within the terms of the present resolution;

(*f*) Shall render a report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to any prior special session which might be called to consider the subject matter of the present resolution, and shall render such interim reports as it may deem appropriate to the Secretary-General for transmission to Members;

(*g*) Shall remain in existence pending a new decision by the General Assembly;

3. *Calls upon* Member States, the Government of the Republic of Korea, and all Koreans to afford every assistance and facility to the Commission in the fulfilment of its responsibilities, and to refrain from any acts derogatory to the purposes of the present resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Commission with adequate staff and facilities, including technical advisers and observers as required; and authorizes the Secretary-General to pay the expenses and per diem of a representative and an alternate from each of the States members of the Commission and of such persons as may be appointed in accordance with paragraph 1(*c*) of the present resolution.

U. N. Scale of Assessments

U.N. doc. A/1034
Resolution adopted Oct. 20, 1949

The General Assembly *resolves*

1. That the scale of assessments for the 1950 budget shall be as follows:

COUNTRY	*Percent*
Afghanistan	0.05
Argentina	1.85
Australia	1.97
Belgium	1.35
Bolivia	0.08
Brazil	1.85
Burma	0.15
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.22
Canada	3.20
Chile	0.45
China	6.00
Colombia	0.37
Costa Rica	0.04
Cuba	0.29
Czechoslovakia	0.90
Denmark	0.79
Dominican Republic	0.05
Ecuador	0.05
Egypt	0.79
El Salvador	0.05
Ethiopia	0.08
France	6.00
Greece	0.17
Guatemala	0.05
Haiti	0.04
Honduras	0.04
Iceland	0.04
India	3.25
Iran	0.45
Iraq	0.17
Israel	0.12
Lebanon	0.06
Liberia	0.04
Luxembourg	0.05
Mexico	0.63
Netherlands	1.40
New Zealand	0.50
Nicaragua	0.04
Norway	0.50
Pakistan	0.70
Panama	0.05
Paraguay	0.04
Peru	0.20
Philippines	0.29
Poland	0.95
Saudi Arabia	0.08
Sweden	1.98
Syria	0.12
Thailand	0.27
Turkey	0.91
Ukranian Soviet Socialist Republic	0.84
Union of South Africa	1.12
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	6.34
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	11.37
United States of America	39.79
Uruguay	0.18
Venezuela	0.27
Yemen	0.04
Yugoslavia	0.33
TOTAL	100.00

2. That, notwithstanding the provisions of rule 149 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations shall be reviewed by the Committee on Contributions in 1950 and a report submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly at its next regular session;

3. That Israel, which was admitted to membership in the United Nations on 11 May 1949, shall contribute for the first year of membership seven-twelfths of its percentage assessment for 1950 applied to the budget for 1949;

4. That Switzerland shall contribute 1.65 per cent of the expenses of the International Court of Justice for the year 1950, this assessment having been established after consultation with the Swiss Government, in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 91 (I) of 11 December 1946;

5. That, notwithstanding the terms of regulation 20 of the Provisional Financial Regulations, the Secretary-General be empowered to accept, at his discretion, and after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee on Contributions, a portion of the contributions of Member States for the financial year 1950 in currencies other than United States dollars.

Access for News Personnel to U. N. Meetings

U.N. doc. A/1038
Adopted Oct. 21, 1949

The General Assembly,

CONSIDERING that the United Nations, in accordance wit the aims and purposes of its Charter, should be prepare to grant all the necessary facilities for enabling media o information to function with full freedom and respons bility in following the course of its work and that of co ferences called by it and its specialized agencies,

Urges all States Members of the United Nations to gra news personnel of all countries who have been accredite to the United Nations or specialized agencies, as the ca may be, free access

(*a*) To countries where meetings of the United Nations r specialized agencies or any conferences convened by hem take place, for the purpose of covering such meetings, n accordance with the terms and conditions of agreements nade by the United Nations or its specialized agencies with the Governments of such countries, or, in the absence of such an agreement, on terms and conditions similar to those contained in agreements made by the United Nations or its specialized agencies with other Member States; and

(*b*) To all public information sources and services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and to all meetings and conferences of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies which are open to the Press, equally and without discrimination.

'he United States in the United Nations

[October 29–November 4]

eneral Assembly

The General Assembly, on November 2, aproved without objection the transfer from the owded agenda of the Political Committee to the *d Hoc* Political Committee the three items conerning Palestine, Indonesia, and the report of the ecurity Council. Following the approval, Van leuvan Goedhart of the Netherlands announced with great satisfaction" that the round-table conrence in The Hague had ended in complete greement and the final documents were signed ovember 2. He reported that complete and unnditional sovereignty had been granted to the epublic of the United States of Indonesia; he ped this new political entity would soon become United Nations member.

litical Committee

reece.—The Committee completed general dete on the Greek item (threats to the political inpendence and territorial integrity of Greece), proved two resolutions, and turned to considerain of the main four-power resolution approving e report of and continuing the United Nations ecial Committe on the Balkans. According to a ited Kingdom resolution adopted October 31, e Secretary-General is requested to ask Albania insure an end to attacks on United Nations obvers. On November 3, the Committee unanously approved one of the four-power resolons introduced earlier by the United States Repentative Benjamin V. Cohen, which proposal ggested means for dealing with the problem of proximately 25,000 Greek children who had been noved from Greece to the territories of her rthern neighbors and elsewhere in Europe dur; 1948 and had not been returned.

Representatives of Albania and Bulgaria who had been invited to participate in the Committee discussions gave lengthy statements, the former attacking the United States, the United Kingdom, and Greece as the "aggressors" in the Balkans. The Bulgarian representative adopted a much milder tone but impugned the "false" witnesses whose testimony formed the basis of the report of the Special Committee on the Balkans.

Ad Hoc Political Committee Action

U.N. Field Service.—The Committee on October 27 adopted the two resolutions of the Special Committee established to study the problem which recommended the establishment of a 300-man field service and a panel of field observers. Mr. John Sherman Cooper of the United States told the Committee on October 25 that these proposals represented a progressive step toward the improvement of the services now provided on a temporary basis.

Membership.—The Committee concluded general debate on the admission of new members to the United Nations but on November 3 deferred until November 4 the voting on the various resolutions before it. Soviet Delegate Semyon K. Tsarapkin resubmitted a Soviet plan for blanket acceptance of the 13 pending applications. An Argentine proposal calling for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on certain aspects of the admission procedure received considerable support. United States Delegate John Sherman Cooper said that each applicant must meet the standards of article 4 and added that it would be improper to judge more than one applicant on the same vote. He declared that Albania, the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania did not at this time satisfy the Charter requirements and favored the Argentine proposal calling for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

Of the 13 applicants, the Soviet Union has repeatedly vetoed 7—Transjordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Australia, Finland, and Ceylon. The five Soviet-sponsored candidates—Albania, Mongolian Peoples' Republic (Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria have never received seven affirmative votes in the Security Council. The U.S.S.R. has also vetoed the application from the Republic of Korea, and the Security Council has refused to refer the application of the Soviet dominated Peoples' Republic of North Korea to the membership committe for preliminary consideration.

Italian Colonies.—The Subcommittee 17 concluded its work on November 1 and decided that the question of the former Italian colonies should be referred to the Political Committee as one comprehensive matter and not as three separate issues. Thus the subcommittee suggestions for the disposition of a United Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea will be considered as one resolution.

Economic Committee Action

The Committee continued discussion on the full employment item and approved an amended Australian resolution which stressed the importance of coordinated action to maintain full and productive employment "especially in countries which are responsible for an important share of world trade" and recommended that all governments "consider as a matter of urgency" their Charter responsibility to take action "as the need arises" designed to promote full and productive employment. The Committee rejected the Czechoslovak proposals which recommended to members suffering from unemployment the immediate adoption of a series of measures to be effectuated with the participation of the "truly representative trade unions" (World Federation of Trade Unions). United States Alternate Representative Wilson Compton stated the United States position in support of the Australian resolution and in opposition to the Czechoslovak proposal. He said that although the proposals had individual merit, when taken together they constituted "an effort to substitute a totalitarian regime for the regime of freedom which most of the countries here cherish." The Czechoslovak resolution's underlying purpose was to weaken and eventually destroy the competitive enterprise system. He noted that the countries most critical of the United States' economy regularly failed to provide information about their own economy.

Trusteeship Committee

The Committee completed discussion of administrative unions which permit the consolidation under a single administrative body of certain functions of trust territories with those of adjacent dependent territories. The resolution adopted by the Committee recommended that the Trusteeship Council complete its investigation on administrative unions paying particular attention to the desirability of the following: administering authorities informing the Trusteeship Council of proposed unions (accepting supervision over those on which adequate information had not been submitted) separate judicial and legislative bodies (eliminating legislative action originating in any other body headquartered in a non-self-governing territory), and considering the inhabitants' wishes before establishing any unions. In conclusion the proposal recommended that the Trusteeship Council report to the next General Assembly with particular reference to safeguards it considered necessary to request of the administering authorities. The United States supported the resolution, but administering powers in general voted against it.

The Committee then turned to detailed discussion of the report of the special committee on information from non-self-governing territories and the six draft resolutions contained in it: (1) on the voluntary transmission of information under the standard form, (2) on equal treatment in matters relating to education, (3) on language and instruction, (4) on the eradication of illiteracy, (5) on international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and education conditions in non-self-governing territories, and (6) on the establishment of a special committee on information from non-self-governing territories transmitted under article 73 (e) of the Charter. Several delegations announced support for the permanent continuation of the special committee while others preferred a three-year extension. The Ukrainian delegate attacked the United States administration of Puerto Rico in vigorous terms, and the U.S.S.R. delegate stated that the information submitted on non-self-governing territories is insufficient and criticized the colonial powers for failure to prepare the non-self-governing peoples for self-government.

Administrative and Budgetary Committee

The Committee completed action on several items, including approval of an appropriation of $42,100 to cover the expenses of the General Assembly's Interim Committee for 1950, appointments to the Board of Auditors and Investments Committee, and the report on the system established for the achievement of tax equalization with respect to the salaries of Secretariat officials. The Committee began article-by-article consideration of the Administrative Tribunal Statute. The Tribunal would hear and determine appeals of staff members of the United Nations Secretariat or of the Registry of the International Court of Justice concerning rights under their terms of employment and under pertinent provisions of staff regulations.

Calendar of Meetings[1]

Adjourned During October		
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference: Second Session	Geneva	Aug. 1–Oct. 14
Fourth Session of Administrative Council	Geneva	Aug. 15–Oct. 5
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
General Conference: Fourth Session	Paris	Sept. 19–Oct. 5
Anglo–American–Canadian Atomic Talks	Washington	Sept. 20–Oct. 1
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Seventh International Conference of Labor Statisticians	Geneva	Sept. 26–Oct. 8
Advisory Committee on Cooperation: First Session	Geneva	Oct. 17–22
Advisory Committee on Salaried and Professional Workers: First Session.	Geneva	Oct. 24–29
Officers of the Committee of Social Security Experts	Geneva	Oct. 26–28
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
ECAFE-FAO Joint Meeting	Singapore	Oct. 1–13
ECAFE Meeting of Inland Transport Experts	Singapore	Oct. 5–10
ECAFE Meeting of Standing Committee on Industry and Trade.	Singapore	Oct. 10–17
ECAFE: Fifth Session	Singapore	Oct. 20–29
International Children's Emergency Fund: Program Committee.	Lake Success	Oct. 20–22
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Meeting on Livestock Breeding in the Tropics and Subtropics.	Cairo	Oct. 3–
Far East Conference on Cooperatives	Lucknow, India	Oct. 23–
Joint Committee with WHO on Nutrition	Geneva	Oct. 24–28
Pan American Sanitary Organization:		
Eighth Meeting of Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 3–5
Third Meeting of the Directing Council	Lima	Oct. 6–12
Ninth Meeting of Executive Committee	Lima	Oct. 13–15
United Kingdom and Dominions Official Medical Histories Liaison Committee: Third Meeting	Canberra	Oct. 3–8
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea	Edinburgh	Oct. 3–11
IRO (International Refugee Organization):		
Executive Committee: Sixth Session	Geneva	Oct. 6–10
General Council: Fourth Session	Geneva	Oct. 11–
International Criminal Police Commission: General Assembly.	Bern	Oct. 10–15
In Session as of November 1, 1949		
(Does not include meetings in session which were convened prior to January 1, 1949)		
United Nations:		
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Lausanne.	Jan. 17–
General Assembly: Fourth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 20–

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region I Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–
Meeting of the Technical Plan Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: Eighth Session	Montreal	Sept. 6–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference	Montreal	Sept. 13–
Council of Foreign Ministers: Deputies for Austria	New York City	Sept. 23–
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Far East Conference on Cooperatives	Lucknow, India	Oct. 23–
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Tripartite Conference on Rhine Navigation	Geneva	Oct. 31–
South Pacific Commission: Fourth Session	Nouméa	Oct. 29–
Scheduled November 1, 1949, to January 31, 1950		
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Routes and Ground Aids Division Meeting: Fourth Session.	Montreal	Nov. 1–
Special European-Mediterranean Regional Communications Committee Meeting on Aeronautical Fixed Telecommunication Services.	Paris	Nov. 9–
Legal Committee: Fifth Session	Taromina, Sicily	January
International Wheat Council: Second Session	London	Nov. 1–
United Nations:		
Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission to West Africa	Cameroons and Togoland	Nov. 1–
ICEF (International Children's Emergency Fund): Meeting of Executive Board.	Lake Success	Nov. 2–4
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Seminar on Rural and Adult Education	New Delhi	Nov. 2–Dec. 14
International Congress of Zootechny	Paris	Nov. 3–10
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Industrial Committee on Metal Trades: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 8–19
Industrial Committee on Iron and Steel: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 22–Dec. 3
Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment: First Session.	Geneva	Dec. 5–6
Governing Body: 110th Session	Mysore, India	Dec. 29–
Asian Regional Conference	Ceylon	Jan. 4–14
Third Inter-American Congress on Radiology	Santiago	Nov. 11–17
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Council: Seventh Session	Washington	Nov. 14–
Latin American Forestry and Forest Products Commission: Second Meeting	Lima	Nov. 14–19
Annual Conference: Fifth Session	Washington	Nov. 21–
Committee on Unexploited Forests	Habana	November
Meeting of Technical Committee on Physiological Requirements of Calories and Nutrients.	Washington	November
Regional Conference of Latin American Science Experts	Lima	Nov. 23–30
Meeting of International Union for Publication of Customs Tariffs.	Brussels	November or December
Seventh Pan American Congress of Architects	Habana	Dec. 4–10
Caribbean Commission: Ninth Meeting	St. Thomas, Virgin Islands	Dec. 5–10
Tenth International Ornithological Congress	Washington	Dec. 16–18
Port-au-Prince Bicentennial Exposition	Port-au-Prince	December
Committee on the 1950 Census of the Americas: Third Session.	Bogotá	Jan. 9–21
Inter-American Statistical Institute: Second Session	Bogotá	Jan. 16–28

nternational Tin Study Group

On October 25 the Department of State anounced that the following will represent the Jnited States Government at the meeting of the Vorking Party of the International Tin Study Group, scheduled to convene at The Hague on)ctober 26:

elegate

larence W. Nichols, acting adviser, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State

dvisers

lion Curtis, Jr., United States Embassy, The Hague
harles Merrill, chief, Metal Economics Branch, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior
nthony Siragusa, assistant to the vice president, United States Steel Corporation
rwin Vogelsang, chief, Tin and Antimony Section, Metals Division, Department of Commerce

The Working Party was established by the Inernational Tin Study Group at its fourth meeting eld at London in June. It has been instructed y the Study Group to prepare a statement on the osition and prospects of the tin industry which ould serve as a basis for member governments of ıe Group to determine whether they should ask or an international tin conference to be sumıoned by the United Nations. The Working arty has also been instructed to prepare a draft f an international tin-control agreement which ıight be considered at such a conference.

sian Educational Seminar Named

On October 26, the Department of State anounced that W. Carson Ryan, Jr., chief cultural elations officer for China, Division of Exchange f Persons, Department of State, and head, Deartment of Education and chairman, Division of eacher Training, University of North Carolina on leave), has been named United States delegate the Asian Seminar on Rural Adult Education. he Seminar, sponsored jointly by the Governent of India and the United Nations, Educaonal, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), is scheduled to be held at Mysore, ıdia, November 2-December 14.

The main purposes of the meeting are: (a) to udy rural adult education in various Asian countries, and the problems of improving the character of that education; (b) to consider selected topics or issues of widespread concern (the training of teachers, the preparation of instructional material, the place in the adult education program of special subjects, such as hygiene, domestic science, home economics, agriculture, arts, and crafts), with a view of devising better instruments of action with respect thereto; and (c) to increase the understanding of the purposes and programs of Unesco.

International Wool Study Group

The Department of State announced on November 1 that Paul O. Nyhus, agricultural attaché, American Embassy, London, has been named chairman of the United States delegation to the third meeting of the International Wool Study Group, scheduled to convene at London on November 7. The other members of the delegation are:

Advisers

Charles L. Harlan, Livestock Economist and Collaborator, Department of Agriculture
Francis A. Linville, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State
Rene Lutz, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
Arthur Besse, President, National Association of Wool Manufacturers, New York, N.Y.
Harold A. Bishop, Boston Wool Trade Association, Boston, Mass.

Adviser and Secretary

James G. Evans, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State

The National Wool Growers Association and the National Wool Marketing Corporation were invited to name individuals to serve as advisers on the United States delegation. However, because of previously scheduled meetings in this country, these two organizations were unable to designate representatives.

Included among the items on the meeting's draft agenda are: (1) a survey of the world wool position; (2) a review by each delegation of the wool situation in its own country; and (3) study of the report of the Technical Committee on Statistics of Wool Textile Machinery Capacity and Output.

Our German Problem Today

by Henry A. Byroade, Director for German and Austrian Affairs[1]

In speaking to a gathering of newspaper men on the subject of our German policy and problems, I realize that I am addressing an audience who are exceptionally well-informed, who in fact have been of notable assistance in enlightening the American public on these matters. It is not my intention, therefore, to review in any detail the story of our endeavors in Germany during the last 4½ years. It is rather my hope to bring to you some new insight into the difficulties which confront us, the problems we must resolve and the tasks which lie ahead.

It is appropriate that, as the State Department representative chiefly responsible for German Affairs, I should address you at this time. We are just completing a large-scale reorganization of the offices, both within the Department and in Germany, which deal with German matters. Military government was ended on September 21, and the Department of State now assumes the major responsibility for United States policy and operations in Germany. A civilian High Commission now replaces the military governors. A German Government assumed power at Bonn on September 21, limited only by certain reserved powers and controls which the Western governments have seen fit to retain for a time under an Occupation Statute. For better or for worse we have now entered fully upon what we hope will prove a constructive and progressive course of action which should enable the German people to achieve economic security and political independence along democratic lines in close association with the free peoples of Western Europe ar the Atlantic community.

The objectives of United States policy in Ge many are well-known to you. We fought the w that the world might be freed from the intolerab Nazi threat to its liberties and to its peace. B we ourselves rejected the concept of a Carth ginian peace. We are as firmly resolved as ev that Germany shall not be permitted again become a menace to world security. But we a committed to the full resumption of self-gover ment and democratic freedoms by the Germ people. Ultimately there can be no halfway sol tion, no nation half slave and half free. O long-range goal envisages a people secure agair itself through a self-sustained economy and deep rooted democratic institutions. We cannot for the pace, but we are determined to do all with our capacity to bring about the assimilation Germany into a free Europe and the assumpti of cooperative responsibilities by the Germans the European community.

I wish at this point to speak frankly to you representatives of the freest press in the wor Your government has nothing to conceal. It b lieves in the free market in ideas. If mistak have been made, we are ready to correct them. hope that you will continue to present the fa —all the facts—without fear or favor. You w render invaluable service in providing a forv for the free expression of opinion. We shall w come your criticism, and I am sure we shall pro by it. We shall expect your assistance in the velopment of an informed and intelligent pub opinion. And we shall hope for your support our policies when you are convinced that they worthy of support.

[1] Address made before the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association at Mineral Wells, Texas, on Oct. 31, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

My purpose today is to present plainly some of ıe problems which we as a people and govern-ıent must face up to in dealing with Germany. ut let us first try to see the German problem in istorical perspective.

The American people have now had to fight two ars against Germany to prevent German gov-rnments from achieving ends which would have een destructive of the stability and security of the Vestern World and ultimately suicidal for Ger-ıany herself. In the long trend of events no na-on is exclusively guilty. But it is clear that it is ermany that has been the center of two world pheavals, and not some other nation. Twice has ermany been the storm center of European dis-ırbance. The Nazi outbreak, still fresh in our ıemories, surpassed all others in its fury, its rationalism, and its flagrant violation of all hristian and civilized standards.

In grappling with this situation, we must try think clearly—even objectively, difficult as that ıay be—if we are to see our problem in perspec-ve. We must conclude, I believe, that the root of ıe trouble lies in some profound maladjustment f the German nation not only to the international ıvironment in which it lives and in which geo-raphically and economically it occupies so vital position but also to the trials and responsibilities f nationhood itself.

It is generally agreed, even by thoughtful Ger-ıan leaders, that the essence of the problem is to be ound in the political immaturity of the German ation. As a state Germany is young—much ounger even than ourselves. The Germans have ever found a durable pattern for their internal fe, or a political framework in which, as a nation, ıey could manifest their great creative talents ithout injury to others and to themselves. They ıve found neither peace with themselves nor an ljustment of their relationships with the Euro-an community. These difficulties were accen-ıated by the extraordinary prowess of the Ger-ans in economic achievement, science, and chnology.

To make matters worse, Germany developed a llective phobia, a mass mania which found ex-ession in an insenate militarism. The German ople turned aside from their earlier cosmopoli-n tradition into a mental world of dangerous ıreality. They were led by their Nazi masters ry nearly to their own destruction.

Germany in 1945 suffered a threefold collapse—litically, economically, and spiritually. The cupation forces had to deal with 70 million ople whose economic system had collapsed, ıose government had disentegrated, who were ready prey to despair and disillusion. Our au-orities were confronted with tasks of unparal-ed difficulty and urgency.

I do not claim that we have yet reached the goals which we set for ourselves in 1945. But despite admitted shortcomings, the achievement of the occupation forces in the West has been notable. German military power and German capacity to wage war has been destroyed utterly. Millions of displaced persons have been repatriated. There has been marked progress, especially of late, in reviving the German economy along peaceful lines. War criminals and former Nazis have been dealt with according to the judicially determined nature of their offenses. A German government has been established on democratic foundations.

Our German task has been immensely complicated, as you are aware, by the difficulties which speedily arose between the Soviet Government and the Western powers, difficulties which struck to the heart of the great issues which came to divide the community of nations in the posthostilities period. Nor was it easy at all times even for the Western governments to come to agreement. Yet they have persisted, in the face of Soviet intransigence, in a constructive program which now involves by far the greater part of Germany.

Now I should like to take a quick look at some of the basic tasks that confront us in Germany today. Let us consider for a moment our economic problem there. This is a most critical matter, for without economic revival there can be no hope for a democratic orientation of Germany, nor for European recovery and stability. Yet it was the great concentration of economic power and resources which enabled the Nazis to dominate their neighbors and to fashion so formidable a war machine. There has, I feel, been widespread misunderstanding of our economic policy in Germany. We have been criticized on the one hand for our alleged purpose to destroy peaceful in dustry through needless dismantling and restrictions, thus reducing the German people either to penury or to a status of permanent dependence on American charity. From other quarters we have been condemned for rebuilding German economic power, restoring the cartels, and creating once more the basis for German hegemony and military power. People naturally ask, for instance, why we dismantle German factories at the same time that we pour in Marshall Plan aid.

What are the facts? What are we trying to do?

It must be clearly recognized that our economic policy possesses a dual character. One aspect is of necessity restrictive and corrective. We simply cannot ignore the fact that the military potential of a modern state resides largely in its economic resources and organization.

We cannot, therefore, permit the rebuilding of the kind of economic power in Germany that could again endanger the peace of Europe. If we Americans are ever inclined to overlook this danger, we are constantly reminded of it by those

neighbors of Germany which have repeatedly suffered from her armed onslaughts.

For this reason we entered into a series of international agreements and enacted regulations designed to prevent the utilization of German economic resources for aggressive purposes. War industries were outlawed and industries with a high war potential were restricted to an output sufficient for peacetime needs. Our dismantling program, so widely misunderstood, was methodically calculated to strip Germany of her war industry and of that surplus of productive capacity which was created by the Nazis as auxiliary to their war machine and which is in no wise essential to a peaceful economy. This policy we consider basic to our purposes of achieving the immediate disarmament and long-range demilitarization of Germany and of providing reparations for those countries whose economies were devastated by German aggression. It may be argued that the calculations underlying the program were in error. If further study should indicate that mistakes have been made, I would expect the three governments concerned to rectify them. In fact, the original agreements concerning prohibited and restricted industries have already been revised on two occasions.

You are familiar with other instruments of control—the deconcentration and decartelization laws now in effect and in process of application; the International Authority for the Ruhr with its effective restraints upon the manner in which Germany's strategic coal, coke, and steel output is channeled and utilized; and the Military Security Board which will insure that German industrial production and research do not reestablish a war potential. There will be need for continuing controls until German economic life is fully reorganized and integrated with the economy of a peaceful and united Europe.

The corrective measures to which I have alluded are entirely consistent with our purpose that the German people shall develop a self-sustaining economy which will provide an adequate and rising standard of living and make a major contribution to the successful accomplishment of the European Recovery Program. To this end we have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Germany. Production in Western Germany has begun to approach prewar (1936) levels. The currency reform and mark devaluation have given a tremendous stimulus to production and trade. The Federal Government at Bonn is expected soon to become a full-fledged partner in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

We are thus observing the gradual emergence of a new Germany which is at the same time safe to live with and yet well on the road to recovery and ultimate prosperity. Germany, we trust, will thrive not at the expense of its neighbors but in closest association with them for the commo good of all.

Now you have all observed that within the las year there has begun a rebirth of the Germa nation—yes, even of German nationalism. Thi fact is the very crux of our problem. It was to b expected, was in fact inevitable once the restraint of 4½ years of military government were relaxe We are condemned in some quarters today becaus we have not eradicated nazism and created a dem ocratic society. I frankly admit that we have don neither. But I believe that our regime in Ge many has excluded Nazi activists from vantag points of influence and has laid the groundwor for a democratic state. Military government is harsh school for any people. It has performe its rigorous tasks with effectiveness, but it coul scarcely be expected in a few short years to tran form the faith and institutions of a people.

We enter today upon a new phase of our politic task in Germany. We can combat the antidem cratic forces only by democracy in action. Su pression is futile, and we can not impose a ne faith by duress as the Soviet authorities ha sought to do in the East. If it comes, it must con of German striving and determination. We c only "firm up" the tendencies which, if given e couragement and opportunity for developme may make Germany a force for reconstruction a peace in Europe. Our hope is that what Germa feel and think and do will determine this iss cleanly and decisively. We can prescribe; we c offer assistance. But only the Germans can w the fight for civil freedoms and self-governme

I should like to make very clear why we have c cided to risk the return of governmental respon bility to the Germans. It is because we we confronted with only two alternatives. Either could maintain full control of the German nati under a military regime for an indefinite peri for decades perhaps. We might have done this a staggering cost to the American taxpayer—a the Germans, in the end, would have been ev more recalcitrant, even more skeptical of the me of the democratic system than they are today. on the other hand, we could begin the long resto tive process of enabling the Germans to assu political responsibilities and to practice the a of self-government and thus in time build dem racy into the very fabric of their institutions. have chosen the latter alternative, and I beli we have chosen rightly.

The Western powers have permitted the G mans to set up at Bonn a federal governm under democratic auspices. We would willin have authorized a government for all Germany the Russians had agreed. This would have b possible, however, only by sacrificing comple the democratic concept. This we were not re to do. The Bonn government, I would rem you, is a freely elected government of the t united Western zones of Germany, in contras

ıe rump regime imposed upon its single zone by ıe Soviet power. Back of the Bonn government re 4 years of gradual growth of democratic in-:itutions and practice. There has been at least beginning. It will require years of patient ffort before the Germans learn to place reliance ›ss in the authority of the state than in their own ›sponsibility as citizens.

I am convinced that, in the long run, we can ›mbat the danger of Nazi resurgence only by ositive encouragement of the democratic forces f Germany and by lending them all assistance in ır power in their struggle for victory over those nister elements that have so nearly brought ·ermany to ruin.

In all our plans for Germany, one fact stands ıt. We can never succeed in our mission unless ıe German people can be brought wholly within ıe family of free nations and can accept of their wn will the principles by which free people live. Vhether we were right or wrong in our endeavor assist in the rehabilitation of Germany as a na-on will depend ultimately upon the spirit which ıe new Germany demonstrates in thought and :tion. We have sought to reduce the conditions economic misery and political frustration hich were the heritage of the war and amidst hich democracy could never flourish. It is our ırther duty to do all which legitimately may be ›ne to sway German thinking in the direction of ›mocracy, of respect for the free individual, of ›ace.

There have been recently some vigorous expres-›ns of concern lest this government has re-›unced this vital part of its mission, now that we ıve voluntarily curbed our own powers and dele-ıted far-reaching authority to a new German ›vernment. To our ears—those of us engaged in e daily business of shaping United States policy Germany—these expressions of concern were ›eet music. For they were a clear indication at important elements of the American people ıderstand the tremendous importance of a con-ıued and augmented effort to influence German inking and are apparently willing to support eir government in this effort by giving what sistance they can.

Let us see what this problem is in essence. In mbating nazism we are dealing with a pernicious eology which represents the perversion of cer-ın German traditions. We realize that no con-ering power can "reeducate" another people; it n at best assist in creating those conditions which ıke reeducation possible. We are not deterred the thoughtless charge that our German policy a failure because in four short years we have iled to convert the German people to a love of mocracy and freedom and the ways of peace. ıch a task is one not of years but of a generation.

We are encouraged in this effort by the realization that there is much of true greatness and worth in the German cultural heritage which may furnish inspiration to all Germans of good will. The celebration throughout the world this year of the bicentennial of Goethe's birth is a reminder that there are great resources in Germany's intellectual tradition which may be drawn upon in the work before us.

But it may be asked, what can we actually do, in view of the situation created by the Occupation Statute? It is true that, with the establishment of the High Commission and of the new German government, we will no longer seek to enforce educational reform by coercion, nor to curb free expression of ideas by censorship, license, or direct control. May not the Germans misuse their new freedom to disseminate Nazi or other antidemocratic concepts?

The danger exists. At this delicate transition stage the occupying powers are maintaining a close watch to see that German schools, the press, and other information media do not succumb to revived Nazi influence. If necessary, the emergency powers provided for by the Occupation Statute may be invoked to prevent such a development.

However, we hope that emergency measures will not prove necessary. As you know, there exists in Germany today a democratic press which, thanks to the assistance of military government, seems to have taken firm root among the German people. The Western powers continue to maintain their own media to insure the presentation of important facts and ideas. Democratic thought in Germany, particularly in the newspaper field, finds itself in competition with the old ideologies and their most recent variants. This competition is very real, involving control of vital physical assets, and the going is rough and likely to continue so for some time to come. All the assistance we can give—private as well as governmental—will be urgently needed. I am not alarmed that we must face this situation, because I know that the democratic cause can triumph only in the free market of ideas. The fight will strengthen the proponents of democracy and will develop their skill in the vital democratic arts of self-assertion and free public discussion.

I would not gloss over the difficulties under which a free press and other democratic forces are now operating in Germany. You are well aware of them. I would appeal to the press of this country to assist us in our task.

You can help by making possible, through your own initiative and assistance, many "exchange" or orientation visits of German leaders of opinion to this country. This government plans to expand this program considerably and relies on your support for its success. I am sure you must realize what it means to a German newspaper editor or publisher actually to see in America a free press in operation, seeking to serve and inform rather than to indoctrinate the public.

You can help your government with its job in Germany by making available information, material equipment, and, above all, trained personnel—all badly needed at the present time. The new German press is fighting for its life under adverse conditions. It will require all the assistance we can give, if it is to become the powerful democratic instrument we would wish it to be.

You can help by presenting and interpreting the German problem fully and fairly to the American public. The Department of State and the Office of the High Commissioner will make readily accessible to the press all the information that it is possible to disclose.

Our High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, has very much at heart the need for a new orientation of German thinking. And I am happy that he has selected to head the very important Office of Public Affairs a distinguished member of your own association, Ralph Nicholson. Mr. Nicholson needs and deserves all the support that the American press can give him in his new and arduous task. I trust that, with the help of his able counsel in Germany, our combined efforts may assist in creating a new atmosphere of freedom.

And finally I wish to emphasize the fact, well-known to you, that the German problem is basically an international problem. What we do in Germany vitally affects the immediate interests of all European peoples. Whether viewed as a manufacturing nation of central importance in the Marshall Plan, or as a theatre of political warfare in which rival systems and ideologies contend, Germany is of central importance, and consequently our German policy has profound international significance.

It is clear, of course, that no single power can dictate a solution of the German problem. It will require the concerted wisdom and cooperation of many governments. In this connection I am sure there is one question uppermost in your minds. What about Russia?

The United States has faithfully endeavored ever since 1945 to achieve a settlement of German issues in concert with the powers chiefly associated with her in the war and in the occupation, and to prepare the way for a German peace treaty. Our representatives labored patiently for 3 years in the Allied Control Council and in the Kommandatura in Berlin to obtain agreement on day to day problems, but with little success because of Soviet obstruction. In three successive meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers devoted chiefly to German affairs it has been made clear that the Soviet Government has wanted no settlement of the German problem that is not dictated by the sole consideration of its own national interest. Our rights in Berlin were challenged—as you know, without success—and we are still in Berlin. The Soviet Government deliberately sabotaged the four-power coordinating agencies set up in 194 and proceeded to mold its zone in the Soviet pat tern. We have responded by going ahead in asso ciation with Britain and France in the West wit a program fashioned in the spirit of the origina four-power agreements on Germany. We shal not be forced from Berlin, and we shall endeavo to make that war-ravaged city an advance post o democracy in eastern Europe. We shall procee with our program in the West, with the door a ways open for Soviet participation in the commo effort to resolve the German problem. But w shall never purchase Soviet cooperation at the co of principles we consider vital to the peace an comity of Europe and of the democratic work

This government has undertaken in German perhaps the most difficult single task in the who field of its foreign policy. It is a job which d mands the utmost of us all in patient effort an understanding. The interests of many oth nations are deeply involved, and these we mu consider most carefully in the development of o own policies. I trust that through our concert efforts Germany may be enabled to become stronghold of peace in Europe and a worthy me ber of the brotherhood of democratic peoples.

Correction of Article on Visa Work

In the article on the visa work of the Depa ment of State and the Foreign Service, printed the BULLETIN of October 10, 1949, the followi additions should be made to the second item in t appendix entitled "Countries Under Section 3 (of the Act of 1924 With Which the United Stat Has Treaties of Commerce and Navigation" (pa 535):

After ARGENTINA insert

AUSTRIA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigati signed June 19, 1928; art. II.

Change CHINA to read

CHINA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigati signed November 4, 1946; art. II.

After HONDURAS, insert

HUNGARY: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and consu rights, signed June 24, 1925; art. I.

After IRELAND, insert

ITALY: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigati signed February 2, 1948.

Change LIBERIA to read

LIBERIA: Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigat signed August 8, 1938; art. I.

Insert as footnote

There has been no judicial determination as to effect of World War II on the legal status of article the treaty of friendship, commerce, and consular ri with Germany, signed Dec. 8, 1923.

ribute to Turkish–American Relations

ddress by George V. Allen, Ambassador-designate to Yugoslavia[1]

Your gathering here tonight in honor of the th anniversary of the founding of the Republic Turkey is a concrete expression of the deep-ated and genuine desire on the part of the ople of our two countries to know each other tter and to lend each other mutual support and couragement in a common cause—the cause of man freedom.

The struggle for that cause is epitomized in the story of the Turkish Republic. No other nation er won its independence against more over-elming odds. No other country more resolutely rned its back on the past and adapted its whole e to new patterns. And no newly independent untry ever won for itself more quickly an nored position in the society of nations.

It has always been a source of amazement to that two nearly simultaneous revolutions in two ighboring territories, the Russian Empire and Ottoman Empire, should have had such oppo-e results. In Russia, revolution brought the tinction of freedom. In Turkey it resulted in great increase of freedom. The U.S.S.R., after iving out its western enemies, closed the door er them and locked it. Turkey opened its doors der and wider each year to outside ideas, out-e techniques, and international collaboration. e Soviet Government has gone to unbelievable gths to assure that its citizens shall have the st possible contact with the outside world. A ssian cannot travel abroad at will. He prac-ally never sees a foreign publication. The last portant uncontrolled source of world news in Soviet Union was the Russian language radio grams of the Voice of America and the British oadcasting Company. Many millions of Rus-ns, we now are certain, listened to these pro-ms. At the present time the programs are gely blacked out by a tremendous jamming work built by the Soviet regime for that specific rpose. Turkey, on the other hand, maintains unhampered channels for the flow of information and the interchange of ideas. Why this diametric divergence in trends?

I think it is clear enough now that the U.S.S.R. keeps its doors closed because the system which the Communists set up could not exist except in an ideologically airtight compartment. Even then, the system is not working. The living standard is depressingly low. Control is by fear. Individual freedom is extinguished. Neither the Nazi, Soviet, or any other dictatorship could exist under a free press or a free radio.

In Turkey, on the other hand, individual freedom has steadily grown since the founding of the Republic and particularly during the last few years. Competent historians are more and more coming to recognize that traditional society in the Middle East and more particularly the Ottoman Turkish development of that society, included a considerable degree of personal freedom and emphasis on the rights and dignity of the individual. To these old traditions of personal freedom there has now been added an infinitely more important element in the forceful and deliberate choice made by Kemal Ataturk and his collaborators to adopt the essential apparatus of political democracy.

I am glad to be able to tell you tonight that through the Voice of America, one more link between the people of the United States and the people of Turkey is being established. Plans are well under way for inauguration of a daily broadcast to Turkey in the Turkish language, and I anticipate that its starting date will be announced in the very near future. Through these broadcasts, we hope to make it clearer than ever to the people of Turkey that our fundamental interests and objectives are parallel with theirs; that our aspirations are fundamentally theirs; and that our aim in the present troubled state of the world is the same as theirs—the maintenance of independence and the safeguarding of the freedom and dignity of the individual.

We believe that the Turkish people want to

[1] Made before the American-Turkish Society on Oct. 28, 9, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. n is currently Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

know more about the United States and its people just as we want to know more about Turkey. The great demands upon and the excellent results achieved by the Turkish Information Office here in New York and by Turkish press attachés are evidence of American interest in Turkey. We welcome these open and constructive information activities of governments, just as we welcome the establishment of institutions such as this American Turkish Society. We hope that the interchange of information through private and official channels can continue to grow until it adequately meets the need for full understanding between our two peoples.

I am very happy to participate with you tonig in this tribute to the Turkish Republic. T United States admires Turkey's record of achiev ment, both in domestic and international affai We respect Turkey's contributions to the wo of the United Nations, to UNESCO, to the activiti of the Council of Europe, and her disinterest and wholehearted efforts in the Palestine Conci ation Commission.

I wish to convey to you, Mr. Ambassador,[1] n sincere best wishes and hearty congratulations the occasion of this anniversary and to express n hope that the American Turkish Society may ha a long and fruitful career as a further and i portant link in the chain of cultural and educ tional activities which are bringing the people Turkey and of the United States closer togeth

The World as a Framework for U.S. Foreign Policy

by Dorothy Fosdick[2]

These days our attention is largely centered on the divisions of the world. The Soviet-dominated area seems to stand on one side; the rest of the nations, on the other. And the free world itself is not a simple unity. We find ourselves thinking in terms of the Western Hemisphere, the Atlantic community, Europe, the Near and Middle East, the Far East, the Commonwealth. Somehow the world presents itself to us in segments.

To speak of the world as a whole these days seems almost sentimental. We are now deeply engaged in helping strengthen one part of the world against the political expansion and domination of the other part. It is not surprising that our horizon narrows down to that portion of the world in which we are able to work and move around; or that sometimes our horizon narrows even further to the segment of the world in which we live. It is a familiar historical fact that any group faced with a threat to its survival tends to contract the range of its loyalty.

This tendency may be a natural one, but it is one we should resist. In a world where survival no longer can be assured by local efforts or local resources, a Maginot state of mind is dangerous. No part of the world, no segment, can be the primary framework for the development of our foreign policy. The only primary framework t will do is the world as a whole.

We recognized this at the time we helped dr the Charter of the United Nations. In t Charter we declare our intention to cooperate building a peace, not for any one part of t world, but a peace in which all the parts will wo together with a minimum of conflict. When are at our best, our horizon is the world's beca we know that in the final analysis peace can o be established on a world basis.

We cannot see clearly what a truly firm wo peace will look like. Nor can we guess how lo it will take to reach this happier state of thin We are rather in the position of the football pla who catches the ball on the kick off. He kno what he will do with the ball for the first 10 ya but not for 50 yards. The thing he is sure o the direction in which he should run.

If we keep the world as a whole as the prima framework for our foreign policy, we have so chance of moving in the right direction. If we not, if some part of the world usurps its pla we are likely to lose our way. Like the legend football player, we may start running in wrong direction. Let me illustrate this.

One hears some people saying these days t since the Soviet Union shows no signs of rea working with us in organizing the peace, and fact, usually works against us, we might as w count her out for good; we might as well res ourselves to a divided world. If, however, look at the matter in the context of the wh

[1] Feridun Cemal Erkin, Turkish Ambassador.

[2] An address delivered before the *Herald Tribune* Forum in New York, N.Y., on Oct. 26, 1949, and released to the press on the same date. Miss Fosdick is a member of the Policy Planning Staff, Department of State.

orld and recall that peace in the end requires ıe world, somehow we do not feel like giving up easily.

As Mr. Schlesinger recently wrote, "The object foreign policy is to produce real changes in a al world." We have embarked on strengthen-g the free world against Communist pressures part for the very reason that we have not given) for good. We are betting that in time the alities of the situation may persuade those who ve not been convinced by words that the road to ternational collaboration is to their own best terest. The Soviet Union knows what we are ɔking for—such a modification in its action in-rnationally as to make clear that it intends to ɔrk persistently and faithfully with the rest of e world in building the peace.

How soon the processes of history will produce e change we hope for, we cannot know. hether that change will even come in our life-ne, we cannot know. But we are certain that thing is to be gained by giving up hope. One reminded of a profound comment by Robert ɔpenheimer: "It is in our hands to see that the pe of the future is not lost, because we were too re that we knew the answers, too sure that there ıs no hope." In hope, then, we should continue uphold those standards of international be-vior that we are asking the Russians to respect. ıd we should continue to help mold the realities the free world to persuade them that respect on ɜir part for that behavior is their own best bet.

Let me give one more illustration. One some-nes hears people say that the United Nations is inadequate as a safeguard for our security that should no longer take it seriously. We are vised to rely instead on the strength of the free rld.

If, however, we view the question in the frame-rk of the whole world and recall that peace in ɜ end requires a united world we are not in-ned to abandon the United Nations.

The United Nations is a start in the direction want to go. Difficult as the going is, the ıited Nations still bridges the divisions of the rld. Moreover, it provides the natural rally-ɛ ground for the great body of nations who wish develop the standards and techniques of peace. day the free nations stand together in the ıited Nations against aggression so that any ssible aggressor nation must be aware that it ɜes having to take on not only its victim, but ɜ majority of states. One of our columnists the ıer day underestimated the United Nations en he called it "practice at international co-ɜration." The United Nations is also serious, mediate business.

As long as the Soviet Union obstructs the de-opment of an effective universal security system through the United Nations the free world will have to rely for its security in large part on more limited arrangements, like the Rio treaty, the Atlantic pact, and the Brussels Union. But the United Nations belongs at the center of the picture. We should never weary in our determination to keep it there and to strengthen it.

This is the only way that the steps we have to take to strengthen the free part of the world will find their proper place in the scheme of things. These steps then are not an alternative to the United Nations. They supplement the United Nations. The free nations then try to fashion their arrangements, as the Charter requires, in accordance with its principles and purposes. They seek to use these arrangements to support the United Nations in moving forward in the direction that was set at San Francisco.

These two illustrations indicate the very practical importance of a nation consistently developing its foreign policy within the context of the world as a whole. Much of our effort will have to take place within the narrower context of our portion of the world. Our hope in the long run lies in keeping the narrower framework in its proper setting, within the over-all framework of the world.

But even when a nation is on the right road, this road is a long and perilous one. We Americans sometimes find it hard to get used to the idea of living with problems. So often we seem to expect some quick and complete solution. Mr. Acheson one said: "Our name for problems is significant. We call them headaches. We take a powder and they are gone."

Fortunately, once we are persuaded that a problem is not a headache but is the real thing, there is an old American habit of not giving up easily. One of my colleagues on the Policy Planning Staff showed the right spirit the other day when he advised us to go after a problem we were discussing like a wrestling match. "Just maneuver around the fellow three or four times," he said, "until you see a chance for a good hold, then come to grips and don't let go."

Chinese Communists Refuse Exit Visa for American Military Attaché

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press October 26*]

The American military attaché to China, Gen. Robert B. Soule, has been refused an exist visa by the Chinese Communist authorities in Nanking as a result of a demand from certain United States Government Chinese employees that General Soule remain in Nanking until settlement of their demands for exorbitant severance pay.

The Department takes a serious view of the flimsy pretext used by the local authorities to prevent departure of an American official from China in contravention of generally recognized principles of international law. The United States Government does not countenance negotiations under duress and will not authorize its representatives in China to submit to such pressure.

General Soule applied for his permit on October 6 and planned to sail to Hong Kong from Shanghai on a British ship scheduled to depart October 19. He completed all the necessary procedures for obtaining his permit, including the required newspaper advertisements of his intended departure. He also notified local authorities in writing of the persons who would be responsible for continuing negotiations with the Chinese employees of his office.

Steps are being taken by our representatives in China with a view to obtaining the immediate issuance of General Soule's exit permit and assurances that he will be permitted to depart via the first available transportation.

In Shanghai, three members of the American consulate general staff also did not receive their exit permits in time to sail on October 18. They were Commander Morgan Slayton, assistant United States naval attaché; Dr. G. G. Schram, United States Public Health officer; and Chief Yoeman Alvin E. Shrout of the naval attaché's office.

All three complied with the regulations in ample time and had been informed there were no objections to the issuance of exit permits. The day before their ship was to sail the three received word that their permits were not ready. At no time was any valid objection raised to the departure of these persons, and it is apparent that failure to issue permits was due either to negligence on the part of the Chinese Communist authorities concerned or to deliberate discrimination against American officials.

The American consul general in Shanghai has filed a written protest with Communist officials setting forth the facts and asking for remedial action at once.

Czechoslovak Charges of Espionage Activity

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press October 26*]

The recent charges of the Czechoslovak Government that certain employees of the American Embassy have been engaged in espionage activities resulting in the demand for the immediate parture of Isaac Patch and John G. Heyn, sistant attachés of the Embassy, and the arr of Samuel Meryn, an Embassy employee, h been obviously trumped up in order to intimid further the local population and lay the grou for further trials of the kind which is now co mon in the Communist-dominated territories Eastern Europe. The charges are alleged to based on "irrefutable proof" and "confessions' Czechoslovak citizens. This government has s ficient knowledge of the police methods and pr tices employed by the present regime in Czec slovakia to know how much credence should placed in "confessions" and "irrefutable pro produced in politically inspired propaganda ca of this kind. In the past, Czechoslovak citiz are known to have been arrested and questionec the secret police simply because they visited library of the United States Information Serv or because they visited the Embassy on rou matters. This government cannot admit the p ciple that mere contact by its officials abroad v the citizens of a friendly country constit espionage.

Although in conformity with diplomatic p tice, this government has acceded to the req for this withdrawal of the officers concerned, unusual and drastic demand for departure i hours is typical of the disregard of usual in national courtesies by the Communist regime Eastern Europe.

Ratification Instruments for Double Taxation Convention With France Exchanged

[*Released to the press October 17*]

On October 17, 1949, Dean Acheson, Secre of State, and Henri Bonnet, French Ambass in Washington, formally exchanged the ins ments of ratification of the convention of O ber 18, 1946, between the United States France, relating to double taxation, and the plementary protocol of May 17, 1948.

The convention, which was signed at Par designated more fully as the convention for avoidance of double taxation and the preven of fiscal evasion in the case of taxes on estates inheritances and for the purpose of modifying supplementing certain provisions of the con tion between the two governments relating t come taxation signed at Paris on July 25, As a result of proposals made in the cours hearings on the convention of 1946 before a committee of the Senate Committee on For Relations, the supplementary protocol was n tiated with France and was signed in Wash

n in order to effect certain desired modifications the convention of 1946.

The purpose of the convention and protocol is e elimination, so far as practicable, of double xation upon the same estate or, when taken to-ther with the tax convention of 1939, upon the me income. The provisions are similar in sub-antial respects to provisions in tax conventions the United States in force with certain other untries.

According to the terms of the convention of 46, the provisions applicable to taxes on estates ıd inheritances entered into force upon the ex-ange of the instruments of ratification and ap-y solely to estates or inheritances in the case of rsons dying on or after that date, while the pro-sions applicable to taxes on income become ef-ctive, except as otherwise specifically provided the convention, on the first day of January fol-wing the exchange of instruments of ratifica-on, i.e., January 1, 1950.

A proclamation of the convention and protocol ll be issued by the President. The English and ench texts of the convention and protocol will printed in the Treaties and Other International cts Series, published by the Department of State. ıe English text of the convention may be found Senate Executive A, 80th Congress, 1st Session, d the English text of the protocol may be found Senate Executive G, 80th Congress, 2d Ses-on. The English and French texts of the in-me-tax convention of 1939, with an accompany-g protocol, may be found in Treaty Series 988.

.S. Delegation
Costa Rican Inauguration

On October 24 the Department of State nounced that the President has approved the llowing delegation to represent the United ates at the inauguration of Otilio Ulate as Presi-nt of the Republic of Costa Rica on November 8:

seph Flack, United States Ambassador to Costa Rica, Special Ambassador and Head of delegation
sistant Secretary Edward G. Miller, Jr., Special Ambassador
presentative Laurie C. Battle of Alabama, Member
presentative Donald L. Jackson of California, Member
T. Scott of Florida, Member
eldon Kaplan, Staff Consultant, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Secretary

Other names of the Delegation, all members of e United States Embassy in Costa Rica, include:

drew E. Donovan, II, first secretary
t. Robert J. McBride, military attaché
mdr. Robert H. Caldwell, Jr., naval attaché
Lt. Col. Willis F. Lewis, air attaché
Edward L. Tanner, agricultural attaché
Frederick J. Cunningham, second secretary
Erwin W. Wendt, second secretary
Edward A. Marelius, attaché
Albert Harkness, Jr., attaché
Robert A. Stevenson, third secretary

The inauguration of Señor Ulate has a special significance in that it marks the return of Costa Rica to constitutional government, following an 18-month period of provisional administration under the leadership of José Figueres. Two Vice Presidents and 45 members of Costa Rica's uni-cameral Congress will assume office along with Señor Ulate on November 8. All were chosen by the people of Costa Rica in free elections. The United States Government shares with the Fig-ueres administration and the people of Costa Rica profound satisfaction over Costa Rican success in solving her serious political and constitutional questions in a democratic manner fully consistent with the country's long traditions of liberty and devotion to the principles of representative gov-ernment.

U.S.–Colombia
Terminate 1935 Trade Agreement

[*Released to the press October 17*]

Identical notes have been exchanged between the Department of State and the Colombian Embassy terminating the trade agreement between the United States and Colombia signed September 13, 1935. As a result of this exchange of notes the trade agreement will cease to be in force on and after December 1, 1949. The text of the United States note follows:

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to conversations between representatives of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Colombia regard-ing the joint termination by mutual consent of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement between our two countries signed September 13, 1935.

During the recent tariff negotiations conducted at Annecy, France, under the auspices of the Con-tracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Delegations of our two countries endeavored to conclude negotiations directed to the exchange of mutually satisfactory tariff concessions and envisaging the accession of Colombia to the General Agreement. In view of a number of basic difficulties which developed in these negotiations, as well as the scope and com-plexity of them, it was not found possible to com-plete these negotiations. It is hoped, however, that at some later date it will be possible to under-

take negotiations again with a view to Colombia's accession to the General Agreement.

At the present time the application of the existing Reciprocal Trade Agreement between our two countries presents a number of special problems. This Agreement has been in force since 1936 and was entered into when economic, monetary and fiscal conditions were substantially different from what they are today. In view of these considerations our Delegations to the Annecy conference agreed to recommend that the Agreement be terminated jointly by mutual consent.

In accordance with this recommendation and the conversations to which I have referred, I have the honor to confirm the agreement reached today that the Reciprocal Trade Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, signed at Washington on September 13, 1935, shall cease to be in force on and after December 1, 1949.

It is understood that with the termination of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement and pending the conclusion of new arrangements, the commercial relations of the two countries shall be subject to the provisions of the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Navigation and Commerce between the United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, signed at Bogotá, December 12, 1846.

Accept [etc.].

For the Secretary of State:
EDWARD G. MILLER, JR.

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don
EDUARDO ZULETA-ANGEL
Ambassador of Colombia

Opportunities for Study and Teaching Abroad Announced [1]

Research and Teaching

The Department of State announced on October 14 that 40 American scholars recently received awards under the Fulbright Act to teach or conduct research abroad during the next academic year. The Department also announced similar awards to five foreign scholars to undertake projects in the United States.

Graduate Study

The Department of State announced in October that the American students have received fellowships under the Fulbright Act for graduate study abroad during the next academic year.

[1] For requirements in making application for Fulbright awards, see BULLETIN of Oct. 31, 1949, p. 675.

On October 17, ten graduate students receiv awards for study in New Zealand. Six of the students are veterans. On October 21, 35 studen of whom 24 are veterans, received fellowships f study in Norway and the Netherlands. On O tober 27, 229 students, of whom 137 are veterai received awards for study in France.

American Red Cross Rushes Aid to Guatemalan Flood District

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press October 26*]

The United States is profoundly distressed the news of the disaster. A Red Cross sur team was flown by the United States Air Fo from the Canal Zone to Guatemala last Thursd October 20, to cooperate with the local Red Cr and the Guatemalan National Emergency Co mittee and to take in emergency supplies of me cine, blankets, food, and other supplies. One our amphibian planes was utilized to fly stranded American tourists and other persons need of assistance. The American Red Cross sent 150 tons of corn as an emergency food sup for homeless survivors of the flood and is assisting to locate emergency supplies of r corn, and beans which the Guatemalan Gove ment desires to purchase.

President Truman asked Ambassador Patt son, who was in the Department on consultati to return to Guatemala to make an on-the-s survey and report back. Ambassador Patter reached Guatemala City last Sunday.

Guatemalan Educator Visits U.S.

Hector Antonio Guerra, Director General Adult Education in Guatemala, recently arri in Washington for a 3-month visit under the e cational-exchange program of the Departmen State for the purpose of studying objectives techniques in effect in the field of adult educa in this country.

Letters of Credence

Hungarian People's Republic

The newly appointed Minister of the Hungarian ple's Republic, Imre Horvath, presented his credentia the President on October 17, 1949. For texts of the ister's remarks and the President's reply, see Departm of State press release 798 of October 17, 1949.

organization of Economic d United Nations Offices

leased to the press October 27]

The Department of State announced today the ganization and principal officers of the Office the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs d of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs. Effective October 3, 1949, the organizational ucture of the Office of the Assistant Secretary Economic Affairs was realigned in accordance h the Department's plan of reorganization. e Office of the Assistant Secretary for Eco- nic Affairs consists of the following organiza- nal units under the supervision of the desig- ed officers:

ce of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs

istant Secretary for Economic Affairs	Willard L. Thorp
puty Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs	John E. O'Gara
ector, Executive Staff	Richard R. Brown
cial Assistants	Dallas W. Dort Samuel P. Hayes, Jr. Leroy D. Stinebower
or Adviser	Cleon O. Swayzee
ector, ECA Relations Staff	To be announced later

ce of International Trade Policy

ector	Winthrop G. Brown
puty Director	John M. Leddy
ef, Commercial Policy Staff	Carl D. Corse, Acting
ef, Economic Resources and Security Staff	John W. Evans
ing Chief, International Business Practices Policy Staff	Roger C. Dixon
ef, Petroleum Policy Staff	Robert H. S. Eakens

ce of Financial and Development Policy

ector	J. Burke Knapp
puty Director	To be announced later
ing Chief, Monetary Affairs Staff	Orville J. McDiarmid
ef, Investment and Economic Development Staff	Wilfred Malenbaum
ef, Lend-Lease and Surplus Property Staff	Francis T. Murphy

ce of Transport and Communications Policy

ector	Walter A. Radius
puty Director	J. Paul Barringer
ef, Aviation Policy Staff	Thomas T. Carter
ef, Inland Transport Policy Staff	H. H. Kelly
ef, Shipping Policy Staff	J. E. Saugstad
ef, Telecommunications Policy Staff	Francis Colt deWolf

With the exception of some minor internal adjustments the organizational arrangements indicated have been activated as of October 3, 1949.

ORGANIZATION AND PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE BUREAU OF UNITED NATIONS AFFAIRS

The Bureau of United Nations Affairs has been established under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs. The Bureau consists of the following organizational units under the supervision of the designated officers:

Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs	John D. Hickerson
Deputy Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs	Durward V. Sandifer
Executive Director	Calvin J. Nichols
Adviser to the Assistant Secretary	Harley Notter
Special Assistants to the Assistant Secretary	Donald C. Blaisdell Herbert A. Fierst William Sanders

Refugees and Displaced Persons Staff

Adviser	George L. Warren

United Nations Planning Staff

Adviser	Howard C. Johnson, Jr.
Staff Assistant	To be announced later

Office of Dependent Area Affairs

Director	Benjamin Gerig
Officer in Charge, Non-Self-Governing Territories Affairs	Robert R. Robbins
Officer in Charge, Trusteeship Affairs	William I. Cargo

Office of International Administration and Conferences

Director	To be announced later

Division of International Administration

Chief	George M. Ingram

Division of International Conferences

Chief	Warren Kelchner
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Deputy Director	To be announced later
Adviser	John D. Tomlinson
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Officer in Charge, General Assembly Affairs	David Popper
Officer in Charge, International Security Affairs	Bernhard G. Bechhoefer
Officer in Charge, Pacific Settlement Affairs	John Halderman

The Office of International Administration and Conferences will not be activated until the appointment of a Director. Pending such appointment, therefore, the Division of International Administration and the Division of International Conferences will continue to report directly to the Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs.

Appointment of Officers

Foy D. Kohler as Chief of the International Broadcasting Division, Office of International Information, effective October 31, 1949.

The following designations have been made in the Office of German and Austrian Affairs, effective October 12, 1949:

Raymond M. Cheseldine as Special Assistant; Perry Laukhuff as Chief of the Division of German Political Affairs; Jacques J. Reinstein as Chief of the Division of German Economic Affairs; Francis T. Williamson as Chief of the Division of Austrian Affairs; and Henry J. Kellerman as Chief of the Division of German and Austrian Information and Reorientation Affairs.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

American Consulate in Dairen Closed

[*Released to the press October 24*]

The American consulate in Dairen was officially closed on October 21, 1949, because of the inability of that office to carry on normal consular functions owing to restrictions imposed by the Soviet and Chinese Communist authorities in Dairen. Consul Paul E. Paddock, Jr., of Des Moines, Iowa, and Vice Consul Culver Gleysteen, of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, the only official American personnel in Dairen, departed from Dairen on October 21, 1949, aboard the Butterfield and Swire ship, *Shansi*. They are now at Seoul and will shortly return to Washington for consultation.

Resignations

On October 27, 1949, President Truman accepted the resignation of Cavendish W. Cannon as American Ambassador to Yugoslavia. For text of the President's letter to Mr. Cannon, see White House press release of October 27, 1949.

Confirmations

On October 19, 1949, the Senate confirmed the nomi tion of Mrs. Eugenie Anderson to be American Ambas dor Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Denmark.

PUBLICATIONS

Third Section of Treaty Developments Released

[*Released to the press October 26*]

In releasing today the third group of sheets its looseleaf service entitled *United States Tre Developments*, the Department of State is mak available (1) up-to-date information on over international agreements not previously inclu in the service and (2) revisions and additions approximately 125 agreements covered in the f and second releases issued July 1948 and A 1949.[1]

With respect to the 150 agreements not pr ously included, such data as the following given where applicable: date and place of sig ture, effective date, duration, ratifications, adh ences, reservations, amendments, extensi authorizing and implementing legislation, Exe tive action, administrative and diplomatic in pretations, and court decisions. The sub matter of each agreement is indicated, with c tions to the text. This group of agreements cludes, in addition to many recently conclu (for example, the series of economic cooperat agreements and agreements relating to trade occupied areas), a number of important o treaties concerning which there have been cur developments, such as the arrangement of 1 establishing the International Office of Pu Health and the treaty of friendship, comme and consular rights of 1928 with Austria.

The second group of sheets in the current rel contains revised pages to be substituted for p previously released in order to bring them up date. The revisions affect approximately agreements already treated in the looseleaf ser

Information regarding treaties submitted to Senate of the United States and not yet in f (appendix I) and a numerical list of the Tre and Other International Acts Series (appe II) are brought up-to-date in the current rel

A cumulative 186-page index by countries subjects replaces the previous index.

[1] BULLETIN of May 15, 1949, p. 639.

'he third release may be purchased for $3.50 n the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Gov- ment Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. . fourth release of looseleaf sheets, containing ı on over 100 additional agreements and re- ons on approximately 90 agreements previously uded in the service, is being printed and will eleased in the near future. A fifth set of loose- sheets is in preparation.

'nited States Treaty Developments is compiled Eunice Webber Shafferman and Helen Brown ɜnhart under the direction of Bryton Barron, istant for Treaty Affairs, Office of the Legal 'iser.

v Territorial Papers Volume Released

eased to the press October 29]

dvance copies of volume XIV of the series en- d *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, lished by the Department of State under the ıority of an act of Congress, were received by Department today.

olume XIV is the second of three volumes on Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803–1821, ch comprised the entire area of the Louisiana chase with the exception of the present state of isiana. These volumes present for the first ɜ a comprehensive documentation of the begin- ɡs of American administration of the region out 'hich no less than a dozen states of the Union ɜ subsequently carved.

olume XIV contains official papers found in archives in Washington, in the Thomas Jeffer- Papers, in the Library of Congress, and in the isiana *Gazette*. This volume embodies docu- ts for the years 1806–14, covering the adminis- ions of Acting Governor Joseph Browne, 1806– cting Governor Frederick Bates, 1807–8, Gov- ır Meriwether Lewis, 1808–9, Acting Governor ɜs, 1809–10, Governor Benjamin Howard, –12, 1812–13, and Governor William Clark, –14. The developments of the administration he territory of many aspects of its life is re- ed in a wide variety of documents including rs, resolutions, depositions, memoranda, ap- ıtions, recommendations, instructions, com- ions, acts of Congress, muster rolls, memorials, ıons and representations to Congress, procla- ons, militia orders, newspaper editorials, ad- isements for postal routes, and presentments rand juries. These documents touch upon ɔintments to office, land claims and surveys, an relations and trade, territorial politics, mines, postal routes, establishment of the tia, and the operations of the regular army. ɔrts were made to Washington on the com- ty of citizens of the territory in the Burr con- ıcy. In the latter portion of the volume there nuch data concerning the military operations of the War of 1812, involving the defense of the frontier against Indian attacks. On this subject the material in this volume supplements that already published in volume XVI on the Territory of Illinois. The numerous letters in the volume passed between the governors and other territorial officials and the Secretaries of the War, State, Treasury, and Post Office Departments, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the Superintendent of Indian Trade at Washington, and between the officials in the territory.

Dr. Clarence E. Carter of the Division of Historical Policy Research in the Department of State is the editor of the series of Territorial Papers. Volume XIV of the series will be sold by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. for $2.75 a copy.

Air Navigation Services—*Continued from page 695*

received in 1946, for assistance in the reconstruction of Ellinikon Airport at Athens and the improvement of various other air navigation facilities in Greek territory. The project was revived toward the end of 1948 after France, the United Kingdom, and the United States had indicated that they might be interested provided the project was limited to urgent requirements.

The Conference received a report from a recent ICAO technical mission to Greece, which recommended capital expenditures aggregating $3,315,745, about half of which required financing in non-Greek currency. It agreed unanimously on the urgency of expenditures of about $600,000 for airport equipment and for equipment for meteorological and communications service; but it was divided on the necessity for major improvements of the runways, taxiways, and apron, and of the airport lighting at Ellinikon although all parties were in agreement that the existing facilities are not adequate for safe, regular, efficient, and economical operation of the international air services using the airport.

The Conference was unable to agree upon any specific plan for the international financing of the project. It recorded the results of its review of the problem in a report to the Council of ICAO, in which it recommended that the Council consult further with the interested states in an effort to ascertain what assessments for contributions, if any, they would be willing to accept. The matter has since remained under study in the Council, and no further action has been taken.

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Contributors

Paul T. David, author of the article on financing and operation of air navigation services, is alternate U. S. representative to the ICAO and United States member of the Air Transport Committee of the ICAO. Mr. David was chairman of the United States delegation to the ICAO conferences on air navigation services.

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Vol. XXI, No. 541

November 14, 1949

The Department of State bulletin

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November 14, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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HE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

TASK FOR GENERATIONS

mmary of Secretary Acheson's Remarks

The $35 million being requested for increased hnical assistance for the first year is a modest ginning, Secretary Acheson said on October 29. In addressing the Eleventh Constitutional Conition of the CIO in Cleveland, Ohio, the Secrey said that the sum is a small fraction of the ns being expended in other necessary foreign programs.[1] "Yet because of the nature of the int Four program," he continued, "this relaely small expenditure can be expected to yield ults far out of proportion to its size. It cannot a larger sum because the number of technical cialists is limited."

Much of our effort during and since the war, Secretary added, has been spent in meeting ack and fighting through to victory. Now, can turn with peculiar enthusiasm to a wholly ward-looking and constructive task "in helping ndreds of millions of people who are emerging nationhood to create a worthy and a free life."

iculties Encountered

Much of the strength and energy of those who it to remain free has been devoted in the past years to resisting the threat of Soviet imialism, Secretary Acheson said.

he attempt of the Soviet Union to extend its rol over the people of other countries and to rfere with the lives of others is the difficulty we encounter in our efforts to foster the widpossible opportunities for political, economic, social development along the lines that the ple desire, the Secretary said.

he problems arising from the Soviet imperialism present, he added, "grave dangers to free people," and, in this transition period of history, a large part of the world is in a ferment that is taking place in the most dynamic source of power that we know—the human mind.

The hundreds of millions of people that inhabit large areas with great natural resources are no longer satisfied with the promises of a better life; "they want it here and now," the Secretary stated. The United States welcomes social changes which transfer broad liberties and responsibilities to the people. "In short," the Secretary said, "we are convinced that freedom, self-government, and high standards of living are desirable in other parts of the world as well as in our own country." We wish to contribute our part in realizing those aims, he added.

U.S.-Soviet Programs Contrasted

In contrasting our economic assistance programs with the Soviet economic programs, the Secretary said, in part:

"The Communists talk of organizing great masses of people in five-year plans to carry out elaborate economic programs. They say this is the way for people to get more of the necessities of life. They promise hungry, distressed people food and material comforts if only they will accept slavery to the state in return. And to people who have always been miserable, who have never known the protection of a Bill of Rights, these spurious promises sound real.

"The alternative that is offered these people through the President's idea is a way to improve their material welfare and at the same time live as free men, retain their personal dignity and independence, and develop to the full extent of their individual capacities. They are offered a way of life that leads not only to freedom from want but also the most priceless freedom—the right to be let alone."

[1] For the complete text of the Secretary's address, see Department of State press release 841 of Oct. 29, 1949.

The Secretary cautioned that, "Freedom and democracy will flourish only if the social, economic and spiritual bases that support the free way of life are strengthened and extended wherever possible."

Practical Problems

There are some practical problems of the underdeveloped countries which we can help them overcome, the Secretary said, and problems which when resolved will aid in the promotion of democratic principles.

He pointed out as some of the problems the unused resources of two-thirds of the earth's people, agricultural yield, death rate, effects of disease, illiteracy, mechanical energy, and potentials for trade.

In discussing what had already been done in many other countries to meet similar problems, the Secretary cited the effort of the American educators who have helped the authorities in the other American Republics to reorganize local schools as centers of community life; the work of American engineers and technicians in organizing highway systems, protecting other people from the ravages of preventable diseases, producing more food at less cost, showing how food can be stored and marketed, training administrators and technicians, improving labor standards, and increasing production methods and techniques.

Much of the work in these fields will be carried out by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other international organizations, the Secretary said, and he assured that the United States will participate in these programs and will encourage and assist private agencies to carry out similar programs since the need for technical assistance is so great that supply from present sources cannot meet demand.

Foreign Investments

Capital investment on a large scale—in addition to technical aid—is needed in the underdeveloped areas, the Secretary said. He commented on the available resources of the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, but, he added that, "much greater part of the capital for investment must come from private sources, either in the countries to be developed or in countries already largely developed, such as the United States."

To encourage private capital to invest abroad, the Department of State is seeking through treaties to safeguard the rights of both the American in vestor and the country in which he invests.

The results achieved by the expansion of th technical assistance program alone, the Secreta said, should encourage American investors in tin to venture their capital abroad. He pointed o that there is no direct profit in freeing a cou try from malaria, in improving the health masses of people, in teaching millions of peop to read and write, or in gradually increasing t production of food crops that are consumed the people themselves. Those projects will ha to be carried out by governments as public servic but these things help create the conditions whi make private investors willing to risk their mon abroad.

In addition, public loans and investments f roads and harbors, hydroelectric power, commu cation systems, and the reclamation of land shou open new areas to development by private capit the Secretary said.

Mutual Concern of Labor and Government

This program of assistance for underdevelop areas is not, the Secretary concluded, an em gency, short-term one; "we must recognize th we are entering upon a task that will require g erations to fulfill the great promise it holds."

In opening his address the Secretary ackno edged the contributions that American labor ganizations have made to United States forei policy. He pointed out the work of the tr unions in war devastated areas, labor's part in Marshall Plan, and the assistance labor person has supplied to the Government.

Although, labor has not always agreed w those in the Government who have had the resp sibility of forming our foreign policy, the Se tary said, the very fact that labor has been crit is important.

"This criticism is proof of the complete freed of American trade unions," he said. "It me that when you do give your support, as you h to our major undertakings in foreign affairs, influence of this support abroad is all the great

The Secretary pointed to the bipartisan po of the American labor organizations in support the new international trade union federatio further evidence of the sound attitude of Amer labor.

NGINEERING IN THE FUTURE

/ Samuel P. Hayes, Jr.

The part that this Government hopes the engi-ering profession will play in the expansion of ternational technical exchange activities was nphasized by Samuel P. Hayes, Jr., Special As-tant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic ffairs, on November 3.

iiding Principles

"The general pattern established for such serv-s through experience in this country should be far as possible the model for the relationship of vernment and private engineers and consultants Point 4 projects abroad," Mr. Hayes told the nstruction Division of the American Society of vil Engineers in New York.[1]

Comments from civil engineers on certain addi-nal guiding principles for the administration of program, Mr. Hayes said, "will be very seri-sly considered before our plans crystallize".

These additional principles, he continued, are:

'1. Engineering services on Point 4 projects uld be performed at the lowest possible cost isistent with the maintenance of high standards, essary professional consultation and check, equate compensation of the individuals and ns employed, and protection of domestic pro-ms and projects.

2. The constructive role of private engineers l consultants should be demonstrated to foreign ernments and business men wherever possible.

3. The maximum freedom of choice, consistent h sound methods of selection, should be af-led foreign governments and agencies in the ction of engineering and other expert advice, ticularly where the foreign agency is establish-long-term arrangements for professional serv-and is providing the funds for such services."

or Activities

oint 4 legislation, Mr. Hayes said, authorizes major kinds of activity in which engineers ld participate.

he first is government missions sent abroad to and assist in such projects as water develop-t, transportation, mineral extraction, sanita-and water supply, building construction.

"Such government missions," Mr. Hayes added, "might also help set up or reorganize engineering schools abroad, or foreign government bureaus similiar to our own Bureau of Reclamation, Public Roads Administration, and Public Health Service."

The guiding of foreign governments or private foreign companies to the best qualified sources of engineering services in this country is the second kind of activity that the legislation authorizes, Mr. Hayes pointed out.

The third activity was described as the "actual employment of private engineers or engineering concerns, under contract, to carry out specified advisory, teaching or operational functions abroad. Services contracted for and paid for by the U.S. Government would, of course, be limited to those composing integral parts of approved over-all programs of assistance to economic development in particular countries."

Mr. Hayes said that the fourth kind of activity is the training of foreign engineers in this country. He said that "such training might include courses of study in our engineering schools, observation of engineering planning and projects, and actual in-service training in our government bureaus and as internes on the staffs of private engineering firms. Certain instructional and supervisory expenses would be paid by the government in connection with such training."

In commenting on the proper relation of government and private enterprise in the technical assistance field, Mr. Hayes stresses that that problem had been given a good deal of thought.

The success already of leading engineering and construction firms, Mr. Hayes said, indicates that private construction and engineering can take care of itself in the foreign field. It may be, he added, ahead of government on many fronts. This one fact "will prevent any problem of government versus private enterprise in foreign engineering work from arising."

"Every source of qualified personnel will have to be tapped," Mr. Hayes said, because increased demand will come both from additional investments abroad (stimulated by guaranties and commercial treaties) and from requests for technical services and assistance.

Not only will this demand result in a heavy drain on the existing supplies of trained and experienced engineers but it will also force us to train more engineers for service at home and

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[1] or complete text of Mr. Hayes' address, see Depart- of State press release 855 of Nov. 3, 1949.

abroad if "we are to carry through a really effective program of the necessary dimensions and duration," he said.

Government and Private Staffs

In general, the Government will use its own engineering staffs for reconnaissance surveys where a team of different experts must be readily available for reference and conferences and for engineering work for which private firms and consultants are not available.

Other uses will be made of government personnel, Mr. Hayes added, when the "cooperating foreign government specifically requests advice, consultation, and assistance regarding methods, practices, procedures, and organizations of government agencies for the development of similar activities," such as administrative procedures, organization, personnel policies, legislative and similar policy and administrative problems peculiar to governmental organizations.

Mr. Hayes pointed out that government agencies will also have special engineering facilities or personnel for demonstrations, testing, analysis, or other work found only in government.

Private engineers and engineering firms, generally, will be encouraged to undertake such engineering work, Mr. Hayes concluded, as preparation of construction plans and specifications; supervision of construction and procurement; and other direct and continuing employment by foreign governments and agencies on engineering matters.

THE ROLE OF THE NEAR EAST COLLEGES

by Assistant Secretary George C. McGhee

Education, as a basic requirement of all underdeveloped areas, is the very foundation of the Point 4 program, Assistant Secretary George C. McGhee said on November 1, 1949.[1]

Addressing the Near East Colleges Association on the Point 4 program, Mr. McGhee, before analysing the program and the manner in which it will affect the Near East Colleges, summarized the political situation in the area and listed as basic objectives of the program's first year oper tion: rehabilitation of the peoples of underdeve oped areas, demonstration of improved tec nology, and training of selected individuals technicians to carry the work to other countries.

The role of the Near East Colleges will be vit the Assistant Secretary stated, in forming a maj focus for recruitment, by making available facul members and qualified students, by facilitati local recruitment, and particularly by the expa sion of training opportunities which are the ba bone of the program.

The Near Eastern states in conversations w the Department of State, Mr. McGhee said, h repeatedly emphasized the need for expanded e cational and training facilities, and particula the expansion of technical training opportunit

"It will be the task of American educational stitutions, both here and abroad," the Assist Secretary said, "to meet this growing need."

The Near East College Association has alre submitted to the Department an analysis of means by which the colleges could contribute to Point 4 program.

Major Problems

Mr. McGhee told the group that three m problems will have to be resolved if the prog is to function with maximum effectiveness in Near East and elsewhere. They are the probl of planning, organization, and personnel.

"The need for planning is obvious if we ar avoid hit-or-miss undertaking of miscellaneou dividual projects which do not lead in system and rational manner to the basis objective Point 4," the Assistant Secretary said.

In the Near East, most of the countries cerned have already undertaken surveys, McGhee said, which have laid much of the n sary ground work in the program and thr which the application of Point 4 can be expect move forward more rapidly than would other be possible.

The Assistant Secretary recalled the s made more than five years ago by the Iraqi ernment with respect to large-scale flood co projects. The Iraqi Government has mad plication to the International Bank for a lo assist in the fulfilment of the project which later be supplemented by other requests for a prehensible drainage and irrigation progra

The fact that this project is now under c

[1] For complete text of Mr. McGhee's address, see Department of State press release 846 of Nov. 1, 1949. Mr. McGhee is Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South-asian, and African Affairs.

ration, Mr. McGhee said, is due to the foresight f the Iraqi Government in initiating the basic urveys. Without that start, he added, valuable ears would have been lost in the development of raq—"a country with great capacity for de-elopment."

Further development of these basic surveys is ow being carried forward by the United Nations Economic Survey Mission.

The second major problem confronting the suc-essful operation of Point 4, the Assistant Sec-etary said, is the problem of organization.

"We are confronted with the very complex task f achieving effective coordination of resources nd experience already available, governmental nd private, national and international," Mr. Mc-hee said.

"In this cooperative enterprise, we recognize at the United States has no monopoly on tech-ological or administrative skills or on exportable apital. It is contemplated that all nations de-ring to pool their resources to this common end ill work together through the United Nations and s specialized agencies such as the WHO and the AO, both of which have important programs ready under way in the Near East.

"In general, the United Nations and other inter-ational agencies will be encouraged to utilize unds available under Point 4 to carry out those pects of the program which can be conducted fectively on an international basis. In other ses, bilateral arrangements will be made be-veen the United States—or another contracting overnment—and the country concerned, or, in rtain cases, multilateral arrangements will be gotiated."

The third major problem is that of recruiting itable personnel to carry out the program, the ssistant Secretary said.

"We have, of course," Mr. McGhee stated, "the perience of many projects of technical coopera-on conducted in the Western Hemisphere, in reece and Turkey, and alsewhere under the uropean Recovery Program. Some personnel n probably be drawn from such organizations, d from the specialized organs of the United ations, as a nucleus for the program. However, rge numbers of new specialists and technicians ust be drawn from private life to go into the ld, and local talents and skills must be mobilized the countries concerned."

Work of Survey Mission

The Assistant Secretary expressed the view that "great hope" is held that the Point 4 program can be accelerated in the Near East as a result of the activities of the Economic Survey Mission. The mission was recently established by the Conciliation Commission for Palestine. This technical mission consists of a staff of experts, recruited from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Turkey, Canada, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, and other countries. It comprises specialists on refugees, engineers, experts in reclamation and soil conservation, in public health and social welfare. It consists also of representatives of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Health Organization, and other international agencies.

Under its terms of reference, the survey mission is charged with recommending measures which will enable the Near Eastern governments to overcome economic dislocation created by the Palestine hostilities; means of reintegrating the refugees from the hostilities into the economic life of the area; and means of creating economic conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability.

"There is no conflict between the program and Point 4," the Assistant Secretary said. "The program which will be formulated by the survey mission is of a short-term nature, designed in large measure to overcome economic dislocations and to contribute to economic recovery and stabilization, while Point 4's emphasis is on a longer term basis. The two programs will serve to complement and reinforce one another."

Mr. McGhee pointed out that specific application of Point 4 to the Near East requires detailed planning in the light of the peculiar problems of the area. Plans for the kinds of assistance that are likely to be needed in specific areas have been worked out tentatively by the Department of State, in collaboration with other agencies of the Government and with the United Nations, he said.

"However," the Assistant Secretary added, "until Congressional action on the technical assistance program has been finalized and until other governments have expressed their own needs and desires for assistance, it is not possible to present any definitive budgets or plans for specific countries."

The definition of such plans also depends upon the negotiation of agreements covering each project with the government concerned and a determination of the nature and extent of its own contribution to the project, he concluded.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

The U.N. Debate on the Convention on the International Transmission of the News and the Right of Correction

by Samuel DePalma

Freedom of expression is never secure. Its attainment has always been marked by sharp conflicts of interests, and its maintenance requires a continuous balancing of seemingly conflicting interests. The remarkable advance made in recent years in the facilities for mass communications has made the balance more precarious—and more necessary. In the face of a world-wide trend toward increasing governmental limitations over this freedom, the United Nations has devoted many meetings over the past 2 years to the task of promoting wider international recognition of and respect for freedom of information.

The Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction adopted May 13, 1949, by the General Assembly of the United Nations by a vote of 33 to 6 (the U.S.S.R. group of states), with 13 abstentions is the first multilateral attempt to promote by formal agreement the free international flow of news. It is not yet open for signature pending a decision by the General Assembly concerning the disposition of another proposed convention, the draft convention on freedom of information.

As adopted, the Convention constitutes an amalgamation of two draft conventions sponsored initially by the United States and French delegations respectively at the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, held at Geneva, during March–April 1948.[1] The United States draft, then entitled draft convention on the gatheri and international transmission of news, now for the first part of the Convention, while the Fren draft, originally entitled draft convention co cerning the institution of an international rig of correction, forms the second part.

The first part sets forth certain basic guarant for information agencies and correspondents contracting states. It requires such states to ex dite, in a manner consistent with their immigrati laws, the administrative procedures for the ent residence, travel, and egress of correspondents. protects correspondents against expulsion becau of what they may have reported and facilita their access to sources of news. Most importa it provides that the only permissible ground censorship on news material leaving the territo of a state is that based on laws "relating direc to national defense."

The second part provides that a contracti state which alleges that "a news despatch capa of injuring its relations with other States or national prestige or dignity . . . is false or torted . . ." may submit its version of the fa to other states in which the report was publish It must be established that the report objected was received from abroad. Each state receiv such a version of facts is obliged to make it av able to its domestic information agencies bu not in any way obliged to enforce its publicati If the state receiving the correction fails to fu this obligation within 5 days, the state issuing

[1] See the "Final Act, United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information", U.N. doc. E/CONF. 6/79, Apr. 22, 1948, and Department of State publication 3150.

orrection may request the Secretary-General of he United Nations to give its version of the facts appropriate publicity through the information hannels at his disposal . . ."

ENESIS OF THE UNITED STATES PROPOSAL

The suggestion that an attempt be made by reaty to promote a freer international flow of news riginated with the American press itself, and the rst draft of such a treaty was actually prepared n a wholly unofficial basis by representatives of ne press. The Department of State then assumed ne task of negotiating the agreement interna-onally in consultation with other Federal agen-es and with the constant collaboration of epresentatives of the press, radio, and motion icture industries.

Chief credit for the promotion of intergovern-ental agreements to reduce the barriers to the ee international flow of news is due Kent Cooper, xecutive director and general manager of the ssociated Press. Mr. Cooper's campaign for orld freedom of information dating from the d of World War I culminated in the adoption the House and Senate on September 21, 1944, the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives ncurring), that the Congress of the United States ex-esses its belief in the world-wide right of interchange news by news-gathering and distributing agencies, ether individual or associate, by any means, without crimination as to sources, distribution, rates, or arges; and that this right should be protected by inter-tional compact.[2]

At its Twenty-second Annual Convention in pril 1944 the American Society of Newspaper litors had already adopted the following resolu-on:

Resolved, That the American Society of Newspaper itors strongly urges international agreements permit-g direct communication between each and every nation the world wherever feasible; eliminating conventions l customs which prevent utilization of any advance in science of communications; removing all restrictions posed for the commercial or political advantage of any ion or group of nations, giving to the press correspond-s of all nations equitable access to the available mmunications facilities, and making dominant in all mmunications matters the principle of fostering an unrestricted flow of news and information to all parts of the world.

Resolved, That the Committee on Communications authorized by the Society, by and with the advice and approval of the directors, be authorized to participate in conferences with other organizations and agencies to implement this resolution.

Welcoming this initiative, William Benton, then Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, late in 1946 asked Richard J. Finnegan, publisher of the *Chicago Times*, to undertake on a wholly unofficial basis the task of consulting with his colleagues in the press, radio, and motion picture industries with a view to making some concrete suggestions on how the United States might best promote the freer world circulation of news. The suggestion was accepted and Mr. Finnegan, with the assistance of Warren Pierce of the *Chicago Times* staff, proceeded to consult some 75 leaders in these industries. On the basis of these consultations Mr. Finnegan prepared a draft of a proposed treaty, which was circulated for comment to 4,000 persons and organizations. The hundreds of replies received were then utilized in preparing the final "Draft of a Treaty on Freedom of Information" (annex A) which Mr. Finnegan submitted to Mr. Benton on July 22, 1947.[3]

In his letter of transmittal to Mr. Benton accompanying the proposed treaty, Mr. Finnegan said:

I consented to undertake the chore because for many years newspaper men had been hoping that Congress and the State Department would get busy and do something on the subject. There had been a lot of discussion but no action.

The sentiment for action is stronger now than ever. Leaders in the newspaper and other media feel that this is one of those important subjects that is so much above party and personality differences that it should attract prompt, unanimous and lasting attention in both Houses, as well as in the State Department.

It will be impossible to get all the elements of private industry to agree on the wording of such a document. We think we have covered the principles on which all agree.

The principles are such as could be used within the United Nations or a multilateral convention of nations or

[2] S. Con. Res. 53, by Senator Tom Connally.

[3] Others who contributed substantially to the final draft were Dr. Quincy Wright, professor of international law, University of Chicago, John O. Levinson, member of the Chicago Bar, and Dr. Frederick S. Siebert, head of the School of Journalism, University of Illinois.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The annexes to this article will be printed when this article is reprinted as a separate publication at an early date.

for a bilateral agreement. Right now it is felt that a start should be made with a bilateral treaty. . . .

We wish to impress upon you that there is unanimity among the communication media of the United States that we should enter into no treaty with any country on any terms that shrink American practice one jot. We cannot abridge freedom of the press under our Constitution; we should not do it under a treaty . . .[4]

REVISION OF THE DRAFT TREATY BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The "Draft of a Treaty on Freedom of Information" was next examined by a committee of the Department of State, under the direction of Lloyd A. Free, then Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, as part of the Department's preparations for the coming United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information. The Department decided that at least initially the multilateral approach should be given priority over the bilateral approach in view of the opportunity afforded for multilateral negotiations by the Conference and in keeping with United States policy to support and work through the United Nations to the maximum extent possible.

In the course of the Department's study of the draft, and after consultation with such other Federal agencies as the Department of Justice, the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Department of National Defense, the treaty was modified in several respects (see annex B for Department's text).

Among the modifications made were:

Article 1.—In order to limit the scope of the convention to a homogeneous group of subjects, the Department of State omitted general magazine and book publishing companies, as well as film organizations other than newsreel companies, from the definition of "Information Agency." By confining the agreement to news materials, it was possible to avoid most of the commercial and cultural problems associated with information materials of a more general nature. More important, it was felt that a text covering information agencies other than those engaged purely in reporting news would not be acceptable to a majority of governments at this time.

Article 2.—Whereas the Finnegan draft provided that "Correspondents . . . shall have free ingress to and egress from the territories of the other . . ." The Department's revision, however, took into account the fact that few, if any states appeared ready to make such an exception to their immigration laws and provided instead that ". . . States shall facilitate the entry into and exit from their territories of foreign correspondents and their professional equipment in a manner consistent with their respective laws and procedures, and shall impose no special or unusual restrictions on such ingress or egress, nor upon the transit through or residence in their territories of such correspondents."

Article 4.—This article, intended to restrict the censorship of outgoing news, was strengthened and broadened somewhat in the Department draft (article 5) by providing that the outgoing copy of correspondents should be permitted egress " . . . without censorship, editing or delay . . . " instead of prohibiting only " . . . censorship, deletion or editing . . . " as provided in the Finnegan draft. The Department also added a proviso to the effect that certified correspondents should be informed of such censorship regulations as may be in force.

Articles 8 and 9.—In articles 8 and 9 of the Finnegan draft provision was made for implementation, or enforcement, machinery in two stages: (1) A fact-finding "International Information Commission" composed of representatives of information agencies and empowered to hear evidence from any correspondent or information agency alleging an injury from violation of the treaty and to publish a report of its findings and majority opinion; and (2) Compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for disputes concerning the interpretation of the treaty not settled by negotiation, following the issuance of the Commission's report.

The Department's draft omitted these provisions largely because of uncertainty as to whether disputes arising from this treaty, likely in most cases to be *de facto* rather than *de jure* in nature, would be suitable for reference to the Court. It was felt that a fact-finding procedure along the lines of the Commission mentioned might be more appropri-

[4] The draft treaty, together with Mr. Finnegan's letter of transmittal, was released for publication by the Department on Sept. 5, 1947; BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1947, p. 527.

itself; in the end, it was decided to await the ggestions of other governments at the coming nference.

New Department Articles.—Among the more gnificant of the new articles in the Department's aft, in addition to the so-called "formal arti-s" common to most international agreements, re (1) a provision exempting from the applica-n of the agreement those correspondents who, ile not otherwise admissible into the territory a state under its immigration laws, are never-eless admitted conditionally pursuant to an reement with the United Nations in order to ver the proceedings of that organization (article); and (2) a provision recognizing that this eaty would not exempt correspondents from ws for the protection of national security rticle 11).

Also added was an article providing for a right international correction (article 8) under ich a state alleging that a correspondent in its ritory had transmitted a false or distorted re-rt likely to injure its international relations uld submit its version of the facts to the govern-ent within whose territory the report had been blished. The government receiving such a cor-ction would be obliged to make it available to domestic information agencies. No compul-ry publication was involved. This article was ded in the certain knowledge that some such oposal was bound to carry at the Geneva con-rence, since many governments were expected demand some form of "protection" in return r the guaranties they were requested to extend foreign news personnel.

The Department's revision, in brief, retained e substance of the Finnegan draft and added e minimum governmental safeguards which rtually all states were expected to demand at e forthcoming conference.

That the revision conformed with the views of nerican news personnel was demonstrated when, ring its briefing sessions in preparation for the nference on Freedom of Information, the nited States delegation to the Conference unani-usly endorsed the revised text with only a few inor language changes.[5]

[5] The U.S. delegation to the U.N. Conference on Free-m of Information included the following: William nton, former Assistant Secretary, Chairman; Sevellan Brown, Editor and Publisher, Providence *Journal*; Erwin D. Canham, editor, *Christian Science Monitor;* Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School; Harry Martin, president, American Newspaper Guild; Walter A. Graebner, European director, *Time-Life* International; Oveta Culp Hobby, executive vice president, Houston *Post;* Frank McCarthy, Manager, Motion Picture Association of America; Howard K. Smith, chief European correspondent, Columbia Broadcasting Company; and John Carter Vincent, American Minister to Switzerland. During the Conference Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press Association, served as an unofficial consultant to the delegation.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, which opened at Geneva, March 23 and lasted through April 21, 1948, was successful beyond expectation. Convinced by the intransigence of the Soviet delegations that Communist states would not (and indeed could not) compromise in the direction of greater freedom of information, the great majority of delegations stood united against the proponents of dangerous "compromises" on basic principles.

The Conference's major achievement was the drafting of three proposed conventions: (1) the draft convention on the gathering and international transmission of news, proposed by the United States; (2) the draft convention concerning the institution of an international right of correction, sponsored by France and intended to establish a procedure under which governments may obtain publicity for official corrections of allegedly false news reports which affect their international relations; and (3) the draft convention on freedom of information, submitted by the United Kingdom and intended to provide a guaranty to all the nationals of contracting states of freedom of expression as well as freedom to seek and receive information from all sources. The Conference also adopted over 40 resolutions concerning freedom of information and provided an unusual opportunity for clarifying some of the propaganda issues which becloud East-West relations.[6]

In this propitious atmosphere the United States draft convention fared unexpectedly well (see annex C for Conference text). Substantive modi-

[6] See "Report of the United States Delegates, United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information," Department of State publication 3150.

fications made at the Conference were limited to the following:

Article 4 (article 3 in the Conference text)—The United States draft provided that "The Contracting States shall not deny foreign correspondents access to all places and news sources under the same conditions as the most favored foreign correspondents or the correspondents of the most favored nation." The Conference strengthened this provision by modifying it to read "The Contracting States shall permit and encourage the widest possible access to news official and non-official, for all foreign correspondents on the same basis as for national correspondents and shall not discriminate among foreign correspondents as regards such access."

Article 5 (article 4 in the Conference draft)—The anticensorship article was also strengthened by the addition of a specific procedure with regard to the time limit allowed censors, the cable charges to be levied on censored dispatches, etc. in cases where states were compelled to resort to peacetime censorship for the protection of national military security.

Article 15 (article 14 in the Conference text)—Among the formal articles which the Department had added to the Finnegan draft was a provision for extending the Convention to non-self-governing territories, where foreign correspondents have from time to time encountered serious obstacles. Drawn up after long and careful study, this article was deliberately framed in compromise terms. Although in accordance with United States practice the Department would have preferred to provide for the application of the Convention to all the non-self-governing territories of each metropolitan state adhering to the agreement, the proposed draft took into account the fact that such colonial powers as the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium would be unable to accept such a provision. Because the colonial territories of these states enjoy varying degrees of self-government, in some cases their prior consent is required before they can be bound by an international obligation undertaken by the metropolitan state.

At the Conference, the United States proposal was subjected to a veritable crossfire of criticism. The metropolitan states found it unacceptable stating that, although it took into account the status of fully self-governing territories, it eva the problem of partly self-governing territor i.e. self-governing in respect of some of the matt covered by the Convention (such as entry, cens ship, etc.). On the other hand, a large num of representatives of the traditionally "a colonial" states (for example, India, most of Middle East, and most of Latin America) that the United States proposal provided too m loopholes for colonial powers. Finally, U.S.S.R. group of states seized this opportu to embarrass the colonial powers and, ignoring constitutional considerations, demanded autom application of the agreement to territories, only without their prior consent, but presuma even against their will!

The compromise which was finally evolved the United States delegation and narro adopted by the Conference (after the reject by a one vote majority of a fully automatic mula sponsored by Poland) obliged the Contra ing State to "seek immediately the consent of such territories," but provided that "A St party to the present Convention may at the ti of its accession thereto or at any time the after . . . declare that the present Convent shall extend to any of the territories for the int national relations of which it is responsible . . .

New Article.—The Conference also made a u ful addition in the form of an article to prot correspondents against arbitrary expulsion. provision of this nature had been omitted fr the United States draft (as well as in the ba Finnegan draft) because of doubt as to the util of such a provision when coupled, as it wo necessarily have to be, with a parallel statem of the state's ultimate authority to limit the st of any resident alien. However, the Confere formula (submitted by the delegation of United Kingdom) appeared to avoid this di culty in large part by stating that:

> The Contracting States, while recognizing that fore correspondents must conform to the laws in force in countries in which they are operating, agree that fore correspondents legally admitted into their territor shall not be expelled on account of any lawful exerc of their right to seek, receive or impart information opinion (article 5).

Thus revised, the United States draft conve tion was adopted by a vote of 28 in favor, 6 agai

he Soviet bloc), and 2 abstentions. That a con-rence of over 50 nations could agree so closely ith the views of the United States encouraged e United States delegation to believe they had ven expression to a strong belief in the necessity d desirability of reducing the many national rriers to the free flow of news.

Yet, in partial explanation of the difficulties countered in the subsequent consideration of is convention by the Economic and Social Coun-l and the General Assembly of the United Na-ons, it is important to note the rather unusual rcumstances which contributed to this success. irst, and perhaps foremost, was the sense of ity among a large majority of the delegations hich saw in this Conference an opportunity check Soviet propaganda claims. Moreover, e Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, which had curred only 6 weeks before, provided a fresh ample of the destruction of the free press by a ommunist government. Then too, a majority of e delegates were representatives of press, radio, d film organizations and shared a certain pro-ssional point of view, sometimes at variance with e official position of their governments. Finally, is convention was one of three drafted at the onference. The other two tended more nearly to flect a governmental (as distinct from a profes-onal) point of view and were, in the opinion of me delegations, to be considered as complemen-ry to the first convention.

The second draft considered was a French pro-sal for the institution of an international right official correction. As first presented this pro-sal dealt not only with a right of correction, t also with the establishment of an "interna-onal information council" and the creation of "international press card." The latter two sub-cts were quickly withdrawn in the face of con-derable opposition, and the remainder of the rench proposal was revised considerably and nited somewhat in scope before it was resub-itted by the French.[7]

In its revised form the French proposal would ve provided a "right of correction . . . to every overnment of a State signatory . . . which re-rds as false or distorted and likely to interfere ith international understanding a report pub-shed by a news enterprise of another country . . when that report contains facts concerning the functions or activities either of the said government or of government officials or of persons holding a public office or of a public authority in the countries where the said government exercises its authority.

> The Government concerned shall transmit to the Contracting State in whose territory the report was published by one or more newspapers or periodicals, or by a radio broadcast, a communiqué giving the version of the facts which it affirms to be correct (article 1).
>
> A communiqué may only be issued in respect of reports which consist strictly of information [i.e. excluding *opinion*] . . . (article 2).

Article 3 provided that a state receiving such a communiqué would be obliged to make it "available to the news enterprises functioning on the territory where it exercises its authority . . . and provide facilities for its dissemination by the normal means and in accordance with the procedure customary for the publication of reports on international affairs." Each state could fulfill its obligation on the basis of reciprocity.

Article 4 further provided that if the state receiving a communiqué failed within five days to fulfill its obligation, "the Government exercising the right of correction may submit the said communiqué to the Secretary-General of the United Nations who shall . . . give it all necessary publicity."

The United States delegation, which had already submitted as a counterproposal the original article 8 on the right of correction from the draft convention on the gathering and international transmission of news, now resubmitted its proposal in the form of amendments to the French draft. These amendments had the following main objectives: (1) To limit the scope and sharpen the provisions of the French proposal in order to minimize the possibility of its being turned into an endless and self-defeating propaganda mill; and (2) To bring it into greater conformity with the United States-sponsored convention as to subject matter in order to make it possible to amalgamate the two and thus to satisfy the rather large group of delegations which had criticized the United States proposal on the ground that it granted "privileges" to correspondents but did not afford adequate "protection" to governments.

Thus the United States amendments limited the exercise of the right of correction to reports transmitted by foreign correspondents from within the

[7] See U.N. doc. E/CONF.6/C.1/32, Apr. 10, 1948.

territory of the complaining state, rather than permitting such a state to present a communiqué concerning any report of domestic origin which had appeared in the domestic press, or in respect of reports transmitted from a country other than the one issuing the communiqué. These amendments avoided the distinction made in the French proposal between reports containing only factual information and those containing opinion, on the ground that often it would be impossible to distinguish conclusively between the two and the end result would only be to introduce another source of dispute. Finally, the amendments clarified the obligation assumed by the state receiving a communiqué by providing that it "should facilitate its dissemination through the customary channels in accordance with its usual procedure for releasing news concerning international affairs." Other amendments, mainly of a drafting nature, were submitted by other delegations.

The draft convention concerning the institution of an international right of correction as finally adopted by a vote of 33 to 7 incorporated the United States amendments, with one exception: Because the Conference was convinced that a foreign correspondent can easily arrange to have a particular dispatch filed from a country other than the one in which he is stationed, it rejected the United States proposal to limit the exercise of the right of correction to reports transmitted by a correspondent from the territory of the contracting state wishing to issue a communiqué. In the end, moreover, the French draft was not merged with the draft on the gathering and international transmission of news because the French delegation declined to authorize the merger.

In its report, the United States delegation to the Conference said of this draft convention:

> No power to compel publication is contemplated at either the national or international level. The United States Delegates look upon this convention as a legitimate attempt to provide a remedy for false or distorted reporting, thoroughly consistent, with the principles of freedom of information. . . .[8]

As its final action, the Conference on Freedom of Information requested all governments which had been invited to participate to forward their comments on the proposed draft conventions to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and asked the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to examine the conventions in the light of such comments and thereafter to submit them the General Assembly.[9]

[8] *Ante* p. 10.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL SEVENTH SESSION

When the Economic and Social Council met July 1948 for its seventh session, it had before a number of comments from governments.[10] an effort to expedite the Council's considerati of the three Conventions, the delegations of t United Kingdom, France, and the United Stat as original sponsors of the drafts, conferred formally and, taking into account such comme of other governments as conformed with th views, prepared a proposal for a revision of t draft conventions on the gathering and inter tional transmission of news[11] and the institut of an international right of correction.[12] Lack time prevented consultation concerning the th Convention on Freedom of Information. T Ecosoc referred the draft conventions to its Co mittee on Human Rights, a committee of whole.

The tripartite proposal for a revision of newsgathering convention embodied relativ few significant modifications of substance in Conference text. Two verbal changes, import because of the lengthy debate to which they la gave rise in the General Assembly, applied to entire text: (1) Several governments had serted that the Conference definition of a "fore correspondent" as "an individual employed by information agency, or a national of a Contract State, who in either case is regularly engaged the collection and reporting of news (includ opinion) to the general public, and who is a hol of a valid passport identifying him as a co spondent . . ." was defective since in their us the term "foreign correspondent" applied to correspondent engaged in covering foreign aff whether or not he was stationed abroad and was not clear why an identifying passport

[9] See Res. No. 43, "Final Act United Nations Confere on Freedom of Information", U.N. doc. E/CONF.6 Apr. 22, 1948.

[10] For comments, see U.N. doc. E/856, July 21, 1948, addenda thereto.

[11] See U.N. doc. E/AC.27/W.21, Aug. 5, 1948.

[12] See U.N. doc. E/AC.27/W.22, Aug. 6, 1948.

quired when a correspondent was not stationed broad. Accordingly, the word "foreign" was nitted in the tripartite text and it was specified at a correspondent required the identifying assport when he was outside his state. (2) In der to make more explicit the fact that the conention was intended to confer benefits only on rrespondents and information agencies of conacting states, the tripartite text added the qualiation "of a Contracting State" after the words orrespondent" and "information agency" roughout the text.

It was suggested that article 3, providing for cess to news, be modified in the light of coments received by deleting the ambiguous phrase he widest possible" before "access" and by qualiing the proposed national treatment to be acrded to correspondents of other contracting ates to read "so far as possible on the same basis for its own correspondents . . . ." It was felt at, although foreign correspondents should in neral have equal access to official and nonofficial urces of news, some provision was needed to rmit governments in exceptional cases to hold ckground press conferences or otherwise to prode access to official sources of news only for naonal correspondents.

Article 10, reserving to contracting states the ght to make and enforce laws "for the protection national security," was found to be in conflict ith article 4, which limited censorship on outing news to matters relating directly to "naonal military security," since article 10 might interpreted as overriding article 4. It was erefore proposed to add a proviso reading "proded that any laws and regulations relating dictly to the maintenance of national military curity shall conform with the provisions of rticle 4." The United States delegation was not tisfied with this text and reserved its right to ropose a less ambiguous one when the article me up for discussion. The United Kingdom legation reserved its right to propose two addions to this article: a clause providing for derogaon from the convention in time of war or other ublic emergency and a provision for the compulry jurisdiction in the International Court of ustice to settle disputes arising under the nvention.

Hard pressed by a crowded agenda, the Comittee was further hampered in its consideration f the conventions by a running filibuster on the part of the Soviet representative (Mr. Pavlov), with some help from his Polish colleague, and barely managed a rather hasty revision of the newsgathering convention before the end of the session. The other two conventions were not considered at all. Having no time to consider the proposed revision of its Committee, the Ecosoc decided to refer it to the General Assembly without endorsement along with the Conference text and the remaining proposals of the Conference.

The proposed revision constituted a serious departure from the Conference text, embodying several restrictive provisions which had been suggested in the comments of governments. Space limitations preclude even a brief mention of the numerous restrictive proposals which were rejected by the Committee (some of which were revived later in the General Assembly and are described later), but a summary of those which were adopted suffices to indicate the prevailing mood in the Council's Committee.

Perhaps the most damaging change was made in article 4, greatly widening the scope of permissible censorship of outgoing dispatches. Whereas the Conference text permitted censorship only in accordance with laws "relating directly to the maintenance of national military security," the Committee (by a narrow vote of 8 to 7, with 3 abstentions) decided to omit the limiting word "military." The sweeping range of "national security," of course, includes not merely matters directly relating to national defense but also any economic or political information which a government having wide powers in this field might regard as prejudicial to the security of the state (in practice, sometimes interchangeable with "security of the administration").

The changes made in article 10, the article reserving state powers, were almost as serious. To the Conference text which, it will be recalled, referred only to the power of a state to apply its laws and regulations "for the protection of national security" to correspondents despite any provision of the Convention, the Committee added "public order." To insure governments against having even to consider granting any benefits to certain correspondents, a provision was added to article 10 enabling a contracting state to "refuse entry into its territory to any particular person [and] . . . to restrict the period of his residence therein, provided any such restriction [i.e. as to residence] does not conflict with the provisions of

Article 5" [which protects a correspondent against expulsion].

A new article (article 11) was added recognizing the power of a contracting state to take measures derogating from its obligations under the convention "in time of war or other public emergency." The colonial article (article 14 in the Conference text; article 15 in the revised Committee text) was also weakened slightly by the inclusion of an ambiguous qualification which would enable metropolitan states to take into account "the position of each territory and particularly . . . the constitutional practices applicable thereto."

The agreed revisions suggested in the tripartite proposal were also adopted. The Committee, faced with a choice between the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and a United States–French proposal for a fact-finding committee, was unable to reach a decision concerning implementation machinery and decided to refer this issue to the General Assembly without any recommendation.

The explanation for this restrictive tack is not difficult to find. Up to this point the impetus for the promotion of greater freedom to report news had come largely from the professional newsmen themselves. Now the wind had shifted and governments were intervening to safeguard what they regarded as essential governmental authority. Contributing factors were the haste with which the Committee had had to conduct its work and the fact that, as compared with the Geneva conference, the Ecosoc delegations were not so well informed on technical matters and did not have the benefit of much professional advice.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SECOND PART OF THE THIRD SESSION

The United Nations General Assembly, meeting at Lake Success for the second part of its third session, April 5 to May 18, 1949, assigned the task of considering the proposals of the Conference on Freedom of Information to its Third Committee, the Committee on Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Matters. There in the course of a debate lasting for weeks nearly every one of the 58 delegations took the opportunity to present its views. The draft conventions on newsgathering and the right of correction (particularly the former) were subjected to a sentence by sentence analysis an were voted upon an article at a time.

Representing the United States in the Thir Committee were Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt an Erwin D. Canham, editor of *The Christian Scienc Monitor;* Mr. Canham took the chair at most of th meetings.

Under the instructions from the Departmer of State, the United States delegation had on paramount objective as regards the newsgatherin convention, namely to reestablish the principle ap proved by the Geneva conference that the sol permissible ground for peace-time censorship c news material leaving the territory of a Contract ing State is that provided by laws relating directl to national military security. If it failed to ob tain agreement on this point, the delegation wa instructed not to support the convention. Othe important modifications in the Ecosoc text sougl by the United States were (1) a more forthrigh colonial article; (2) provision for a fact-findin committee to report on disputes arising under th agreement; (3) the deletion of the paragraph o article 9 which authorized a state to deny entr to any particular person or, failing this, the add tion of a clause making such a denial permissibl only if based on grounds other than that the per son is a correspondent.

The Committee dealt first with the newsgather ing convention and next with the proposed righ of reply text. The Committee decided to use th Ecosoc text as a basis for its discussion, since i was felt to incorporate the latest views of govern ments. The debate centered largely around seve or eight key issues—most of them carried ove from previous discussions at the Conference an at the Ecosoc, and now debated *de integro!*

What Kind of Information?

Broadest in scope was the issue of the kind o "information" which the convention is intende to encompass. This question was posed in sharp est terms by a series of amendments proposed b the Polish delegation, which had apparently bee designated chief "Soviet" spokesman on this topi at the Assembly. Two of these proposals are par ticularly expressive of the Soviet concept of free dom of information as it has lately emerged i United Nations debates scrubbed and disarmingl disguised for non-Soviet consumption. On

ould have qualified the definition of news ma-
rial in article 1 by adding—

> ıd which is neither designed nor likely to provoke
> encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace
> act of aggression, and that is not intended as a dis-
> mination of false or distorted reports likely to injure
> iendly relations between states.[13]

he other, proposed as a substitute for article 3,
oncerning access to news sources, read:

> The Contracting States shall, in the interests [sic] of
> ıe dissemination of conscientious information, grant to
> legraphic news agencies, radio companies and news-
> ıpers, the right of wide access to sources of news and
> facilities for communication both on their own terri-
> ry and in other countries, within the limits compatible
> ith the interests of national security.
> They shall also elaborate necessary measures for ensur-
> g the widest possible dissemination of really conscien-
> ous and objective information.[14]

Based on the Soviet thesis that the convention
ıould be designed to promote the circulation not
f all news, but only of "trustful" or "objective"
ıformation which does not injure friendly rela-
ons between states, these amendments would ob-
iously have permitted a contracting state to ex-
lude from the application of the convention any
ıaterial which in its view was considered to be
ılse or distorted, of a "war-mongering" character
r otherwise prejudicial to its relations with other
ates.

The first amendment is part of the continuing
oviet propaganda drive, first announced by Mr.
yshinsky at the General Assembly's second ses-
on, to confuse world opinion by labeling the
nited States press in particular and that of sev-
al other Western states in general as desirous of
ıciting a war against the Soviet Union. The sec-
nd amendment, first rejected by the Economic and
ocial Council at its seventh session (where it was
ffered by the U.S.S.R. representative) is actually
paraphrase of article 125 of the Constitution of
ıe Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which
uarantees "freedom of speech" and "freedom of
ıe press" to the citizens of the U.S.S.R., but
ıakes the exercise of these rights explicitly con-
ngent upon "conformity with the interests of the
orking people, and in order to strengthen the
ocialist system . . . ".[15] Implied in the Polish
roposal are governmental powers to insure con-
ormity with "the interests of the dissemination

[13] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/416, Apr. 7, 1949.
[14] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/433, Apr. 11, 1949.

of conscientious information" equivalent to the U.S.S.R.'s press review and censoring activities.

These proposals met an early end when rejected by overwhelming votes (only the Soviet states voting in favor with a number of delegations abstaining), but their ghosts were to reappear in proposals, undoubtedly differently motivated, offered by other delegations.

Should Correspondents Be Compelled To Distribute Official Corrections?

Many delegations insisted that, as a protection against irresponsible reporting, the convention should contain a provision compelling correspondents accused of having transmitted erroneous reports to distribute corrections issued by the government concerned. Supporting this view, several representatives of the Arab States bitterly criticized the "pro-Zionist falsehoods" of the United States press, while a number of Latin American delegations spoke of a need to correct "continuing distortions" about their countries, and India pointed to "gross misrepresentations" of her religious customs.

The Mexican delegation gave concrete expression to these views by proposing a new article which, after extensive amendment in the course of debate, read as follows:

> The Contracting States agree to take measures to ensure that their information agencies and correspondents distribute through their customary channels any communiqué in respect of dispatches for which they were originally responsible, remitted to them by the Contracting State directly concerned and in whose territory the news dispatch requiring correction originated.[16]

Defending his proposal, the Mexican delegate, Mr. Noriega, explained that as now worded it did

[15] As printed in the "Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", published by the American Russian Institute, article 125 reads:

> In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:
> a) freedom of speech;
> b) freedom of the press;
> c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
> d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.
> These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[16] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/470/rev. 1.

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not compel publication but merely distribution of corrections. This article, he said, was necessary to enable the people as well as large information agencies to enjoy the benefits of freedom of information, and to enable governments to counteract reports prejudicial to the honor or national prestige of states or to their international relations. In reply to those representatives who had stated that their governments had no authority to enforce such a provision, he stated that they could acquire such authority by accepting the convention and that only if they did would the convention be acceptable to a number of the smaller nations.[17]

The proposal was strongly attacked by the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgian, Norwegian, Swedish, Canadian, and other delegations. After pointing out that this proposal, by making the convention unacceptable to a number of states, would nullify even the much more limited and carefully drawn right of official correction which was already before the Committee in the form of the French proposal, Mrs. Roosevelt stated the United States position as follows:

> The provisions we have already adopted limit the right of correction to cases of false or distorted reports which are likely to injure friendly relations between States or national prestige and dignity. The Mexican proposal is not so limited. Under it a Contracting State could demand that correspondents and information agencies accept and distribute any corrections handed to them by any signatory government. There is no provision that the original report must be false or distorted; it is not required that the report be one capable of injuring international relations or even national prestige and dignity. By its very wording, it requires that information agencies and correspondents accept and distribute any and all corrections requested by the State in which the report originated under any and all circumstances. . . .
>
> In the view of the United States, the Mexican proposal is not only undesirable but unacceptable. My Government under its Constitution would have no power to compel American correspondents or information agencies to accept or observe the obligations involved. We cannot agree to compel correspondents or information agencies to accept or distribute official corrections handed them by other governments.[18]

The proposed new article was put to the vote in three parts at the request of several delegations. The first part was rejected by a tie vote, 21 in favor to 21 against, with 5 abstentions, and the remain ing parts were defeated by votes of 23 to 17 an 24 to 19.

What is the "Duty" of a Correspondent?

A third major issue arose over the attempt mad to define the role of a correspondent and to pre scribe a standard of proper conduct for him. Th Mexican delegation, with strong support amon other Latin American delegations, those of th Middle East, India, and the Soviet bloc, spo sored an amendment to add the following to art cle 9 of the Ecosoc text:

> It is the duty of information agencies and foreig correspondents to report the facts without discrimin tion, to promote respect for human rights and fundame tal freedoms, to further international understanding an cooperation and to contribute to the maintenance of i ternational peace and security.[19]

In proposing this amendment the Mexican del gate maintained that since the proposed conve tion granted rights and privileges to correspon ents it was necessary to establish a balan between the rights and the obligations of corr spondents. It was not sufficient, he added, t state these merely as moral obligations; rath they must be of a legal character and enforceab by Contracting States.[20]

The United States delegation, supported by th delegations of the United Kingdom, Netherland Philippines, Norway, Uruguay, and sever others, objected strongly to the proposal. Speak ing for the United States delegation, Mr. Canha stated that although the United States believe firmly in the basic objective of this proposal, h government could never agree to accept it as legal obligation in respect of its correspondent or those of any other country, since to do so im plied recognition of the totalitarian thesis that th government should dictate the functions of th press. He also pointed out that, in the context article 9, this amendment would permit Contrac ing States to deny correspondents the benefits the convention merely by accusing them of havin failed to comply with this definition of their fun tions. He added that even as a statement of moral obligation, the proposed text would requi

[17] For a fuller summary of the Mexican position see U.N. doc. A/C.3/SR198, Apr. 25, 1948, pp. 2 and 11.

[18] See press release 608, of Apr. 22, 1949, issued by the United States delegation to the General Assembly.

[19] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/SR202, Apr. 26, p. 12.

[20] For a fuller summary of the Mexican position see U. doc. A/C.3/SR200, Apr. 25, 1949, p. 3 and U.N. do A/C.3/SR201, Apr. 26, 1949, p. 3.

nodification to make it clear that the primary noral responsibility of a correspondent is purely ınd simply to seek the facts and report them as comprehensively and objectively as possible and that the other ends sought in the Mexican proposal lowed from this responsibility.

Despite this forceful opposition, the Mexican mendment was adopted by a vote of 24 to 15, with 0 abstentions.[21] In a renewed effort to defeat his amendment and to salvage the convention, nost of the delegations which had opposed the mendment thereupon stated that they could not upport the convention with this amendment and rged other delegations to join them in rejecting rticle 9 as amended in its entirety. The article vas adopted, however, by a vote of 27 to 17, with abstentions.

At this point the French delegation announced hat it would seek to work out some form of comromise in order to save the convention and urged thers to join in this effort. Accepting this sugestion, representatives of the delegations of the Jnited Kingdom, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, and ıe United States met informally with the French) explore the possibility of working out an acəptable solution. While the Third Committee ontinued its discussion of other portions of the onvention, this group struggled with the seemıgly insuperable task of reconciling completely ivergent views. Although his delegation was repared to accept compulsory correction, the rench member acted as an impartial arbiter. In ıe course of twenty-odd meetings, several comromises were accepted one day, only to be rejected ıe next. Finally, however, an acceptable solu-on was evolved by turning both of the disputed ropositions into preambular language, but placing the new language at the head of the operative article which deals with the right of official correction at the governmental level.

The Third Committee then reconsidered its previous vote and adopted the compromise proposal by an overwhelming vote, after the Soviet bloc had protested strongly against what it described as a "maneuver on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom to coerce smaller delegations." The compromise appears in article IX of the final text (see annex D for Assembly text) as follows:

> Recognizing that the professional responsibility of correspondents and information agencies requires them to report facts without discrimination and in their proper context and thereby to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to further international understanding and co-operation and to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security,
>
> Considering also that as a matter of professional ethics, all correspondents and information agencies should, in the case of news despatches transmitted or published by them and which have been demonstrated to be false or distorted, follow the customary practice of transmitting through the same channels, or of publishing, corrections of such despatches, . . .

In addition, a provision was inserted at the end of the next paragraph of this article requiring governments which have received an official correction from other governments to forward it to the correspondent or agency concerned so as to enable them to correct the dispatch in question.

To What Extent is Censorship of Outgoing News Permissible?

The delimitation of the permissible scope of censorship in peacetime of news dispatches leaving a contracting state gave rise to a paradoxical debate. Almost every non-Soviet delegation repudiated any intention of wanting to resort to peacetime censorship and agreed that it should be permitted only on grounds of military security. Yet many of the same delegations fought for the inclusion of provisions which would have validated peacetime censorship on grounds as broad as "public order" and even "national prestige and dignity"—despite the fact that the convention in no way affects existing governmental authority to censor incoming news or any other news for domestic publication!

The drive to reverse the decision of the Ecosoc Committee and limit censorship to grounds of national *military* security was led by the United

[21] The vote, taken by roll call, is significant as a general ıdication of the prevailing attitude of governments toard the problem of freedom *vs.* responsibility by law.) *Favor:* Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Saudi Araa, Siam, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, rgentina, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, olombia, Cuba, Czechoslavakia, Dominican Republic, cuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, ıd Iraq. *Against:* Lebanon, Netherlands, New Zealand, orway, Philippines, Sweden, Union of South Africa, nited Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Australia, elgium, Brazil, Canada, and Greece. *Abstaining:* ıkistan, Poland, Turkey, Venezuela, Yemen, Chile, ıina, Costa Rica, France, and India. (U.N. Doc. /C.3/SR202, Apr. 26, 1949, p. 12.)

States delegation. A number of delegations which had favored the wider formula of "national security" were now satisfied that essential emergency governmental powers were amply safeguarded by other articles. Still others agreed that the Ecosoc formula was too loose but expressed doubts as to the exact meaning of military security. To resolve these doubts the Australian delegation suggested that the term "national defense security" be employed. The United States delegation then proposed the deletion of the troublesome words "military" and "security," Mr. Canham giving the following interpretation of "national defense":

> Several delegations have spoken to us about some difficulties and ambiguities they encountered in the phrase "national military security." Some of them have told us that in various translations this might carry the impression that it applied to the army rather than to naval, air, or other forms of security. We have not wished to be unyielding or uncooperative on this point, and so another synonymous form of words has come to our minds which I would set before you. . . . As a matter of fact, our suggestion is almost identical with that handed in as a formal amendment by the Australian Delegation today. They have suggested the words "national defense security." We were prepared to suggest as a synonym for the words "national military security" the words "national defense" which seems to us to be one word simpler than the Australian formula and from our point of view is intended to be merely a better translation, merely a better form of words than "national military security." From our point of view, the two phrases are intended to mean exactly the same thing . . . [22]

The proposal proved acceptable, and the Committee voted 28 to 8, with 12 abstentions, to limit censorship to laws and regulations "relating directly to national defense."

Unfortunately, what at first appeared to be a decisive resolution of the issue was later seen to be but the opening phase of a complicated and strongly contested battle. A number of delegations, it turned out, had voted for this limitation of governmental powers at this point in the convention because of the overriding reservation of emergency governmental authority contained in later articles. The real test came when proposals were made to limit some of these reservations.

It will be recalled that article 9 of the Ecosoc draft, which American press correspondents promptly labeled the "States Rights" article, re served to contracting states the right, amon others, "to make and enforce laws and regulation for the protection of national security and publi order" despite any other provision of the conven tion. Quite clearly this phrasing could includ the right to censor outgoing news dispatches i laws for the protection of national security an public order so provided. The Mexican dele gation sought to add a further ground, namel "national prestige and dignity," which was with drawn, however, without vote. Accordingly th United States delegation moved the addition o the following qualifying proviso:

> No Contracting State shall, however, impose censorshi in peacetime of news material leaving its territory exce on grounds of national defense, and then only in a cordance with Article 4 [article VII in final text].

After a lively debate, the proviso was adopted b a vote of 31 to 8, with 8 abstentions.

But the decisive test came when an attempt wa made to resolve an obvious conflict between th draft convention and the provisions of article 2 of the international telecommunication conventio of Atlantic City, 1947, which reserves to contract ing states an absolute right of stoppage as regard any messages "which may appear dangerous to th security of the state or contrary to their laws, t public order or to decency." This, of course, i censorship in its most drastic form. Since vi tually every member state of the United Nation including the United States, has adhered eithe to this Atlantic City convention or to the earlie Madrid version which contains a similar provisio any signatory of these telecommunication conver tions would be faced with apparently contra dictory obligations in respect of its right to cen sor outgoing news if it also adhered to the news gathering agreement.

This conflict had, of course, been evident sinc the newsgathering draft was first suggested, bu the United States had considered that the ordinar rules of treaty interpretation would apply, tha is as between two equally valid conventions con taining specific provisions regarding the trans mission of news material, the later conventio would govern among those states which adhere to both. When, however, a large number of dele gations stated that they did not intend to abrogat any of their rights under the telecommunicatio conventions, the United States delegation decide

[22] See press release 603 of Apr. 18, 1949 issued by the United States delegation to the General Assembly.

o propose the following provision to make ex-
licit its interpretation of the relation between
he conventions:

Each Contracting State agrees not to avail itself so far
s other parties to this Convention are concerned of its
ight to stop any telecommunication or to suspend inter-
ational telecommunication services afforded by the Inter-
ational Telecommunication Convention currently in force
o which it is a party in any manner inconsistent with
he provisions of the present Convention.[23]

In the ensuing debate, several delegations pro-
ested that their government could not abrogate
ights granted by other conventions and others
rgued that it was not proper to "amend" an
arlier convention in this manner. The Belgian
elegation, while not disagreeing in principle with
he United States, and agreeing that the United
States proposal would not constitute an "amend-
ent" of the telecommunication conventions,
evertheless believed that the proper course to
ake was to agree that the telecommunication con-
ention required formal amendment and mean-
hile to abide by its provisions. To sharpen the
sue, the delegation of Belgium suggested the fol-
wing formula, which was formally proposed by
ndia.

The provisions of the present Convention do not preju-
ce the rights at present reserved to states under the
nternational Telecommunication Convention of Atlantic
ity, 1947.[24]

After several days delay during which delega-
ons sought instructions from their governments,
e proposals were put to a vote and both were
jected, the United States formula by 20 to 18,
ith 6 abstentions and the Belgian-Indian formula
y 19 to 16, with 7 abstentions! Consequently, no
rovision concerning the discrepancy between
ese agreements appears in the final text and the
ormal rule of treaty interpretation must be relied
pon in case of a dispute.

The long and sometimes confused debate on this
sue thus resulted in acceptance of the view that
any censorship of outgoing news is deemed ab-
lutely necessary, it must be confined to matters
vered by laws relating directly to national de-
nse and cannot be imposed on grounds of na-
onal security, or public order, etc. (see annex
, articles VII and XII).

[23] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/465/rev. 1, Apr. 25, 1949.
[24] See U.N. doc. A/C.3/467, Apr. 19, 1949.

Does The Convention Favor The Large Established News Agencies Of The U.S. And U.K.?

At several points in the debate, a number of delegates remarked that their governments could not be expected to show much enthusiasm for a convention which, they said, would consolidate the dominant position of the well-established and amply financed news agencies of the United States and United Kingdom and thereby hamper the development of their own agencies. They asked for assurance that the convention was not designed to prevent contracting states from providing necessary assistance to their own news agencies.

The United States, together with the United Kingdom and several other delegations, pointed out that the convention had no effect whatsoever on the right of contracting states to develop their own agencies, provided they did not resort to restrictive practices injurious to the operations of agencies of other contracting states.

Nevertheless, there was strong support for the inclusion of explicit guaranties to this effect and the result was the incorporation of three provisions in article XII of the final draft which provide that nothing in the convention (1) shall prejudice national legislation "requiring that a portion of the staff employed by foreign enterprises . . . shall be composed of nationals . . ."; (2) shall prevent states from "taking measures to help the establishment and development of independent domestic information agencies or to prohibit practices tending to create monopolies"; and (3) shall limit the power of a state to reserve to its nationals "the right to establish and direct in its territory newspapers, periodicals, and radio-broadcasting and television organizations."

A fourth provision of this kind was inserted in article VIII at the insistence of the Latin American delegations in particular. It provides that:

As regards the projection of newsreels or parts thereof, the Contracting State shall take measures to prevent monopolistic practices in any form, whether open or concealed, in order to avoid restrictions, exclusions or privileges of any kind.

This provision was adopted by a substantial majority despite questions raised by several delegations on its exact meaning and scope. The United States delegation suggested that if any such provision were appropriate, it should be clarified and broadened to apply to monopolistic practices in

respect of other types of news material as well, but this suggestion received very little support.

However unnecessary and irrelevant to the basic text from a technical point of view, these provisions were considered important by many of the delegations from countries with underdeveloped news agencies and made it possible for several of them to support the final text.

Should the Convention Apply to Nationals Employed by Foreign Information Agencies?

Whether the convention should apply to a national of a contracting state who is employed by a foreign information agency operating within his state proved to be another thorny issue. In the Ecosoc text a correspondent was defined as ". . . an individual employed by an information agency, or a national of a Contracting State, who in either case is regularly engaged in the collection and reporting of news material, and who, when outside his state, is the holder of a valid passport identifying him as a correspondent . . ." (article 1 (B)). Clearly the definition included nationals employed in their own state by a branch of a foreign information agency.

However, the inclusion of such nationals was opposed strongly by a large number of delegations, the chief spokesmen being the representatives of China, India, Chile, and Lebanon. They insisted that to include such nationals would discriminate in favor of a few of their nationals and might permit them to defy certain laws of their own countries. They also felt that this provision had the effect of placing those nationals under foreign protection. For these reasons, they proposed a clause exempting such nationals from the application of the convention.

Although sympathetic to these views, many other delegations, including the United States, could not agree that it would be desirable to exempt such nationals. It was pointed out that news agencies customarily employ local personnel for part of the staffs of their foreign branches and that this practice is beneficial both to the agencies and the countries in question. To exclude such nationals would force news agencies to discharge their locally recruited staffs or face the danger of losing most of the benefits of the convention.

Despite a decision of the Third Committee, taken by a narrow majority, to include such nationals, many delegations continued to oppose the convention for this reason. Consequently, the United States delegation suggested an amendment t article XII which would make it clear tha although such nationals were covered by the con vention in so far as the operations of the new agencies are concerned, they could in no sens claim foreign protection. This amendment wa adopted in the course of the final approval of th convention in plenary meeting and appeared t satisfy most of the delegations which had sough to exclude nationals altogether.

Other Key Issues

Considerable time was also spent in a discussio of the so-called colonial article (article XVIII) which had given rise to sharp disagreement at th Conference and at the Ecosoc. There was wide spread dissatisfaction with the revision of thi article submitted by the Ecosoc, and in the end the Committee agreed upon a formulation whic approximates the original Conference text bu makes even more explicit the obligation of metro politan states by requiring them to transmit th text of the convention to their non-self-governin territories whether or not its application is ex tended to them.

On the other hand, the important issue of th manner in which the convention was to be impl mented, or enforced, was decided after a ver brief discussion. It will be recalled that the tex before the Committee made no provision for im plementation. Two proposals were advanced

(1) A United States–United Kingdom proposa for the creation of a fact-finding committee, whic would hold public hearings and issue a report o any dispute which had not been settled by othe means and (2) a Norwegian proposal providin for the compulsory jurisdiction of the Interna tional Court of Justice.

Many delegations objected to the expense in volved in the establishment of fact-finding bodie and they regarded this proposal as an unjustifie attempt to bypass the Court. The Committe voted by a large majority in favor of the com pulsory jurisdiction of the International Cour of Justice (article XIV).

In contrast with the prolonged discussion of th first part of the convention, the second part, deal ing with the right of correction, was considere only briefly. Once the decision had been take to merge the two conventions as parts one an two of one convention, the unofficial revision o this text which had been worked out by the dele gations of the United States, France, and th

Jnited Kingdom at the Ecosoc was approved with nly minor drafting changes. The debate over he issue of compulsory correction by correspondnts, which might more appropriately have taken lace at this point, had already concluded.

A product of long and hard debate, the conention reflects the process of majority decision nd compromise inherent in the democratic proceures of the United Nations. It contains little that new and its main provisions incorporate praccs already observed by most democratic states. or the first time, however, such practices would otain the sanction of international law, thereby roviding a standard against which to measure e practices of states which do not accord similar eatment to information agencies and news pernnel. Speaking in a plenary meeting of the eneral Assembly on May 13, 1949, Mr. Canham ated:

"The Convention which is before the General ssembly for adoption is simple, precise, concrete, nd wisely limited in its application. It does not uarantee the millenium overnight. But it is sed on sound principles. It is a good beginning. sets standards which will enable higher goals to reached through practical experience in the ture." [25]

But the struggle was not yet over! In a sepate resolution accompanying the text of the conntion, the Assembly stipulated that the convenon "shall not be open for signature until the eneral Assembly has taken definite action on the aft Convention on Freedom of Information." [26] e latter, it will be recalled, was the third of the nventions proposed by the Conference on Freem of Information. Following the completion the Newsgathering text, the Third Committee ok up this Freedom of Information Convention t was forced to defer its consideration until the urth Session in the face of sharp disagreement er its provisions. Before abandoning work on e Freedom of Information convention at that ssion, however, the Third Committee had lopted revised versions of the first five articles. general, the revisions incorporated many reictive provisions intended to "safeguard" perissive governmental authority over freedom of information, and many delegations declared that their governments would never accept a convention along those lines.

[25] BULLETIN of May 29, 1949, p. 678.

[26] See resolution in U.N. doc. A/876, May 16, 1949, *ibid.*, 682.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, FOURTH SESSION

When the General Assembly convened for its fourth session, September 20, 1949, the Third Committee had first on its agenda the draft convention on freedom of information. Although not formally on the agenda, the question of opening for signature the newsgathering convention was also part of this item. A large number of delegations felt that there was no more prospect of agreement on an acceptable text of this convention than there had been at the previous session. A proposal was therefore submitted by the delegations of the United Kingdom, Netherlands, and the United States calling upon the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to include adequate provisions on freedom of information in the draft international covenant on human rights and postponing further action on the convention until the fifth session, pending receipt of the covenant from the Commission on Human Rights.

It was pointed out that the Assembly would not be in a position to determine intelligently what might be accomplished by a specific convention on freedom of information before it had first reached agreement on a statement of the general concept of this freedom in the covenant. This proposal was adopted October 20 by a vote of 38 to 10, with 10 abstentions.[27]

A second proposal, however, sponsored by the same three delegations which would have opened for signature the newsgathering convention was rejected in Committee Three by a vote of 18 to 16, with 13 abstentions. Many delegations insisted that the two conventions were "part of one whole" and that they must stand or fall together, despite what appear to be conclusive arguments that the two conventions do not in fact cover the same subject matter and are in no way dependent on each other. Other delegations maintained that the freedom of information convention is necessary to establish a "moral and political context" for the

[27] See U.N. doc. A/1010, Oct. 7, 1949.

purely technical newsgathering convention. Some of these delegations are anxious to incorporate into the freedom of information convention certain restrictive proposals which would have the effect of nullifying some provisions of the newsgathering text.

Despite 2 years of intensive debate in international meetings, therefore, final action on the convention on the international transmission of news and the right of correction must presumably await the next session of the General Assembly.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of significant facts having important implications for United States information enterprises and for our foreign policy have emerged from the United Nations debate on these conventions.

Current national concepts of freedom of the press or freedom of information, far from being characterized simply by the gap between the Soviet thesis of the state-indoctrinated society and the democratic thesis of the society free to reach its own consensus on the basis of competing sources of news, are more accurately described as being ranged in a continuous ideological spectrum. This spectrum is bounded by the U.S.S.R. at one extreme and the United States at the other, with every other country ranged between.

Especially significant is the fact that our concept of governmental *laissez-faire* toward the information media does not represent the norm even among most other acknowledged democracies. The danger is that we may be mislead by the opposition of the vast majority of governments to Soviet proposals restricting freedom of information into overlooking the lack of general agreement with our own concept. Many countries share with us the conviction that direct governmental control over the press is inimical to freedom of expression but are nevertheless prepared to make the press "responsible" by law. Accustomed to domestic press laws, some of which require compulsory correction of various categories of false or "harmful" reports, they advocate similar measures at the international level. For them governmental intervention is not harmful as such, and the dangers inherent in such intervention are not considered so serious as are the effects of an "irresponsible press.

Moreover, most of the smaller nations, unable t maintain global and sometimes even domestic new agencies of their own, allege that they are "at th mercy" of the powerful news agencies of th United States and the United Kingdom. Many o them are highly critical of the treatment allegedl accorded them by these agencies. They complai that their policies are sometimes misrepresente or maligned and their cultures ignored or distorte either for political purposes or through a combin tion of ignorance and catering to sensationalisn Claiming that they have no adequate means c redress, they are tempted to employ the next be available remedy, namely restrictive controls c the operations of powerful foreign agencies. . few have had no intimate domestic experience wit freedom of the press and are not prepared to a cord this freedom fully to foreign agencies.

Governments, or more accurately administr tions of the moment, have from time immemori claimed the power to judge matters of this natu for their citizens, and too often the test has bee the interest of the administration rather than th of the people. Many of the allegations of misco duct or inadequate performance leveled by son governments at the free press cannot, therefore, l taken at face value.

Yet, whatever be its true source, the threat t the traditional American concept of the free pre cannot be ignored, especially at a time when th totalitarian thesis is exerting its maximum pu The freedom of information debate in the Unite Nations has served to clarify the issues and to gi a powerful thrust to the democratic thesis. B the pressure on the "middle states" is strong, ar there is a growing tendency to distrust bo extremes.

In the present titanic struggle for the minds entire peoples, this debate presents a great cha lenge to the information enterprises of the Unite States and to our government. The challenge d mands renewed efforts to demonstrate the coura of our democratic convictions by convincing othe through example and discussion that in the case freedom of the press as with other civil liberti the price of freedom is small indeed when co pared with the terrible costs of the regiment society.

VIEWING 48 YEARS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

An Interview With Bertha S. Rodrick
by Philip W. Carroll

In a section of the Records Branch of the Department of State three elderly ladies wearing powdered blonde wigs and colorful Victorian-style dresses with long, sweeping trains work diligently recording for posterity the documents and letters of the Department.

Ridiculous?

Well, today, yes. But not ridiculous if you had the memories of Bertha S. Rodrick who has served the Government through the administrations of nine Presidents and their 15 Secretaries of State in the past 48 years.

The silver-haired, affable Mrs. Rodrick, honored for her long, faithful service at the Department of State's Honor Award Ceremony held in Washington on October 12, 1949, smiles as she recalls a picture of the Department as it was when she entered its service on May 16, 1901.

She was appointed, at that time, to the Chief Clerk's Office to assist in bringing up-to-date the volumes of the *Foreign Relations of the United States.*

After the first volume was completed, Mrs. Rodrick said the appropriations for the project ran out—an occurrence not relegated entirely to the "old days"—and she found herself out of work. She was not long idle, however, for she reentered Government service in July 1901 with the Bureau of Indexes and Archives to continue her work on the Foreign Relations volumes.

Mrs. Rodrick was "loaned" for 9 months in 1905 to the Bureau of Appointments where she compiled statistics on Foreign Service officers. Upon completion of her duties there, she returned—against the bitter protests of the Chief of the Bureau of Appointments—to the Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

Her competency was reflected in the fact that the Chief of the Bureau of Appointments, who did not have employment jurisdiction over Mrs. Rodrick, had her promoted on July 2, 1906, to $1,200 a year—a phenomenal figure for a woman employee. She had reached, therefore, the highest level of pay for women in Government at that time.

"It was rumored," Mrs. Rodrick laughingly stated, "that John Hay considered that no woman was worth more than $1,200." Things got better, she added, during Elihu Root's administration.

Mrs. Rodrick was detailed to the Latin American Division for a few months after her return to the Bureau of Indexes and Archives and, shortly after, requested and received a transfer to the Division of Passports.

She entered the Passport Division, then known as the Citizenship Bureau, early in 1907 and became one of seven employees necessary in that Division to handle the voluminous tasks of the day—the Division now has 211 employees.

Mrs. Rodrick has served 42 years, consecutively, with the Division in the capacity of secretary to the Chief, administrative assistant, Chief of Files and Records of the Passport Division, Correspondence Drafting Officer, and Chief of the General Inquiries section—her present position.

"The State Department has changed considerably since I first entered it," Mrs. Rodrick re-

marked with a smile in a masterful utterance of understatement.

Organizational Structure—1901

The organizational structure then consisted of a Diplomatic Bureau, Consular Bureau, Solicitor's Office, Bureau of Appointments, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Passport Bureau, and a Bureau of Accounts—which remitted pay in cash—, she recalled.

The Secretary of State had a First, Second, and Third Assistant, and the Departmental Service numbered 99. The entire domestic and foreign service totaled, approximately, 1,100—including foreign nationals working at United States foreign posts. Today, the Department employees 22,254, including 8,206 in the Departmental Service, 14,033 in the Foreign Service—including foreign nationals—, and 15 in territories and possessions.

"There were 11 women employees scattered throughout the Department," Mrs. Rodrick pointed out, "but I don't believe there were any in the foreign service."

In a small room allotted to the Diplomatic Bureau, Mrs. Rodrick first met the three bewigged women of the Records Branch.

Typing Techniques

The three elderly ladies, looking like images that had just stepped from a seventeenth century painting, were responsible for recording in ledgers of great magnitude the copies of correspondence coming into and going out from the Department.

The mechanical age had come upon the ladies before they were ready to face it and before they had a chance to defend themselves: the Department introduced into the recording branch a modern, mechanical monster—the typewriter—to speed the processing and recording responsibilities of the section.

One of the ladies, very proud of her fingernails, looked to the new typewriters as a threat to her feminine pulchritude and one which must be conquered if she was to retain the beauty of her hands.

As a result, she devised an ingenious method of typing in which she would hold one pencil in each hand—reversing the pencils so that the erasers pointed downward—and then deliberately and forcefully strike key after key with the pencil until her recording duty was completed.

She succeeded, of course, in preserving her fin gernails, but, as Mrs. Rodrick pointed out, th Department's attempt to speed the processing o correspondence was thwarted.

On-the-Job Sales

Mrs. Rodrick recalled another lady of the ol days who mixed business with business. Thi lady had a commercial shop in the District wher she sold ladies' jabots, collars, embroidered hand kerchiefs, and other feminine fineries. Eac work day she would bring to the Department sam ples of her latest wares and display them so tha interested customers might select the items the wished.

"Of course," Mrs. Rodrick said, with a twinkl in her eyes, "she was only supposed to sell th goods during the lunch hour, but if someone cam in during working hours she couldn't stop the from looking at the merchandise."

The lunch hour then was well-suited for sho ping time for the women since there was n lunchroom in the Department and all employe brought their lunches.

Developing new typing techniques and tran acting on-the-job sales were exceptions rather tha the rule, Mrs. Rodrick was quick to point ou Most of the Department employees in those da were sincerely interested in the work and ofte worked long hours to insure the proper perforn ance of each duty of the Department, she said.

"Service in the Department was a career in tho days," Mrs. Rodrick stated, "and any task an employee was called upon to do, he accepted as i the line-of-duty, no matter how long it took to d the job."

A Crisis

She recalled the crisis that developed short after the outbreak of World War I, when Ame ican citizens were stranded overseas without pas ports.

A traveler in those days did not have to have passport in order to journey in many foreig countries, and when war came, many America were stranded without identification.

"People were caught without passports, and we were deluged with telegrams and cables from loved ones at home and stranded Americans abroad to get passports for travel home," Mrs. Rodrick said.

The Division worked day and night to help Americans who were in trouble abroad, Mrs. Rodrick continued, and in order to meet the crisis many days the entire Division worked from 9 a.m. to 11:30 p.m. It was not uncommon, she added, for the Chief to request everyone in the Division to report for duty at 8 o'clock the following morning.

New clerks were taken on to handle the increasing load of requests for passports. This load continued until the time when the United States entered the war. "By that time," Mrs. Rodrick said, "we had returned most of them back home."

Through this whole crisis, Mrs. Rodrick recalled, one old gentleman—whom she called "Professor"—refused to be moved by war or conflagration from the usual way of things. He continued to perform his function of writing passports for the Division with an air of perfect calm: he had established a day-by-day schedule for himself and defied anyone to change it.

"It had always been the policy of the Division Chief," Mrs. Rodrick said, "to insist that a passport had to be written and sent out on the same day that the application was received."

The "Professor", who had sole responsibility for writing passports—which resembled large-size diplomas at that time—, refused to be deterred from his schedule of writing 65 passports—but no more—regardless of any increase in the volume requested.

He just moved steadily and methodically on, Mrs. Rodrick said, and when he reached the maximum point, he would stop. To him, she said, 65 was the point of mental and physical exhaustion, and he would cease writing at that number.

In order to carry out the Chief's policy, all the clerks, therefore, had to jump in and begin writing the passports the "Professor" had left undone.

"If we turned out 150 passports a day, it was a good day," Mrs. Rodrick said. Today, the Division turns out approximately 910 passports daily.

In her 48-year service with the Department, Mrs. Rodrick recalls many changes which have taken place, outside of the Passport Division and in the Capital City.

For example, she remembers when it was a simple matter to find anyone connected with the Department, or for that matter anyone connected with the Department of State, Navy Department, or Army Department. All three Departments were in the same building on 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.

Having all of the Department of State located in one building was convenient in many ways, but it was especially convenient with regard to transportation to and from work.

Domestic Travel

In the old days, Mrs. Rodrick said, the most favored mode of transportation was the feet. Travel time to the Department was about one-half hour.

"People could always walk through the White House grounds for a short cut. The front and back gates were always open," she said.

The gates were not closed before the Wilson administration during the First World War period. They have remained closed ever since.

For those employees that lived farther out, the rapid transit company offered speedy conveyance on the cable cars on Pennsylvania Avenue, with swift crosstown transfer on horse-drawn trolleys.

If a person desired to make a quick dash to work in order to beat the clock, and a late penalty, and he had sufficient funds to afford a more expensive transportation vehicle, he could hire a horse-drawn cab.

Some years later, Mrs. Rodrick remarked, as America moved into the modern mechanical age, a few of the more successful and daring officials of the Department purchased electric automobiles with the chest-high, horizontal steering bars.

International Travel

Although travel at home was extensive, Mrs. Rodrick recalled that American statesmen did very little official international travel. This government sent a few commissions to foreign nations. These consisted of specialists selected to represent the United States abroad in certain fields, but the Secretary and his Assistants seldom

if ever journeyed overseas in an official capacity.

Alvey A. Adee, Second Assistant to the Secretaries of State from the administration of John Hay through that of Charles Evans Hughes, and one of the most brilliant men in the American Government and an expert in almost every field of diplomatic relations, would travel abroad, however, on a vacation each summer and carry his bicycle with him. Upon arriving in Europe, he would take his bicycle and, for the rest of his stay, pedal over the European roads from one country to another to become acquainted with the attitudes and desires of the people.

The conduct of foreign affairs then was very much different from that of today, Mrs. Rodrick said. Our communicating facilities were not so rapid as they are today; most of the correspondence and instructions to foreign posts went by steamer pouch. If an emergency developed in which rapid transmission was essential, the Department had only the cable to use for transmitting coded messages, in contrast with the telegraphic transmissions of today.

Intradepartmental Communications

Intradepartmental communication in the old days was dispatched with greater efficiency and with less possibility of error, Mrs. Rodrick thought, since most of the communicating could be done on a personal basis. If an individual had a question he wished answered, all that he had to do was walk down the hall and talk with the officer responsible for the matter.

The translation of foreign languages is a good example of a problem that was resolved by this simple personal exchange. The translating section consisted of two people—and never more than three—who were capable of translating all foreign languages with which the United States was concerned.

One man, a Mr. Stephans, could translate all the languages. He was a high-salaried employee, receiving $2,100 a year.

Officials conducted very little business by telephone conversation during this period. "I don't recall seeing a single telephone in those days," Mrs. Rodrick said. The Department has in use today approximately 5,106 telephones.

This tradition of personal contact made the Department "one big, happy family," Mrs. Rodrick stated, "Everyone knew everyone else, and a strong spirit of comradeship existed."

When new Secretaries were appointed, they insisted that they meet personally all the clerks in the Department, and they invited them all into the diplomatic reception room so that everyone might become acquainted.

The Department had a social club—Mrs. Rodrick was an officer of the committee—which met periodically and was entertained by such artists as Fritz Kreisler, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, and Frieda Hempel. A dance followed each meeting, and all Department employees mixed in a spirit of good fellowship.

Such gatherings built a firm *ésprit de corps* within the Department and made the loss of a member a personal grief.

The Assassination of McKinley

"The assassination of President McKinley left us all terribly grieved," Mrs. Rodrick said. "People walked through the White House grounds with heads bowed, and almost in tears. A hush seemed to be over everything."

The United States entry into World War I, Mrs. Rodrick said, raised the curtain on a new Department of State.

The personnel of the Department began to multiply; more women came into service, and their opportunities increased; the Department began to expand; the tempo of conducting international relations accelerated; the "personal touch" of the Department began to give way to the business-like approach. The Department of State started its slow progress toward the colossus that it is today.

Mrs. Rodrick has watched it grow. Her eyes have pictured and her brain has recorded almost a half century of history of the Department of State.

Today, as she rests in her chair, closes her eyes and permits her mind to roam back over the years she recalls the words spoken to her by the three old ladies of the records branch—who worried lest this young woman put them out of work—"Slow down, young lady. Take it easy! Just wait until you're here as long as we have been."

Remembering the words, Mrs. Rodrick smiles.

The United States in the United Nations

[November 5–11]

d Hoc Political Committee

Membership.—The Committee, on November 4, ompleted action on the question of admission of ew members and adopted several resolutions, nine f which were submitted by Australia. They reuest that the Security Council reconsider the aplications of Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, taly, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Portugal, nd Nepal, in view of the General Assembly's deermination that each of these states meets the harter requirements for membership and should e admitted to the United Nations. According to nother resolution, the Interntional Court of Juse will be asked for an advisory opinion on hether admission of a state to membership could e effected by a decision of the General Assembly hen the Security Council has made no recomendation for admission by reason of the candiate failing to obtain the requisite majority or of e negative vote of a permanent member upon a solution so to recommend." A final resolution quests permanent Security Council members to rego the veto when voting on applications and ks the Security Council to keep all pending aplications under consideration. A Soviet proosal to authorize a blanket Security Council recmmendation of 13 applicants was rejected.

Atomic Energy.—During a week of intensive bate on the question of the international conol of atomic energy, five proposals were subitted.

France and Canada jointly proposed requesting e permanent members of the Atomic Energy ommission (Canada, China, France, the Soviet nion, United Kingdom, and United States) to ntinue their present consultations and to exame all suggestions and lines of approach with a ew to determining whether they might lead to greement.

A proposal by India would ask the International aw Commission to prepare a draft declaration on e duties of states and individuals regarding atomic energy to insure its use for peaceful purposes only.

The U.S.S.R. proposed asking the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its work and proceed to the preparation of simiultaneous conventions on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the control of atomic energy. Preambular clauses placed the entire responsibility for failure to attain a solution to date on the United States and the United Kingdom.

Haiti proposed a commission of 12 members, assisted by experts in nuclear physics, to prepare and submit to the General Assembly a draft convention providing for simultaneous abolition of atomic devices as instruments for war and international control of atomic energy, and, second, a declaration of the duties and rights of states in connection with atomic armaments.

The fifth proposal, presented by Argintina, would ask the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission to make every effort to secure in the shortest possible time a provisional agreement which would "include as a minimum a renunciation of the use of atomic weapons for purposes of aggression."

United States delegate, John D. Hickerson, supported the French-Canadian resolution and said that until a better one was adopted, the United States would continue to press for adoption of the majority plan. He added that the Soviet proposals were "far short of ensuring effective control" and would permit clandestine operations and diversions of nuclear fuel. Soviet insistence on these inadequate proposals and refusal to submit more effective proposals, he said, had stymied the Atomic Energy Commission and the efforts of the Six Permanent Members.

Political Committee

Greece.—The Committee approved on November 4 a resolution approving the report of and continuing the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, which United States delegate,

Benjamin V. Cohen, introduced earlier and which was cosponsored by Australia, China, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Italian Colonies.—After exhaustive debate, the Committee, on November 12, completed Committee action on the disposition of the former Italian colonies with approval of a three-part resolution providing independence for Libya by 1952, a 10-year Italian trusteeship over Somaliland, and the establishment of a United Nations Commission to determine the wishes of the people of Eritrea. The final vote on the resolution as a whole was 49 to 1 (Ethopia), with 8 abstentions.

In brief, the plan provides that Libya would become an independent state not later than January 1, 1952. A United Nations commissioner would be appointed, assisted by an advisory council of 10 members, representing Egypt, France, Italy, Pakistan, Great Britain, the United States, one member of each of Libya's three sections, and a representative of Libya's minority populations. A Libyan national assembly would write a constitution which would be approved by the United Nations, after which sovereignty would be transferred.

Somaliland would be administered as a trusteeship under Italy, aided by an advisory council of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. It would become independent after 10 years.

A five-member commission composed of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and South Africa would visit Eritrea next January to determine the form of government wanted. The Commission would report to the Interim Committee in June which in turn would present a plan to the fifth session of the General Assembly.

Trusteeship Committee

Non-Self-Governing Territories.—The Committee completed detailed consideration of the report of the special committee on information from non-self-governing territories and adopted resolutions which (1) express the hope that United Nations members who have not transmitted information on the geography, history, people, government, and human rights of the non-self-governing territories may voluntarily include such information in their reports to the Secretary-General; (2) invite the Economic and Social Council to study the question of language of instruction in non-self-governing territories; (3) ask administering members to continue to cooperate with UNESCO in continued steps toward eradication of illiteracy; (4) recommend international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories, with increased participation of the United Nations specialized agencies; (5) recommend that administering members take steps, where necessary, to establish equal treatment in matters relating to education in non-self-governing territories; (6) continue the special committee for a 3-year period; (7) invite the special committee to give special attention in 1950 to educational problems in non-self-governing territories.

The United States delegate, Charles Fahy, supported all of the resolutions. In the course of the general debate in reply to criticism of United States administration of Puerto Rico, Mr. Fahy reported that Puerto Rico was the only non-self-governing territory in the world which freely elected its chief executive by universal adult sufferage. He noted that about 20 percent of the budget went to education, pointed out major developments in industry in the past years, and mentioned the Island-wide campaign against tuberculosis as an example of considerable progress.

Economic Committee

Economic Development.—The Committee, on November 4, unanimously approved its report to the General Assembly on the economic development of underdeveloped countries which includes four resolutions and a synopsis of the Committee's consideration of the three aspects of economic development: economic development of underdeveloped countries, technical assistance for economic development, and an expanded cooperative program of technical assistance for economic development through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The first resolution refers to the expanded technical assistance program providing, among other things, for a technical assistance conference and for a special account by the Secretary-General for economic development. The second resolution provides for increased expenditures in 1950 for the United Nations current program; another resolution refers to financing of economic development, and the final one concerns the influence of international economic and commercial policy on economic development.

Social Committee

Refugees.—The Committee, on November 4, began detailed discussion of the problem of refugees and stateless persons. The Secretary-General has submitted a report which deals with possible plans for the protection of those persons after the International Refugee Organization ceases its operation January 1, 1951. He suggests the establishment of a High Commissioner under United Nations control and proposes tasks for the future refugee service in the field of legal protection. He does not at the present stage deal substantively with the question of possible material assistance.

The U.S. as an Importer in World Economy

by Secretary Acheson[1]

Several speakers have already addressed this convention on the theme that the United States must increase its imports. Mr. Gordon, Mr. Foster, Mr. Arey, and Sir Sydney Caine all developed aspects of this theme in your opening sessions on Monday. Doubtless other speakers elaborated it yesterday, but I have not had an opportunity to read the reports.

This change in emphasis is very interesting to me. We have talked a great deal in the past few years about what other countries could do for their recovery and about what we could do to assist that recovery. Now we have a large measure of recovery of production abroad, and we are going to confront increasingly the old familiar problems of trade and payments.

Everyone knows, without discussion, that the decisions and actions of the United States will largely determine whether these problems are going to find a satisfactory solution. And so tonight, even at the risk of some repetition, I want to discuss the role of the United States in the world economy as an importer, a role which you play daily as traders.

Our Balance-of-Payments Difficulties

The first clear fact of our present economic life that I want to state is that the United States has a serious balance-of-payments problem.

I am sure that all of you here tonight are acquainted with the figures of the past year. You know that in 1948 we exported about 13 billion dollars' worth of goods. We imported about 7 billion dollars' worth. The excess of our exports over imports, this dollar gap which we have heard so much about, is thus of the order of 6 billion dollars.

You know that this is not a new condition.

A chart in my office shows United States exports and imports of goods and services from 1914 through 1948. During that period there has not been a single year in which we have had an import surplus. The total export surplus has mounted up, year by year, to a total just over 100 billion dollars.

Another chart shows how this was paid for. One-sixth of it was paid for by gold imports, which we purchased and stored in the ground at Fort Knox. Another sixth was financed privately, by remittances, investments, and other capital movements. The rest, or two-thirds, represents United States Government grants and loans.

Now we have heard a tremendous lot in the past months and years about the balance-of-payments difficulties of other countries and about our own "favorable" balance of trade. I get impatient with this talk about our "favorable" trade balance.

The bald fact is, though many people don't seem to realize it, that we are in real balance-of-payments difficulties. We have been for a long time. I don't see anything "favorable" about the condition I have just described, and I don't see any "balance" in it.

During and immediately after World War I the needs of our allies required us to export more than we imported, and we financed the excess chiefly by loans. We kept right on exporting more than we imported all during the twenties and thirties, instead of accepting the imports by which alone we could have been repaid.

Again, of necessity, during and after World War II we greatly expanded our production and supplied a vast excess of exports to our allies to

[1] An address delivered before the convention of the National Foreign Trade Council in New York, N.Y. on Nov. 1949, and released to the press on the same date. This address will be reprinted as a separate Department of State publication.

support their war and recovery efforts. We financed this in large part through gifts, for example, lend-lease, UNRRA, and the European Recovery Program, which will not have to be repaid, and in part we financed this excess by loans repayable in the future.

It has been fortunate for the world and for us that America's ability to produce was so great that in times of emergency we could permit vast export surpluses. They have served objectives of major national importance. They have not been to our advantage as consumers—for they have reduced the supply of goods which would otherwise have been available to us for consumption. Nor have these export surpluses been to our advantage as taxpayers—for they have necessarily been financed by direct taxation and by government borrowings, the interest on which must come from taxes.

But they have been to our advantage as citizens, for we have learned that the recovery and prosperity of other countries are essential to our national security and prosperity. The question is, what are we going to do about our balance of payments in the future?

I am not for a moment overlooking the many things which other countries must do to help close the gap. Mr. Hoffman spoke to the Council of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation on Monday about some of the measures which we think the European countries need to take to improve their competitive ability and to go forward to new achievements from the high levels of recovery they have reached.

Mr. Hoffman and I see their problems in the same way. The European countries must rise to the needs of the present and future. But allowing for all the progress which can be made by them and other countries, there will still be a large gap to close by increasing our imports.

So, if we hope for effective action on their part, we must ask ourselves what are the courses of action open to us?

Courses of Action Open to Us

In the first place, some countries will probably continue to need our assistance for some years. They will need it so badly and so urgently that I believe we will continue to provide assistance for reasons of our own national interest as well as needs abroad. However, I also believe that we must use this instrument of foreign policy carefully and within the capacity of our resources.

Secondly, I expect that for many years American businessmen will find attractive opportunities for investment abroad. It is a part of the Government's responsibility to do what it can, in cooperation with other governments, to create conditions in which political and other extraordinary risks will not deter investments which on solely economic grounds are promising. To the extent that there is a net outflow of private investment funds, other countries will be enabled to purchase more in this market than they sell.

Thirdly, we might reduce our exports. Some of our exports, it is true, have been abnormal and will be reduced as production recovers abroad. To some extent this has already happened. But if we cut our exports deeply, below the levels needed for the most effective operation of our industries, we shall be doing damage to some of the very industries in which we are most efficient and on which our economic strength importantly depends. This, therefore, is not a sensible alternative for us to adopt.

Finally, we can increase our imports, and allow other countries to pay for a greatly increased portion of our exports to them. It is to this alternative that I want to direct your attention tonight.

For some curious reason, this solution, which seems like a very sensible one, hasn't been very acceptable up to date. For a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways, we have over the past years made it difficult for people to pay us for the goods that we would like to sell them.

Nevertheless, the lesson in national arithmetic is beginning to sink in. There has developed an encouraging and increasing awareness of the good sense and, in fact, the absolute necessity of the United States making it possible for others to pay us for what we sell them.

Principle Versus Practice

But there is a vast difference between accepting the idea that we should increase imports into the United States and taking the practical concrete steps that are necessary to increase them. So that we may all have a clearer understanding of what these steps are, let us consider the order of magnitude of the problem and some of the obstacles which stand in the way of our getting increased imports.

I do not wish to speculate on the part the first three alternatives—continued assistance programs, private investment, and reduction of our exports—will play, but it will be a declining part. The major emphasis must in the long run fall on the fourth alternative—increased imports into the United States.

I would like to put the dimensions of this task in the right perspective. At first sight, it perhaps seems idle to think of increasing our imports by several billion dollars.

But in 1925 and in 1926 we devoted almost percent of our national income to imports. In 1929 we devoted 5 percent of our national income to imports. In those years we approached a balance and at a high level of trade. If we devoted this same percentage of our current national income to the same purpose, it would mean imports of about 12 billion dollars—or almost a doubling

of our present imports and a solution of our problems.

In 1937 the Marshall Plan countries and their dependencies sold us goods and services amounting to 2 percent of our gross national product. In 1948 they sold us only 1.2 percent. The difference in that eight-tenths of one percent is about 2 billion dollars.

So, you see, there have been periods when we have come near to a real balance of trade. I think that we all need to keep that fact in mind when people say that any large increase in imports is out of the question.

Some people will say that in the meantime we have developed our own production of many things we used to import. That is true, but it is also true that we as a nation can increase our consumption of such products, both domestic and imported, if the price is right and if there is reasonable access to our markets.

Meanwhile, during the war and postwar periods we have consumed quantities of domestic raw materials. We are not yet a "have-not" nation, but in the interest of conservation and security and good business, we should increase greatly our import of many raw materials and primary products.

A large part of our demand is for commodities such as coffee, sugar, and other staples, which we are now buying in about as large quantities as can reasonably be expected. That means that we would need a greater relative expansion of imports of other goods and services for which demand can be increased. It will not, of course, be easy to expand our imports in the amounts that are likely to be desirable and necessary.

There are those who say we cannot balance our trade at the present level of exports. But it is worth trying. And it is worth trying hard.

Now, having looked at the size of the problem, let us see some of the more specific obstacles that stand in the way of its solution; things about which you and I can do something.

Fear as an Obstacle to Imports

The first and perhaps the most important obstacle to imports is fear—fear both here and abroad, working in each case against an increase in our imports.

Manufacturers, producers and exporters abroad look at the extraordinary productive capacity and the amazing productive skill of the United States and of the American people. They see that we here in this country can produce more effectively and with greater skill than almost any other country in the world. They are afraid that they cannot compete effectively in this market. And so they do not really try.

This is a problem for the other countries. They must overcome their fears and meet this obstacle by more efficient production, more skillful management, and more intelligent merchandising methods. In keeping with our whole American tradition of competition, we should not be afraid to see them try to do it. We should encourage them and help them in the effort.

But in this country also there is fear. As you read the hearings before Congress on the trade agreements legislation; as you read the letters which come to the Government about the administration of the trade agreements program, the motif that runs consistently through a large part of them is fear. Fear that to bring into this country a larger volume of things that people in this country want at prices they can afford to pay will be harmful, not beneficial. Fear that if more imports come in, someone in the United States is going to be hurt.

Justice Holmes used to say that most human action resulted from either hope or fear. It has been characteristic of the American people that most of our policies and activities spring from hope. We have been characteristically vigorous, optimistic, forward looking and courageous.

We are faced with perhaps the most important and one of the most difficult problems in human history: the creation of a politically and economically sound community of free nations.

But anyone who read the newspapers during the recent debate about our tariff policy would find that the major part of the discussion was directed to two simple words—"peril-points", and that these peril-points concerned whether a certain number or value of particular products should be admitted to this country.

There are "peril-points" as far as this country is concerned. But they do not have to do with shipments of individual products. One of them lies in the field of military security. Another is the possible economic distress of Western Europe and the American hemisphere. These are the kind of peril-points to which we should be directing our attention.

The Tariff

A familiar obstacle to imports is, of course, the tariff. Over the past 15 years we have made considerable progress in bringing our tariff rates down from the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. But there is still much that can be done. And we propose to do it, within the authority and according to the tested procedures of our Trade Agreements Act.

In this task we must overcome the fears of which I have spoken, and the natural reluctance of those who have long enjoyed a specially favored position to face the prospect of making adjustments and working more effectively, or even differently. But adjustments are being made every day all over this country to new competitive forces in the domestic market place, and adjustments to

the competition of increased imports are no different in kind.

Our producers have for the past few years enjoyed a protection over and above the tariff wall through the fact that many foreign exchange rates have been kept at artificially high levels in terms of the dollar. Now, over a wide area, these rates have been changed and this artificial protection has been lessened or removed. The cry goes up from some in this country that we must post-haste raise our tariff barriers to meet this "unfair" competition.

When foreign supplies were cut off by the war, American producers came in to fill needs of the American people which were normally supplied from abroad. Now the foreign producers are beginning to produce again and want to send us the goods that they used to send us. This means competition for the American products which supplied the lack created by the abnormal wartime situation. And there are pressures upon the Administration and the Congress to keep these foreign exporters even from coming back on a fair competitive basis into the markets which they traditionally held and which, had it not been for the war, they would have had an opportunity to maintain.

These pressures are strong. They will continue and probably increase. If there is any slackening in United States business activity, they will greatly increase. And unless the American public understands that the effect of yielding to these pressures will be to wreck our chances of curing this fundamental ill from which we are suffering, the pressures cannot be withstood and our balance-of-payments problem, so costly for the taxpayer, will remain unsolved.

For you see, imports are such a convenient scapegoat. They can be blamed with relative impunity for a variety of troubles that arise from other causes. There is usually no one there to defend them.

Domestic production of a product may decline because of a change in style, or because a new product has been developed domestically which competes effectively with the old one, or even perhaps because exports have declined. Yet the natural first instinct is to blame the troubles on imports and to try to get at least a temporary relief from those troubles by limitation of imports.

Customs Procedures

Then we have our customs procedures. I suppose every one of you has at one time or another experienced the apparently inevitable frustrations of dealing with the customs, whether here or abroad. Part of this, as far as we are concerned, is due to the fact that many of our customs regulations are contained in the Tariff Act of 1930, which, as you know, was a highly protective instrument, and which has not yet been revised in this respect in over 10 years.

Under present laws and procedures, it sometimes takes as long as 3 or 5 years before an importer knows exactly what amount of duty he will be required to pay on a given shipment. Sometimes the duty may, after that lapse of years, amount to more than the whole amount of the shipment.

An importer can't be sure whether a tire is going to be classified as a tire or an article in part of carbon. He can't be sure whether one of those little pianos you see in nightclubs is going to be considered a musical instrument or a toy.

In order to get in gloves trimmed with bird feathers to meet a sudden feminine fancy in this country, he has to prove that the birds from which the feathers came were tame, not wild, a process which turns out to be very time consuming.

It has even been suggested, although I shall not guarantee the veracity of this statement, that there is some question whether a coffin containing a corpse should be dutiable as an article of merchandise or considered as the "usual container" of its contents and hence be free of duty.

One could multiply these illustrations, but the total effect is at present very restrictive on trade

I am happy to say that this problem is being vigorously attacked. Secretary Snyder is taking a personal interest in improving and simplifying those aspects of customs administration which li within the Administrative authority. Real prog ress has already been made.

When the charter for the International Trad Organization is adopted, as I hope it will be earl next session of Congress, its provisions will requir substantial changes in some of our customs legis lation, which will simplify and facilitate the proc esses of importation.

Other Regulations

Then we have a whole series of regulation which have as their purpose the protection of th public against deception in labeling or agains impure and unsanitary foods and drugs. The regulations, for the most part, have good reaso behind them. However, many of them, eithe because of outmoded legislation or long-estab lished practices which have not been recently r examined, have a highly protective effect.

To describe any of these cases accurately would have to be very technical. But here, layman's language, is the effect of one of the

Our regulations, in effect, require that the o dinary can of mushrooms must have 16 ounc of mushrooms in it. The French produce canne mushrooms and want to send them to this countr But because of the way in which their whole pr duction line is set up, they have only about ounces of mushrooms in a can. They state th fact clearly in the labels. Nevertheless, und present requirements we cannot admit into th

country any can of mushrooms which doesn't contain exactly the required weight of mushrooms.

These again are problems to which we are earnestly addressing ourselves.

Agricultural Surpluses

Another important series of obstacles is created by the existence of our agricultural surpluses, and by the fact that our agricultural price-support systems are so established that in some cases they require limitations upon imports.

"Buy American" Laws

Our Federal, and many of our state and local governments, which spend about 10 billion dollars a year for supplies, materials and equipment, are required to "Buy American."

The Federal Government, for example, is prohibited from buying foreign materials, or commodities manufactured from foreign materials, unless these materials are not available in the United States, or unless the prices of corresponding domestic items are "unreasonable." "Unreasonable" is usually interpreted as meaning 25 percent more expensive, duty included in computing the 25 percent.

It would help if these agencies could buy somewhat more freely from abroad.

Shipping Laws

We have laws and regulations which compel us in many cases to tell the citizens of friendly nations when they offer to carry our goods for us across the seas that we must not employ them because we are obligated to use our own vessels regardless of the quality of service and rate of charge which they may offer us.

I give these illustrations not in a critical sense, but simply to call your attention to the fact that in all these apparently unrelated ways, and in many others, obstacles are being interposed to achievement of this objective of increased imports which we all accept.

And it is important, whenever we encounter examples of each of these particular phenomena, to relate them to our over-all objective and to consider their effect upon that objective; to recognize the validity of that age-old principle that little drops of water can wear away a stone and, conversely, the principle of the homeopaths that repeated little doses of medicine can cure even a malignant disease.

Conclusion

We have made a good start on the economic problems that confront us. Where it has been possible, we have worked through the specialized agencies of the United Nations. In other cases, more limited groups of nations have worked together on common problems. There are many examples of this effort, but I want to call your especial attention to two of them.

First, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade we have negotiated the most comprehensive downward tariff readjustments in history. The most recent was at Annecy this summer, where the 23 nations originally parties to the General Agreement met with 10 other major trading nations of the world. Congress has renewed for the sixth time, this time without amendment, the Trade Agreements Act.

The President has said that he intends to press forward with further negotiations to make the General Agreement, now embracing over 30 nations, an even more effective instrument.

Second, we did not embark upon competitive use of protective quotas and preferential arrangements and other forms of economic warfare. Instead, we got the best brains of the various nations together around the conference table to work out an agreed set of principles, the charter of the International Trade Organization, to govern the conduct of international trade. The organization itself would help to make those principles effective and provide a forum in which the nations of the world could resolve their economic differences.

When this charter is adopted, as I hope it will be early next session of Congress, its provisions will place our foreign trade policy on a more solid footing than we have been able to achieve through the series of temporary reenactments of the Trade Agreements Act.

These are good starts. But in a sense we have covered the easiest part of the road. In times of crisis, needs are recognized and attention and intelligence can be concentrated on the things which most immediately require doing. The test of our wills and wisdom will perhaps be most severe when the challenge seems less, when the exciting war and postwar tasks are followed by more prosaic ones. It will perhaps be less easy then to discern the needs of the day and to concert our actions when we have discerned them.

The key to continued forward movement lies with us. We have looked tonight at just one of the many things that need to be done. But it is a very important one; without it I do not see how the free world structure which we have been building can have a solid economic base. For it is nothing less than finding the solution to our balance-of-payments problem through our role as an importer in the world economy. We cannot start too soon to work out that solution.

In conclusion, I would like to leave with you three simple thoughts which seem to me to provide, if correctly applied, the means to overcome the obstacles to increased imports.

The first thought is this: that for the United States, just as for so many other countries, our

basic problem in the field of foreign economic relations is that we are in serious balance-of-payments difficulties. We have an unfavorable balance of trade, unfavorable to the taxpayer and unfavorable to the consumer. It is in the long run a manageable problem, in terms of the magnitudes with which we as a people are accustomed to deal.

The second thought is this: that the solution of this problem is not a simple, single solution. Nor will it come swiftly. It is rather to be found in continuous action along many different lines and in many different fields; in the cumulative effect of a myriad of small actions rather than in any dramatic single measure.

That is why the solution is difficult. Because the campaign will be long, and so often each of the single skirmishes that must be fought and refought to gain a victory in the great campaign doesn't seem important enough to inspire the affirmative attack or the strong and effective defense which may be required. But it is the art of a great general and the test of a good army to develop staying power and see the importance of all the engagements in the light of the grand strategy and the main objective of the campaign. If we lose all the skirmishes, we are likely also in the end to lose the war.

The third and final thought is this: It is fundamental to a solution of this problem that we have a basic change in our traditional attitude of mind. We must become really import-minded. We must want to devote our time and energy to discovering and bringing in imports.

For it will be of little avail for the Government drastically to reduce the barriers we have been discussing, or for other countries greatly to expand their production for export, if the businessmen and people of this country do not really "go after" imports in the good American way.

By and large, people get what they want. If the American people really want imports, imports will come. It's common sense for us to want them and go after them.

Indonesians Accorded Full Independence

CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE ADJOURNS

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[*Released to the press November 3*]

Upon this most auspicious occasion, the successful termination of the round-table conference at The Hague, this government wishes to congratulate the Netherlands and Indonesian representatives on the high statesmanship which both have exhibited in the course of the Conference. The conferees, in finding a settlement of those differences, both political and economic, which have separated them some years, have accorded the Indonesian people full independence and sovereignty, at the same time preserving interests of the Netherlands in the Indonesian Archipelago which are legitimate and just. The new and sovereign Republic of United Indonesia is to join the Netherlands in the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, a voluntary association of equal partners, thus offering the world a bright prospect for practical collaboration between East and West. It is the firm expectation of this Government that the agreements reached at the Conference will mark a renewed growth of Dutch-Indonesian friendship and cooperation, which in our opinion will surely further the welfare of both nations.

By its courageous action against a subversive Communist movement last September, the Indo nesian Republic has demonstrated its genuine na tionalist character. The Indonesian Federalist have joined with the Indonesian Republic in com pounding a genuine all-Indonesian nationalis position at The Hague Conference. The Govern ment of the Netherlands, under whose auspices th round-table conference has been held, has durin the course of negotiations demonstrated full fidel ity to its principle of independence for Indonesi and faith in the integrity of the new state.

The dispute has been before the Security Coun cil since July 1947. The United Nations Goo Offices Committee, the name of which was sub sequently changed to United Nations Commissio for Indonesia, was formed through the selectio of Belgium by the Netherlands, of Australia b the Indonesian Republic, and the selection b Australia and Belgium of the United States a the third member. The United States' contribu tion to the solution of the Indonesian problem ha been made through the discharge of its respons bility as a member of the United Nations Commi sion for Indonesia.

Negotiations, under the auspices of the Commi tee of Good Offices, which were suspended in 194 were resumed on April 14, 1949 under the auspic

of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia which was created by the Security Council resolution of January 28, 1949. This same resolution called upon both parties for a cease fire order, for a release of all political prisoners, and for the restoration of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta, to be followed by staged withdrawals of Netherlands forces from areas occupied by them after December 18, and made several recommendations to the parties. The parties agreed on May 7 to the restoration of the Republican Government to the Residency of Jogjakarta, the issuance of a cease fire, the release of Republican prisoners by the Dutch, and the holding of a conference at The Hague leading to a definitive political settlement.

The new Republic of United Indonesia will be faced with great tasks and must assume heavy responsibilities. It can count upon the sympathy and support of all who believe in democracy and the right of self-government. For its part, the United States Government is engaged in study of ways and means by which it may be of assistance, should such assistance be requested.

The United States will be gratified to welcome into the community of free nations the United Republic of Indonesia and looks forward to Indonesia's membership in the United Nations which the Netherlands has undertaken to propose. With their record of genuine nationalism, the Indonesian people may be expected successfully to resist all efforts of aggressive foreign dictatorships to subvert their newly won independence.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FRANK P. GRAHAM[1]

[Released to the press November 3]

The two great peoples of the Netherlands and ndonesia, their devoted representatives at The Iague Conference, the able and faithful members f the United Nations Commission of Good Offices, nd the United Nations, as the world's agency of eace, are all to be congratulated by the peoples f all nations on working out this historic settlement of the four-year dispute.

From reports, it is assured, that the main prinples of the Linggadjati Agreement and the ghteen principles of the Renville Agreement ith their implementation in the du Bois-Critchy plan and the Cochran plan, with modifications d additions freely negotiated at The Hague, ve been substantially integrated and further imemented in The Hague Agreement. This ingrated agreement provides for the national sovereignty and independence of the Republic of United Indonesia; the self-determination of the Indonesian people through civil liberties, free elections, safeguards for minorities and property; a constituent assembly as both an interim legislature and a constitutional convention for framing the basic principles of the independent federal Republic of United Indonesia; and the statute for the Union of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republic of United Indonesia for cooperation in their larger common interests as a new commonwealth of nations, with both nations to be independent members of the United Nations.

By this agreement the two peoples have vindicated their separate victories over the extremes of the new totalitarian communism and the old historic imperialism. In the words of the great and gracious Queen Wilhelmina made true in the words of her most worthy daughter, Queen Juliana, "colonialism is dead." In this settlement the people of the Netherlands and the people of Indonesia by the self-determination of free peoples, have, under God, a rendezvous with a larger destiny of creative cooperation in a time and in a world desperately in need of the best which these two great peoples can give together. By the example of the historic Hague Agreement between the people of the Netherlands and the people of Indonesia, the peoples of the West and the East will find a new meeting place in the United Nations as a forum and hope for freedom and peace in the world.

May the people of Indonesia, where there was a great civilization before western men discovered America, and may the people of the Netherlands, a little land but a great people, rise to the greatness of their opportunity, so that all the peoples of the earth in looking today to the East, whence came the great religions of the world, will lift their eyes in prayers towards the morning of their hopes for a freer and better world.

[1] Senator Graham was formerly the U.S. Member of United Nations Good Offices Committee for Indonesia m Oct. 1947 to Feb. 1948. Coert du Bois replaced n from Feb. 1948 to Aug. 1948; and Merle Cochran, the sent U.S. member, replaced, in turn, Mr. du Bois.

Negotiations Begin With Atlantic Pact Countries on Military Aid

[Released to the press November 3]

The Department of State today is starting negotiations on bilateral agreements under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, with Atlantic pact countries scheduled to receive military aid.

The conclusion of these agreements prior to the furnishing of any assistance under the act is required by legislation authorizing such aid.

Identical proposed draft agreements are being submitted today to the diplomatic missions in Washington of the following nations: the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, and Norway.

It is contemplated that the negotiations will be handled with the diplomatic missions in Washington of the nations involved and will not require any special personnel from abroad.

In transmitting the proposed draft agreements, Department of State representatives stressed the importance of speed in obtaining final agreement in order that provision of military assistance may proceed without delay.

Texts of the agreements will be made public and registered with the United Nations after signatures are affixed.

U.S. To Participate in Haitian Bicentennial Exposition

[*Released to the press October 31*]

This week the United States Ambassador to Haiti, William E. DeCourcy, will preside at a ceremony to break the first ground for the United States Pavilion at the Exposition at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, which will commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of that city. President Estime of Haiti and foreign ambassadors and ministers and leading Haitian officials are expected to take part in the ceremony.

The United States Pavilion will be erected on a site which has been presented to the United States by the Haitian Government. After the close of the Exposition, this building, which affords sufficient space for the presentation of motion pictures, lectures, and art exhibits, will be used to carry out the cultural and informational program of the United States in Haiti.

In the United States Pavilion there will be one single large exhibit relating to the parallels in the historical development of the United States and Haiti from the time of their colonial periods. In addition, there will be displays depicting accomplishments of the United States in the fields of commerce, industry, and science and including models of soil conservation projects, airports, transportation and communication facilities, and many other items.

The Exposition will be located along the water front in the center of the city on ground which has recently been reclaimed from marshland and landscaped. Most of the buildings which have already been constructed within the area are permanent in character and will house some of the Haitian Government offices after the Exposition

THE DEPARTMENT

Lloyd V. Berkner To Survey Department's Responsibilities in International Science

[*Released to the press November 2*]

Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner has been designated to serve as consultant to the Secretary of State.

In this capacity, he will survey the responsibilities of the Department of State in the field of international science. He will develop detailed recommendations on the most effective means of utilizing the functions and facilities of the Department for meeting the needs of United States science, and for strengthening national security to the end that the Department may fulfill adequately its role with respect to the international aspects of science.

Dr. Berkner will first undertake a study of the urgent problem of stimulating and facilitating an optimum flow of international scientific and technological information to aid in the achievement of this end. The study of other significant problems will grow out of this initial inquiry.

The survey will be organized as follows: Specific studies and formulation of detailed recommendations will be developed by the International Science Policy survey group with assistance from units in the Department and other agencies concerned with international aspects of science and technology. The survey group will consist of full-time and part-time United States Government officers, under the policy guidance of a Departmental Steering Committee composed of Assistant Secretaries of State. The Steering Committee will also review and approve for the Department the policies, procedures, and recommendations growing out of the survey prior to their final submittal to the Secretary of State. It is anticipated that general guidance and approval for American science will be given by an Advisory Committee on International Science Policy of the National Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Berkner will call upon units of the Department of State and other agencies concerned with international aspects of science and technology for such information and specialized studies as he may consider essential to the conduct of the survey

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

United States Treaty Developments, December 1948. (Third Release) Pub. 2851. 514 pp. $3.50.

A loose-leaf volume of annotations on the status of treaties and agreements to which the United States is a party.

Air Transport Services. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1900. Pub. 3478. 39 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States and Brazil—Signed at Rio de Janeiro, September 6, 1946; entered into force October 6, 1946.

The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XIV. Pub. 3502. 915 pp. $2.75 a copy.

Consists of the texts, literally reproduced, of the official records of the territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806–14. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter.

Relief Supplies and Packages for Greece: Duty-Free Entry Payment of Transportation Charges. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1898. Pub. 3512. 27 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States and Greece—Signed at Athens, February 9, 1949; entered into force February 9, 1949.

Air Transport Services. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1902. Pub. 3513. 23 pp. 10¢.

Agreement and Protocol between the United States and Italy—Signed at Rome; operative from February 6, 1949; entered into force definitively September 2, 1948.

Economic Cooperation With Luxembourg Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1903. Pub. 3514. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Luxembourg Amending Agreement of July 3, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Luxembourg November 17 and December 22, 1948; entered into force December 22, 1948.

Economic Cooperation With Denmark Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1904. Pub. 3515. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Denmark Amending Agreement of June 29, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Copenhagen November 4 and 18, 1948; entered into force November 18, 1948.

Military Mission to Haiti. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1907. Pub. 3518. 12 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Haiti—Signed at Washington, April 14, 1949; entered into force April 14, 1949.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1890. Pub. 3521. 32 pp. 15¢.

Between the United States and Other Governments: Protocol Modifying Part II and Article XXVI of the Agreement of October 30, 1947—Signed at Geneva September 14, 1948; entered into force December 14, 1948.

United States Educational Foundation in the Philippines. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1910. Pub. 3527. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines Amending Agreement of March 23, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Manila December 8 and 20, 1948; entered into force December 20, 1948.

United States Educational Foundation in New Zealand. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1912. Pub. 3529. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and New Zealand Amending Agreement of September 14, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Wellington, March 3 and 9, 1949; entered into force March 9, 1949.

Postal Convention. Treaties and Other International Act Series 1913. Pub. 3530. 9 pp. 10¢.

Between the United States and the Repubic of the Philippines—Signed at Manila September 17, 1947 and at Washington September 30, 1947; entered into force October 1, 1947.

Relief Supplies and Packages for Italy: Duty-Free Entry Payment of Transportation Charges. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1914. Pub. 3533. 7 pp. 5¢.

Agreement and Understanding between the United States and Italy—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Rome, November 26, 1948; entered into force November 26, 1948.

Settlement of Certain War Accounts and Claims. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1920. Pub. 3541. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Austria—Signed at Vienna, June 21, 1947; entered into force June 21, 1947.

Trading Ideas With the World. International Information and Cultural Series 7. Pub. 3551. 88 pp. 55¢.

Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, March 31, 1949, on International educational and technical exchange program.

Third Session of the General Conference of Unesco, Beirut, Lebanon, November 17–December 11, 1948. International Organization and Conference Series IV, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 8. Pub. 3574. 132 pp. 35¢.

Report of the United States delegation with selected documents.

Foreign Service of the United States, July 1, 1949. Pub. 3603. 102 pp. 25¢.

A list showing classification of personnel by categories and salaries.

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The Department of State bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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No Response From Chinese on Release of Angus Ward and Staff

CONSUL GENERAL CLUBB SENDS LETTER TO CHINESE AUTHORITIES

EDITOR'S NOTE: Two dispatches, dated October 27 and October 31, received by the Department reported that Consul General Angus Ward and four members of his staff, arrested by the Chinese Communists in Mukden on October 24, are still in custody and all efforts by other members of the consulate staff to visit or effect the release of the United States representative have failed.

Vice Consul William M. Stokes reported that although he has not received permission to visit Mr. Ward or his staff, he has received and filled requests for food, heavy clothing, and bedding, presumably from the consul general.

Mr. Stokes also reported that he is preparing additional food parcels for delivery but that he will be unable to make delivery before specifically requested to do so.

Full details leading up to the alleged incident had been transmitted, Mr. Stokes reported. The Department has not received the details and presumes that the Chinese Communist authorities have suppressed the real facts.

Fourteen telegrams dispatched by Consul General Ward during the period October 10–31 are missing.

[*Released to the press November 10*]

No response has been received from the Chinese Communist authorities in Peiping to a request for the release of American Consul General Angus Ward and four members of his staff held under arrest and for the immediate withdrawal of Mr. Ward and his entire staff from Communist China.

The latest communication to the Chinese Communists was a letter from American Consul General O. Edmund Clubb in Peiping sent on November 3 to General Chou En-lai, who is in charge of foreign affairs for the Chinese Communist regime.

The text of Mr. Clubb's letter follows:

"In my letter of October 8, 1949, I brought to your attention the matter of the isolation, since November 1948, of the American Consular compounds at Mukden, of Consul General Angus I. Ward and his entire staff. Under instructions of my Government, I would now invite your attention to the circumstance that, according to information received from a member of the Mukden staff Mr. Ward, Foreign Service clerk Ralph Ahberg, and mechanic Shiro Tatham, and alien employees Franco Cicogna and Alfred Kristan were removed by police on October 24 on the charge that they had assaulted one of the Chinese personnel of that office. It was stated by the police at the time that they would be held for 2 or 3 days.

"It is requested that I be supplied with authoritative information regarding the matter in point for transmission to my government. It is requested particularly that I be informed whether Mr. Ward and the other consular employees are still held, if so, where. I invite your attention to the fact that the personnel in question have been isolated in their compounds under guard since November 20, 1948. As a consequence, the United States Government decided in May of this year to close the American consulate general at that point, which fact I communicated to the General Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army in a communication of May 19, 1949. Mr. Ward was appropriately instructed at the same time by the Department of State. The Mukden authorities, through the director of the Alien Affairs Office, on June 21 informed Mr. Ward that he and his staff would be permitted to depart Mukden with movable property and that upon the presentation of lists of staff and property to be evacuated, railway transportation would be provided. Mr. Ward was asked to designate the departure date for staff and property.

"Mr. Ward on July 19 notified the authorities that 13 of his staff were prepared to depart on July 27, the others to remain behind until there had been completed arrangements for the packing and shipment of effects. That request was renewed on August 12, with the departure date fixed for August 17. Those transportation facilities were, in fact, not provided. On September 3, after completion of packing, Mr. Ward sent a formal letter to the Mayor of Mukden requesting rail transportation to Peiping and Tientsin for himself and staff and dependents, excepting persons left behind in custodial capacity, with their baggage and American Government property. To

date those facilities have not been provided by the Mukden authorities.

"In short, the Mukden authorities have continued to refuse, without explanation or extenuating circumstances, to abide by their assurances of June 21 or even to indicate their intentions. Acting again under instruction of my government, on September 22, 1949, I sent a letter to Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh in respect to the matter in point, requesting that appropriate measures be taken to cause the Mukden authorities to extend promptly the transportation facilities required for the removal from Mukden of the personnel of the consulate general and their personal and official effects. In my reference letter of October 8, I took occasion to indicate the grave concern with which the United States Government regarded the arbitrary action of detention by the local authorities of American consular officials at Mukden and the continued failure of the Mukden authorities to provide facilities for withdrawal even after giving express assurances.

"The latest developments render more urgent still the taking of appropriate action to bring the matter to a speedy settlement. It is noted particularly that Mr. Ward and the others charged with the assault were, at the time of the alleged offense, still in close guard and that they have had no opportunity to report their version of the incident. And, be it noted, the present development follows upon the action of the Mukden authorities in detaining for nearly one year the American and non-American personnel of the consulate general at that point under close guard, which action was in the first instance said to be because of the need according them 'protection', in clear violation of established principles of international comity and practice respecting treatment of foreign consular officials. It is requested that this matter be brought to the attention of the highest authorities to the end that there shall promptly be taken appropriate measure to bring this matter to a speedy settlement. It is requested particularly that the British Consular Representative at Mukden be given the opportunity to see Mr. Ward and the other persons charged with assault, if they are still detained by the police, that the matter be handled in accord with established principles of international law and practice respecting treatment of foreign consular officials, and that the promised transportation facilities for removal from Mukden of the personnel of the consulate general with their personal and official effects be provided. In view of the serious nature of this matter and the widespread concern it has caused in the United States, I would emphasize my request for prompt action."

Chinese Communist Publish Notices on Real Estate Held by Aliens

[*Released to the press November 7*]

The Department of State announced today that it has been informed that certain Chinese Communist newspapers have published notices concerning the registration of real estate held by aliens. The following is an unofficial translation, from the Tientsin Communist newspaper, *Tien Chin Jih Pao*, of "measures governing registration of real estate of foreign residents in Tientsin":

Notification Mingmi Kungtzu 3806, People's Government. For Tientsin. "There are adopted and published measures governing the registration of real estate of foreign residents in Tientsin. Compliance with the measures by all foreign residents in Tientsin is requested. Huang Ching, Mayor."

Measures governing registration of real estate of for eign residents in Tientsin:

(1) All real estate of foreign residents in the muni cipal area (including Tangku Taku) shall go throug the procedure of real estate registration at the Land Boar of the People's Government. For Tientsin, according t the provisions of these measures. The period of appli cation for the registration shall be from October 1 t November 15.

(2) Foreign residents applying for the registration c real estate shall obtain application forms from the Lan Board and shall fill out accurately the particulars state in the application without concealment, omission or fabr cation.

(3) Foreign residents applying for registration of re estate shall go through the following procedure. Tl lessee or the legitimate agent shall personally appear the Land Board to accomplish the procedure:

A. Submittal for examination of the complete set title deeds for which the Land Board shall issue a recei (where the deed was already submitted to the pupp land bureau), a receipt for it shall be produced.

B. The seal and residential certification of the applicar

C. Where the applicant is a mission, school, compan business firm, social group or any other organization, responsible person or an agent it designates shall hand the procedure.

D. Where the applicant is a legitimate agent, he sh apply for registration in the name of the lessee and sh also submit formal documentary evidence in regard this appointment.

E. All title deed documents of the applicant origina in foreign languages shall be accompanied by a copy accurate Chinese translation.

(4) Foreign residents, using the name of a Chinese any other fictitious name for the purchase of real est prior to the publication of the present measures, sh report the facts and apply for registration. They sh not hide the truth and shall particularly avoid actions concealing enemy and puppet property or of infring upon property rights to public or private real estate. V lators shall be dealt with according to law.

(*Continued on page 795*)

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET-SPONSORED EAST GERMAN REPUBLIC

by Henry B. Cox

Climaxing a long series of political maneuvers and an insistent propaganda campaign calling for the creation of a "national front" government aimed at German national liberation, representatives of the Soviet-sponsored People's Council (Volksrat) announced on October 7 the establishment of the German Democratic Republic—a "provisional government of democratic Germany."

With Wilhelm Pieck as president and Otto Grotewohl, co-chairman of the Soviet-backed Socialist Unity Party (SED), as its chancellor, the new government, which came into being without benefit of elections, claims to include all elements of the population irrespective of past or present political affiliation and poses as the spokesman for all Germany. The SED has a dominant position in Grotewohl's newly appointed cabinet. He holds 6 of the 14 portfolios; the Soviet-dominated East Zone Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) account for an additional 5 posts.

The Eastern zone Constitution prepared by the Third People's Congress in May 1949 comes into effect with the entrance into office of the new government.

Soviet authorities have announced the transfer of administrative functions heretofore handled by the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) to the newly created People's Chamber (Volkskammer). The "Soviet Control Commission" now replaces the Soviet Military Administration. Indications also point to the Soviets' concluding possibly a separate peace treaty with their newest satellite and withdrawing Soviet occupation troops within a year.

Developments Leading to Establishment of German Democratic Republic

The founding of the so-called German Democratic Republic may be viewed as the culmination of a series of Soviet-sponsored political moves beginning with the election in November 1947 of a "People's Congress."

The Congress, purporting to represent all Germany, was constituted for the purpose of selecting an all-German delegation to attend the 1947 London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to support Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's demands for early German political unity. Of its 2,215 delegates, 893 were Communists and 386 represented Communist-front mass organizations; of the remainder, 373 were hand-picked "nonpartisan" fellow-travelers; and 472 represented the Eastern zone CDU and LDP. The position of these two parties is that of a tolerated minority opposition which lends some semblance of democratic freedom to the Soviet zone political scene.

The Council of Foreign Ministers, however, refused to receive the delegation; the Congress was thereupon transformed into a large propaganda organization which served the Communists by exploiting the theme of German unity.

The Second People's Congress, which convened in Berlin 3 days before the dissolution of the Quadripartite Allied Control Council, prepared the ground for the so-called popular initiative of May–June 1948 in which millions of signatures were collected on petitions for German unity to be presented to the Allied Control Council.

Three months later, the People's Council (Volksrat), a smaller body selected by the People's

Congress, constituted itself as the spokesman of the German people; and the Council's constitution committee proceeded to prepare a draft constitution for a German state, which was completed in October 1948.

Desiring, however, to place the blame for the splitting of Germany on the Western powers, the Congress delayed approval of the Eastern constitution until 6 months later, just prior to the meeting of the United States, United Kingdom, and French Foreign Ministers in Washington in April 1949 where the decision was made to accord through the Occupation Statute a future West German regime a large degree of self-government.

As the completion of the Bonn Constitution or Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany drew near, the People's Congress attempted to forestall the establishment of the West German Republic through a futile invitation to the leaders of the Bonn Parliamentary Council to meet at Brunswick, in the British zone, for talks on German unity. All-German unity talks were subsequently held under People's Congress sponsorship in Hanover on May 20, 1949, but they attracted response only from Communist fellow-travelers and a few politicians. The British Military Government subsequently ordered the talks stopped.

Elections for People's Congress

On May 15–16, 1949, an election of delegates for the Third People's Congress was held in the Soviet zone for the purpose of supporting Vyshinsky at the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers by an impressive vote for unity. As in the case of prior Soviet-sponsored elections this election, too, was a fiasco.

Forty percent of the voters made clear by their actions their rejection of the single slate of delegates that was presented. This rejection is even more significant in view of the irregularities which allegedly accompanied the casting and counting of the ballots. Nevertheless, on May 29–30, the Third People's Congress ratified the Eastern draft constitution and selected a "German delegation" to attend the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. It also issued a manifesto that called for the creation of a "national front" and reiterated an earlier appeal for German unity to the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The manifesto called for the following preparatory steps for a German peace treaty: the drafting of 20 principles based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements; the restoration of German administrative and economic unity; the restoration of a uniform currency throughout Germany; the establishment of a provisional central German government which would include representatives of the mass organizations of the Soviet zone; and the calling of a peace conference in which this provisional German government would participate.

Also included in the manifesto were "peace treaty principles," listing as the duties of the German people: reparations, with all payments made thus far to be deducted from the total; the final liquidation of Germany's war potential; the democratization and demilitarization of German economic and social life; the punishment of war criminals; and the acknowledgment of four-power control over German political and economic development. It declared that Germany was entitled to an all-German constitution that would insure "democratic development" and the free development of German resources for peaceful purposes. In addition, the manifesto called for the evacuation of all occupation troops.

Again the Council of Foreign Ministers declined to receive the People's Congress delegation, and the latter organization thereafter devoted itself to careful political maneuvering and planning in order to ready itself for the role it was later to assume as the nucleus for an East zone government.

Faced with certain defeat in any type of election, as evidenced by their experience in the May elections of Congress delegates, the SED leaders and their Soviet sponsors found themselves faced by a serious dilemma in their efforts to obtain sufficient popular support for the establishment of an Eastern government. As later developments demonstrated, the Soviets and their Communist puppets found the elections to be "unnecessary" for the formation of the new government.

On October 1, 1949, the Soviet Union in notes to the United States, France, and Great Britain protested the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and declared that ". . . the Soviet Government considers it necessary to state that inasmuch as there has been formed at Bonn a separate government as indicated, a new situation has been created in Germany at the present time which renders of particularly great importance the fulfillment of the tasks for the restoration of

the unity of Germany as a democratic peace-loving state . . ."

Communists Demand Independent Government

The delivery of the Soviet note served as the signal for the well-oiled Communist political machinery to swing into action. On October 2, groups and organizations of all parties and classes throughout the East zone made "spontaneous" appeals and "demands" and called for the immediate establishment of an "all-German" independent government.

These demands and appeals increased in the days which followed. On October 4, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet-controlled SED gave formal party approval to a campaign to create a "provisional government for democratic Germany" and for authorization to hold conferences with other groups for the formation of a government. In line with the fiction that the SED is only one of the participating parties in the "national front," the party committee "suggested" a 16-point program for general adoption.

In brief, this proposed program of the future government considers that the tasks of the Eastern government will be "to assure the well-being and independence of the German people, to follow an economic policy free from capitalistic oppression, and to reinforce the bonds of friendship between the new Germany, the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. It will endeavor to obtain in the immediate future the withdrawal of the occupation troops, and the rapid signature of a treaty of peace." The platform, in general, avoided all mention of communization measures, included enough points to cater in part to almost every group, and offered platitudes to which everyone agrees but which have defied efforts at practical application because of Soviet intransigence.

On October 5, the presidium of the People's Council (Volksrat) called that body to meet on Friday, October 7 to take the action which the situation demanded. At this meeting, the Volksrat, convening in the Soviet sector of Berlin, transformed itself (without benefit of elections) into a People's Chamber (Volkskammer) and claimed authority to speak for all Germany. Over the protests of spokesmen of the non-Communist (though collaborationist) Soviet zone Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the general elections for a "permanent" government were postponed until October 15, 1950.

The newly activated Volkskammer then passed four laws: (1) constituting itself as "the provisional People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic; (2) providing for the establishment of a provisional government until a new popular assembly is elected as constitutionally required; (3) declaring the Volksrat Constitution, approved by the People's Congress on May 30, 1949, to be in force; and (4) providing the basis for the formation of the Laenderkammer or Chamber of States consisting of 34 representatives chosen by the Diets (Landtage) of the five Soviet zone states (Laender) with 7 additional members from Berlin as observers.

Otto Grotewohl, co–chairman of the SED was named Minister–President, or Chancellor, and Johannes Diekmann was appointed President of the People's Chamber (Volkskammer), which will be the dominant body of the bicameral parliament. Besides the Minister–President and his three deputies, Hermann Kastner (LDP), Otto Nuschke (CDU), and Walter Ulbricht (SED), the new government has 14 ministries. The new Cabinet is composed of representatives of the following parties: Socialist Unity Party (SED) 6; Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 3; German Democratic Peasant Party (DBD) 1; Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 2; National Democratic Party (NDP) 1; and 1 independent.

It should be noted that the Soviets brought into existence the German Democratic Peasant Party and the National Democratic Party shortly prior to the establishment of the new government in order to give it the semblance of a broad coalition. As mentioned previously, the Soviet zone Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party, although bearing names identical with their counterparts in the Western zones, are decidedly restricted in the extent to which they can operate independent of Soviet supervision. The newly appointed chief of the Soviet diplomatic mission to the East German Republic, Gen. Georgij M. Pushkin, who has announced his intention to fight opposition forces, may even curtail their independence more rigidly.

Communist Predominance

The inclusion in this branch of parliament of all units comprising the national front assured

Communist predominance in the new People's Chamber despite its steadily waning voting strength in the Soviet zone. Such organizations as the Soviet-sponsored "Women's League," "Peasants Union," and others that will have representation regardless of their lack of standing as political parties will give the Communists an overwhelming majority. This majority is also in effect in the upper house (Laenderkammer) where, out of 34 delegates, the SED has named 17. Other parties are represented in the Laenderkammer as follows: Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 9; Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 7; and German Democratic Peasant Party (DBD) 1.

The Volksrat at its final meeting on October 7 issued a 20-point "manifesto," embodying the 16 points of the SED "program" of October 4. Although not all 20 of the "points" deserve repetition here, the following, because of their propaganda appeal to all Germans, are the most significant:

1. German unity and the elimination of the special status of the Ruhr and the Saar; 2. the conclusion of a peace treaty and the subsequent withdrawal of occupation troops; 3. the restoration of full sovereignty to the Germans; 4. normalization of life in Berlin; 5. a unified currency; 6. the prevention of foreign interests gaining control of German economy and capital; 7. the cessation of dismantling; 8. the cancellation of all restrictions on foreign trade by the Western powers "for reasons of competition"; and 9. The development of Germany's natural markets in eastern and southeastern Europe.

To complete the sequence of events attending the establishment of the new government, the Diets of the five Laender of the Soviet zone voted, on October 10, to prolong their life for a year and postpone popular elections until October 15, 1950 (in accordance with the Volkskammer resolution). They also selected their delegates to the Laenderkammer as provided by the constitution. The democratic bloc of East Berlin likewise chose its seven observers.

Soviet Military Governor Tschuikov received the Presidium of the Volkskammer, the Minister-President, made a declaration transferring the administrative functions of the Soviet Military Administration to the Provisional Government, and announced the creation of a Soviet Control Commission to replace the Soviet Military Administration and insure the fulfillment of the Potsdam and other four-power agreements.

The two houses of the new government, the Volkskammer and the Laenderkammer, met in joint session on October 11 and unanimously chose Wilhelm Pieck as President. On October 12, Minister-President Grotewohl presented himself and his cabinet to the Volkskammer and outlined his governmental program. In the presence of Soviet Ambassador Semjanov and representatives of several Soviet satellite states, Grotewohl received unanimous approval from the Chamber.

Thus, within a space of only 10 days, the Soviets brought into being their latest satellite government without benefit of elections or other democratic process. Its establishment accentuates the domestic and international problems which face the Western powers and the democratically constituted Federal Republic of Germany. With the successful solution of these problems rests the future of all Germany and perhaps even that of Western civilization.

ECOSOC ACTION ON SOCIAL ISSUES

by Savilla M. Simons

In opening the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva, July 5 to August 15, the President, James Thorn of New Zealand, said: "We must not disappoint millions of men and women who long desperately for some way out of their unhappy situation, so that they may live like dignified human beings in a peaceful world." He appealed to the Council to make an effort "to seek understanding in a spirit of friendliness."

The Council responded by showing perhaps a greater amount of cooperation and friendliness than in any other recent session. The Russians and their satellites, in general, refrained from filibustering tactics and indulged in less vitriolic debate than in other recent sessions. As a result, the ninth session proved to be hard working and businesslike with a record of substantial accomplishment.

Despite the distractions of a midsummer meeting in Switzerland, the Council completed action in 6 weeks on an agenda of 52 items. Many of these items, in both the economic and social fields, were of great significance. Those relatively unimportant constituted a small but essential step in a series of steps dealing with an international problem. Many of the items on the agenda at each council session are the current chapter of a long social story of continuing efforts to deal with a specific international problem that interferes with the well-being of people.

Economic development stood out as the subject of greatest interest at this session, and the outstanding accomplishment was the adoption of a comprehensive resolution on technical assistance for economic development. Nevertheless, the Council took action on a number of significant social issues.

ACTION BASED ON COMMISSION REPORTS

The reports of subsidiary and related United Nations bodies are taking an increasing share of the Council's time and attention. The Council considered the reports of 12 functional and regional commissions, which are subsidiary to the Council. Five of the nine functional commissions advise the Council on subjects of a social character, and their reports constitute the basis of much of the action taken by the Council in the social field.

Social Commission

A major commission, the Social Commission, advises the Council on social welfare and other aspects of the social field not covered by specialized intergovernmental agencies.

CONVENTION ON TRAFFIC IN PERSONS

Major consideration was given to a draft convention on the suppression of traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others prepared by the Social Commission at its fourth session held in May 1949. This draft revises and consolidates the substance of four existing international agreements. It is the first major step taken in this field by the United Nations since it assumed responsibility for activities formerly carried by the League of Nations to suppress the traffic in women and children. In accordance with current ideas concerning effective treatment of prostitution, the draft emphasizes the rehabilita-

tion of prostitutes and the elimination of any form of licensing or health certification. Disagreement concerning the draft centered on the abolition of certification for any purpose. The representative of France, with some Latin American support, urged an amendment to provide for registration for health purposes as is done under the present French system. After considering the proposed Convention article by article, the Council submitted the Commission's draft with a record of the Council's discussion to the General Assembly for consideration at its current meeting.

ADVISORY SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

A decision of significance for future United Nations action and technical assistance programs was taken when the Council, on the recommendation of the Social Commission, asked the General Assembly to make the Advisory Social Welfare Services a continuing activity. The United Nations assumed this program in 1946 as an emergency temporary activity to aid war-devastated countries to strengthen their social welfare programs in order to deal more effectively with urgent postwar problems. Each year for three successive years the program had been authorized for one year.

The program has provided to governments at their request (1) consultants to advise them on specific problems or programs, (2) fellowships to social-welfare officials for 6 months observation and study in another country, (3) demonstration equipment for use in physical rehabilitation, and (4) seminars and literature for training purposes. Since these services have demonstrated their practical value, the member governments have shown a growing interest in extending them to all types of countries and in making them a part of the continuing program. The Council asked the Assembly to provide for in the future the Advisory Social Welfare Services regularly in the United Nations budget. It recommended for 1950 approximately the same level of expenditures as for 1949, for which $675,000 was appropriated.

HOUSING

A separate agenda item on the report of the Secretary-General on a comprehensive program of work in the field of housing that might be undertaken by the United Nations was considered in conjunction with the Social Commission report. The Council decided that the proposed integrated program should first be reviewed by the Social Commission, which was asked to consider this subject at its meeting in December in order to make recommendations to the next session of the Council in February 1950. In addition the Secretariat was asked to consult member governments about the focus of future international programs on housing and the services of interest to them.

A second resolution on housing provided for a meeting of experts in 1950 in a tropical area to consider technical questions relating to housing and town plannings for lower-income groups in the humid tropics. In 1948, the Council had approved a meeting of this kind but it had not been held because enough funds had not been allowed to hold the meeting away from the United Nations headquarters at Lake Success.

EXPERT COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF CRIME

The Council approved a United States proposal for a meeting in 1950 of the Expert Committee which advises the Secretariat and the Social Commission on policies and programs in the field of the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. This Committee met in 1949, but because of the technical character of the work in this field, it seemed important for the Committee to meet again in 1950.

SESSIONS OF THE SOCIAL COMMISSION

The Council approved a second session of the Social Commission in 1949 to be held in early December so that the Commission can deal with subjects on its agenda which it was not able to consider at its session in May, because it had to give priority to the drafting of the convention on traffic in persons.

The United States proposed authorization also of two sessions of the Commission in 1950 because of the Commission's heavy work program. In 1948, a comprehensive work program in social welfare was approved. The Commission, however, has not yet been able to consider a program for study and action with respect to the number one subject in this program—family, youth, and child welfare. Other important subjects are also awaiting consideration. The proposal for a second Commission session in 1950 was opposed, however, because it would entail extra expense and an interruption in the work of the Secretariat. A compromise proposal was agreed to that the 1950 session, to be held in April, should be long enough

to enable the Commission to cover its heavy work program. The session is expected to last 5 weeks.

Human Rights

The Council took no significant action at this session on questions of human rights growing out of the work of the Commission on Human Rights, another major commission in the social field, since the schedule of work on the draft covenant on human rights and the draft measures of implementation, the major current project of the Commission, did not call for Council action at this time.

DRAFT COVENANT

The Commission had largely devoted its fifth session, held May 9 to June 20, 1949, to completing the drafts of the covenant and the measures of implementation, which were then to be circulated to governments for comments by January 1, 1950. The Commission, at its next session, will revise the drafts in the light of the replies and present them to the Council at its next summer session for consideration before submittal to the General Assembly at its 1950 session.

The Commission's only recommendation for action by the Council at this session on the draft covenant was that it request the Secretary-General to make a survey of the activities of the various United Nations bodies and specialized agencies coming within the scope of the covenant's articles on economic, educational, and cultural rights for use in consideration of these articles. It was agreed that such a survey did not require Council authorization.

RIGHT OF PETITIONS

The only Commission recommendation discussed at length had to do with the difficult question of the right of individuals, groups, and organizations to petition in instances of alleged violations of human rights. The Commission had asked the Council to have a study made of the problems involved in this question. The Council decided not to act on the recommended resolution on the basis that no action was required since the Commission has the right to request Secretariat studies. The Council recommended that the General Assembly take no further action on the problem of petitions at its fourth session in view of the fact that the Commission on Human Rights has made no final recommendations on this subject.

Freedom of Information

SUBCOMMISSION REPORT

Recommendations made by one of the subordinate bodies of the Human Rights Commission, the Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, were also acted on. Two resolutions were to facilitate the Subcommission's work by providing additional qualified staff and by setting up channels of communication with both official and nonofficial sources of information needed in its work. A proposal establishing procedures for handling communications in this field occasioned considerable discussion. The plan of the Subcommission was revised to conform to the procedures established by the Commission on Human Rights and was referred to the Commission for review.

It was decided to take no action on a Soviet resolution asking the Commission to study measures in the United States and the United Kingdom which forbid interracial marriages. A Council resolution dealt with this subject a year earlier when the U.S.S.R. had introduced the same resolution on miscegenation.

The Council adopted unanimously a resolution on educational opportunities for women which asks the Secretariat and UNESCO to study actual practices and causes of discrimination in this field. The questionnaire on the legal status of women has already covered the legal aspects of this problem.

After considerable debate, the Council adopted a revised resolution on equal pay for equal work which noted that the ILO was soon to issue a report in preparation for consideration of this subject at the next International Labor Conference. A Belgian amendment to ask the ILO to study the economic value of women's work in the home touched off a long discussion on the importance of strengthening the home and family life. The Council referred the records of these discussions to the ILO for its information.

After considering a Commission resolution requesting funds for technical assistance in the fields of women's activities, opportunities for professional training, and the organization of household tasks, the Council decided to ask the Commission to make its proposals more specific. The Council also adopted a resolution recommending that the World Health Organization encourage the training of nurses.

RESOLUTIONS OF U.N. CONFERENCE

Closely related was Council action approving 13 resolutions on problems of international information. They were the last of a series of 43 resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information held in 1948, most of which the Council had acted on earlier. Two of these resolutions referring to measures against propaganda for war touched off the familiar controversy over "warmongering." The United States representative replied to Soviet charges by a vigorous statement for more rather than less freedom as a cure for distorted information.

Status of Women

The Iron Curtain countries, as in other sessions, used the report of the Commission on the Status of Women as the springboard for a major propaganda effort. Long and enthusiastic speeches concerning the conditions of equality in the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Byelorussia and the gross inequalities in other countries preceded the introduction of a Soviet resolution expressing satisfaction over conditions in the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia and condemning 10 other named countries. The resolution, which was repeated, stated that in the United States and the United Kingdom women's participation in political life is extremely limited, although women have equal rights in law and cited as evidence the fact that only 8 of 531 members of Congress are women.

The Council took the next step in a plan to develop an international convention on the nationality of married women designed to remove the present conflicts in the nationality laws of various countries. The adopted resolution asked the Secretariat to provide the Commission at its next session with a summary of comments and suggestions from governments for use in drafting a convention.

At the request of the Indian member, the Commission on the Status of Women had asked the Council to revise its procedures for the handling of communications submitted by nongovernmental organizations in order to avoid circulation of inaccurate information. This resolution was referred to the Council nongovernmental organization committee for consideration in connection with its review of consultative arrangements with nongovernmental organizations.

The debate and action on these various resolutions helped focus the attention of governments on the continuing importance of avoiding discrimination against women.

Narcotic Drugs

The Council approved a number of steps recommended by the fourth session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs to improve the international control of the illicit drug traffic. The Secretary-General was asked to send a special circular note to 27 countries which have no reported on their antinarcotics activities for the years 1946 and 1947. The Council approved decisions of the Commission to replace existing international instruments for the control of narcotic drugs with a new single convention. It also approved a plan for an *ad hoc* committee made up of the chief opium-producing countries to consider an interim agreement for limiting the production of new opium to medical and scientific needs.

Because of an alarming increase in illicit traffic in certain areas—particularly in Turkey, India, Iran, and Peru—the Council, in a United States resolution asked all governments to tighten their controls over the production and trade in narcotics and to strengthen their measures for the punishment of offenders. The Council requested the Secretary-General to further research in the methods of determining the origin of opium by chemical and physical analysis and to accept the United States offer to make laboratory facilities available for this purpose.

The Council also requested the General Assembly to appropriate additional funds to the Commission of Inquiry to enable the Commission to extend its investigations on the effects of chewing cocoa leaves to Bolivia and to spend at least three months in Bolivia and Peru.

Population Commission

In contrast with the Narcotics Commission which is responsible for an important action program of the United Nations, the Population Commission is concerned with fact finding.

Since the report of the fourth session of the Commission required no action, the Council merely took note of it. The Commission in its report made a number of recommendations to the Secretary-General concerning the technical work on demographic problems carried on by the Social Affairs Department. These recommen

tions were concerned with such subjects as data to be included in the second issue of the Demographic *Yearbook;* the procedure to be followed n the compilation of a demographic dictionary; echnical problems involved in the 1950 population censuses; the improvement of migration statistics; plans for a study of the interrelationship of economic, social, and population data; recent rends in the birth rate; and studies on infant nortality. In its studies of many of these subects, the Commission works closely with the Statistical Commission in its efforts to improve the eliability and comparability of statistical nformation.

In considering its work program, the Commision decided that in order to provide the Council nd member governments with basic information eeded for taking demographic factors into account in formulating economic and social policies, rst priority should be given to work on the interrelationship of economic, social, and population hanges. Current population increases make information of this kind of basic importance to the ouncil in its efforts to improve standards of ving through technical assistance for economic evelopment and other measures.

AJOR SOCIAL ISSUES

A number of social issues unrelated to Commison reports were the subject of extended debate. he most controversial of these were the two genda items on forced labor and trade-union ghts.

rvey of Forced Labor

This item originated in a memorandum that the merican Federation of Labor placed on the genda at the sixth session of the Council. After ferring the item in two sessions, Ecosoc at its ghth session referred the subject to the ILO for vice and provided for a query of governments to their willingness to participate in an imrtial investigation of forced labor. Following recommendation of the Governing Body of ILO that such an investigation be made, the ited States introduced in the ninth session a olution providing for a joint UN-ILO commisn to undertake an impartial inquiry into the ture and extent of forced labor.

The representative of the United Kingdom opened the vituperative debate on this subject by his vigorous attack on the "Corrective Labor Codex" of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which serves as a model for the U.S.S.R. corrective labor system, as a new form of slavery. The Soviet representative in an extended reply charged the United Kingdom delegate with "lies and slander" and defended the "corrective" system as a means of reeducating criminal offenders. The Soviets introduced a resolution, first proposed in the preceding session of the Council, that provided for an international commission of 110 to 125 representatives of trade unions, which would have given prominence to Communist-dominated organizations. Even to this body, the Soviet representative refused to promise access to the Soviet Union for purposes of investigation.

The United States representative, declaring that the Soviet "corrective" system violated at least 9 articles of the Declaration of Human Rights, supported an impartial inquiry as an immediate step in dealing with an urgent problem of human rights. The United States position was that reliable evidence could be obtained from testimony, even if on-the-spot investigations were impossible because of the lack of cooperation of some governments. Other governments, however, would agree to the inquiry only if the Soviet Union was willing to cooperate. In the end, a weak proposal, offered by Brazil, Denmark, and India was adopted by a vote of 10 to 5, with 3 abstentions. This resolution, stating that the replies from governments to the Secretary-General's inquiry do not provide the conditions under which a commission could operate effectively, merely directed the Secretary-General again to ask governments whether they would cooperate in an impartial inquiry. This issue will again be on the agenda of the tenth session of Ecosoc.

Trade Union Rights

In acting on another labor issue, Ecosoc took steps to aid in protecting labor in its rights to organize and bargain collectively. The ILO adopted international conventions on these rights in 1948 and 1949 which are now before governments for ratification. The Covenant on Human Rights may also cover these rights. Additional machinery, however, is needed to deal with alleged violations of trade-union rights. Therefore, the Council in a U.S.-U.K. resolution asked

the ILO to act on behalf of the United Nations as well as on its own behalf in carrying out the decision that the ILO Governing Body made at its last session to establish "a fact-finding and conciliation commission" to undertake international supervision of freedom of association. This proposal was adopted over the objection of the Soviet representative on the basis of their consistent opposition to the ILO. They proposed that the Council undertake this work itself with the aid of trade unions.

Slavery

ECOSOC at this session took the first step in an effort to end slavery, another social problem closely related to problems of human rights to be dealt with by the proposed covenant. The General Assembly had asked the Council to study this problem. The United Kingdom took the lead in the debate and described various forms of slavery which still exist in the world including *muitsai*, a form of child slavery in areas of the Far East. This debate led to a complaint by China on the "self-righteousness of the colonial powers." The U.S.S.R. also made a vigorous attack on these powers and asked that the study focus particularly on colonial areas. Some of the discussion revolved around whether peonage should be included in the study, an issue confused by differences in translation of the term.

The United States at first supported a French proposal for a preliminary study of the question by the Secretariat before a decision on next steps. This suggestion, however, was defeated in favor of a U.K. proposal for the establishment of a small temporary committee of experts. This group is to survey slavery and "other institutions or customs resembling slavery" and to suggest to the Council a plan of action to deal with the problem.

Statelessness

A particularly difficult social problem requiring some immediate action was the continuing provision of international legal and political protection to stateless persons. The urgency of this question grew out of the expectation at that time that the International Refugee Organization would end its service during the summer of 1950. The report of this organization showed that in February 1949 more than 700,000 refugees were being assisted; nearly 500,000 were receiving care and maintenance, for the most part in IRO centers and over 200,000 were receiving services only.

Continuing Machinery for Legal Protection

When the International Refugee Organizatio terminates, many refugees will undoubtedly re main under the IRO mandate, but they will neithe have the protection of their country of origin no will they be absorbed into the community in whic they are living. Furthermore, additional ne refugees will be in the same situation. The Ge eral Council of the IRO, at its meeting in earl July, therefore, concluded that no break mu occur in legal and political protection. In the civil status protection of refugees is necessary they are to obtain employment and lead a norm kind of life. Since 1947, the organization h been carrying on this function formerly performe first by the High Commissioner's Office for Ref gees under the League of Nations and later by t Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. T IRO Council did not conclude, however, that t organization should be continued to give th service. Instead, it asked ECOSOC to consider ho this function could be continued within the fram work of the United Nations.

Agreement on next steps was reached only aft considerable preliminary discussion among the i terested governments, especially France a Belgium, which urged an immediate Council d cision to establish an Office of High Commission in the United Nations to provide protection a an international relief fund for the material a sistance of refugees. The Council initiated acti to provide continuing machinery within t United Nations to assure the functions of leg protection. The resolution, that France and B gium introduced and that the United States a Australia amended, first requested governme to provide necessary legal protection to refug who are in their territories and have come unc the IRO mandate. Secondly, it requested the S retary-General to prepare for the consideration the General Assembly at its fourth session a pl of organization within the United Nations to p vide international protection of refugees. B alternatives of setting up a High Commissione Office under the control of the United Nations a service within the Secretariat were to be cons ered. Thirdly, ECOSOC recommended that t General Assembly at its fourth session decide the functions and organizational arrangeme

for the protection of refugees in their civil status after the IRO ends its program and also make budgetary provision for the assumption of this function in 1950. This, therefore, is one of the important social measures to be acted on by the General Assembly at its present meeting.

Convention on Status of Refugees

The Council had on its agenda a two-volume Secretariat report on measures to improve the status of stateless persons and to eliminate statelessness. This report, prepared in response to a request made by the Council at its sixth session, recommended the drafting of a general convention on nationality based on agreements now in force and in conformity with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Acting on this recommendation, the Council set up an *ad hoc* committee of representatives of 13 governments to draft a revised and consolidated convention on the international status of refugees and stateless persons if it agrees on the desirability of such a step. The Committee is also to make recommendations on the means of eliminating the problem of statelessness.

Programs for Children

As in the case of problems related to the work of the IRO, action on the report of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund was made more difficult by the uncertain future of the organization. The Fund was set up on a temporary basis as a special body to deal with an urgent postwar problem—child feeding and child health. The Fund, in its second year of operation, reported to the Council that it was providing a daily supplement of protective food to six million children and mothers and clothes to millions. It was also vaccinating tens of millions of children against tuberculosis and providing other types of medical supplies with the technical assistance of WHO. The Fund now aids children in Europe, Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

With the emergency period passed, the Fund, financed by voluntary contributions from governments, organizations, and individuals, faces the possible exhaustion of its resources. The Council, consequently, concurred in plans made by the Executive Board of UNICEF at its June meeting in Paris for a study to be made in cooperation with the Secretariat of the United Nations and of interested specialized agencies of how the continuing needs of children can best be met within the framework of the United Nations.

The Council had before it recommendations from the Executive Board of both UNICEF and the World Health Organization concerning acceptance of an offer by the French Government of a children's center in Paris for training, demonstration, and research purposes. Opinions differed on whether the center was to be an international institution administered by the French Government and UNICEF or a national center assisted by UNICEF and WHO. The United States believed it advisable to clear up the confusion on this point. The Council adopted a compromise resolution which asked UNICEF to make adjustments in the arrangements for the establishment and administration of the center as a national institution, in the light of the WHO recommendations.

In its resolution, ECOSOC also called the attention of the General Assembly particularly to the fact that additional contributions are required to enable the Fund to carry on its program through June 1950. The plans of UNICEF for the immediate months ahead are dependent on further contributions from other governments that will make it possible to draw the remaining amounts appropriated or authorized by the United States on a matching basis of $72 for every $28 contributed by other governments. The United States legislation authorizing 100 million dollars for UNICEF on this basis has been extended until June 30, 1950.

OTHER SOCIAL ACTION

Declaration of Death of Missing Persons

Relatives and associates of large numbers of persons who disappeared during the war and years of occupation have experienced serious legal difficulties because of the absence of proof of death in these cases. The Council had before it a draft convention on the declaration of death of missing persons prepared by a special committee of experts set up by ECOSOC at its preceding session. The Council recommended "that the General Assembly consider the draft convention during its fourth session with a view to having the Convention adopted and opened for signature during that session." The proposed convention would establish

courts empowered to adjudicate the death of a missing person and issue a declaration with the legal effect of a death certificate.

Aboriginal Populations of the Americas

The General Assembly has asked the Council to study, in cooperation with the specialized agencies and the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, the social conditions of the aboriginal populations of the American Continent, upon the request of the American state involved. The Council, however, asked the Secretary-General to submit a report at its eleventh session on the progress being made in this field by all parties concerned and to report on the comments received from governments.

Training in Public Administration

Ecosoc approved the plans for an international program of training in public administration. Such a program will emphasize the exchange of experience through fellowships and seminars and to the full utilization of existing governmental and private facilities rather than the establishment of a school such as had been considered earlier. The Council asked the Secretary-General to report later on the coordination of this program with that of technical assistance.

DDT Insecticides

Another type of measure of significance in efforts to improve health conditions in underdeveloped countries was Council action to facilitate the production and distribution of supplies of DDT insecticides for controlling malaria. This action was taken at the request of WHO in connection with its program to combat this great health scourge that interferes seriously in many areas with productivity and economic and social development. The Council's resolution recommended that governments ease tariffs and other import and export restrictions on DDT and its ingredients and equipment for production and that they encourage the local production of basic forms of insecticides.

IMPROVING SOCIAL ACTION

World Social Report

A current question of interest is whether the publication of an annual report on the world social and cultural situation would facilitate and im prove the United Nations work in connection witl international social problems. Ecosoc might us such a report as the basis for its consideration o social subjects as it now uses the report on worl economic trends in its debate on economic matter The General Assembly at its last session, as result of growing emphasis on the social aspect of the world's problems, asked Ecosoc to conside the possibility of preparing a report on worl trends in the social and cultural fields. The Coun cil referred this question for exploration to th Social Commission which is to get the views of th various specialized agencies and interested non governmental organizations before making it recommendations.

Implementation of Recommendations

A disappointing aspect of the ninth session o the Council was the failure to move ahead vigo ously with efforts to assure implementation of it many recommendations. A resolution of the Gen eral Assembly adopted in 1947 asked Ecosoc t report each year on steps taken by members o the United Nations to carry out recommendation on economic and social matters.

Less than half of the United Nations members—only 28 governments—had replied to a Secre tariat questionnaire on this subject sent t governments 14 months before. Among the gov ernments that had not answered were six member of Ecosoc. Little interest in effective action t correct this situation was apparent.

The United States asked for study of the ques tion at this session, but many governments wer not ready for this step. A proposal made b Australia to set up a committee of nine member to study the question before the next Ecosoc sessio was approved. The manner in which this com mittee carries out its assignment may have grea significance for the future of the United Nation Now that the United Nations is 4 years old an is beyond the early stages of determining objec tives, the actual implementation of recommenda tions is of growing importance.

RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The Council approved the report of its Coordi nation Committee, which expressed satisfactio with the progress made in the coordination of th activities of the United Nations and the special ized agencies and the increased use of the Admin

istrative Committee on Coordination for this purpose. The Committe examined in detail the coordination achieved with respect to a number of special problems, including housing, fellowships, statistics, migration, and manpower. The Council approved a number of the Committee's specific recommendations, such as endorsing the view of the Secretary-General that substantial advantages exist for having recommended that specialized agencies consult with Ecosoc prior to establishing the headquarters of some of the specialized agencies located at the Seat of the United Nations.

As part of carrying out its responsibilities for coordination, the Council reviewed the reports of eight specialized intergovernmental agencies. The reports of the agencies which may be considered primarily social in character—the ILO, WHO, UNESCO, and IRO—were satisfactory to the United States. The reports of both the ILO and the IRO provoked a controversial debate with the Eastern European nations. The Soviet representative charged the ILO with following an employer's approach toward unemployment and with slowness and weakness in its attack on this and other problems. He accused the IRO of failure to carry out repatriation and introduced a resolution asking countries in which displaced persons are found to furnish lists of their names and addresses. The resolution was defeated, and the IRO report as well as the report of ILO were noted with appreciation.

A much more detailed examination was made of the reports of specialized agencies on their proposals for an expanded program for technical assistance.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION RELATIONS

The Council on the basis of a review by the Coordination Committee also acted on recommendations related to the status and relations of a large number of small intergovernmental organizations in existence prior to the establishment of the United Nations. The Council recommended to members the dissolution of two organizations and the integration of 5 others with the United Nations itself or one of the specialized agencies. It also approved the relationships already established by 9 other organizations with some specialized agency of the United Nations and postponed action on 16 others pending further study. In the case of 12 inter-American organizations, the Council requested the Secretary-General to discuss their future status with the Director-General of the Organization of American States.

Most controversial was the question of the future status of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. The United States had proposed that this organization be terminated and its assets transferred to the United Nations. This recommendation was based on the belief that intergovernmental activities for the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders should be primarily carried on in the United Nations in close relation with other aspects of the social program. At a meeting held in Bern in August during the Ecosoc session the IPPC found the United States plan unacceptable and recommended the Commission retain its separate identity and collaborate with U.N. Ecosoc, however, accepted the United States viewpoint and asked the Secretariat to work out with IPPC a plan for its "eventual integration" within the United Nations.

CONCLUSION

Many of the outstanding social issues acted on by Ecosoc at this session, such as measures for refugees and stateless persons, Advisory Social Welfare Services, and the draft conventions on the traffic in persons and declaration of death of missing persons are now before the General Assembly for action at its fourth session. Consequently, final decisions on these measures await the outcome of General Assembly consideration.

Action taken by the ninth session of Ecosoc on social matters involved complicated interrelationships of the various organs of the United Nations system. It represented progress in the achievement of concerted action to deal with specific social problems.

The interdependence of economic and social measures in improving living conditions was demonstrated in the plans adopted for an expanded program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. The necessity for certain types of social projects to accompany economic development was recognized. The clarification of the contribution of social projects to such a program should provide a basis for a more effective joint attack in the future on both the economic and social aspects of promoting the common welfare.

THE ANNECY CONFERENCE ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

by Woodbury Willoughby

The conference which was recently concluded at Annecy, France, consisted of two distinct meetings, one, the third session of the Contracting Parties[1] to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the other, a series of tariff negotiations between the 23 contracting parties and 11 governments which proposed to accede to the General Agreement. Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Lebanon, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia, Syria, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States are the 23 original contracting parties to the General Agreement. The 11 other countries represented at Annecy were Colombia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Liberia, Nicaragua, Sweden, and Uruguay.

I. THE THIRD SESSION OF THE CONTRACTING PARTIES

Article XXV of the General Agreement provides that "representatives of the Contracting Parties shall meet from time to time for the purpose of giving effect to those provisions of this Agreement which involve joint action and, generally, with a view to facilitating the operation and furthering the objectives of this Agreement".

The first session was held at Habana early in 1948, at the close of the conference which completed the draft charter for an International Trade Organization (ITO), and the second met at Geneva from August to September, 1948. Th third session, which met at Annecy from April to August 13, 1948, was the longest and most di ficult of the three.

The United States delegation to the Annec meetings was under the chairmanship of Wood bury Willoughby, Chief of the Division of Com mercial Policy and Chairman of the Interdepar mental Committee on Trade Agreements, and th delegates consisted of the members of the Com mittee on Trade Agreements.

The decision to hold the meetings at Annec resulted from the fact that office and residence a commodations could not be obtained at Genev the seat of the Secretariat of the Interim Commi sion for the International Trade Organizatic (ICITO), which provides the Contracting Pa ties with Secretariat services. Annecy, a sma resort town in the French Alps about 25 mil south of Geneva, had not previously been the si of an international conference.

Following is a summary of the more importa matters considered by the Contracting Parties.

Consultation on South African Import Restriction

Article XII of the General Agreement c Tariffs and Trade provides for consultations b tween the Contracting Parties and a contractin party imposing or intensifying import restri tions, with a view to providing an opportunity f a full and frank exchange of views regarding t nature of that contracting party's balance-of-pa ments difficulties, alternative corrective measur which may be available, and the possible effect the measures on the economies of other contrac ing parties. The Union of South Africa, whic

[1] The expression "Contracting Parties" is written with capitals "C" and "P" when used in the collective sense of the contracting parties acting jointly.

had imposed new restrictions in November 1948 and proposed to intensify them in the summer of 1949, was the first contracting party to which these provisions had applied. The consultation was initially handled in a working party, which drafted a report subsequently approved by the Contracting Parties. The provisions of article XII 4 (a) and (b), which were applicable in this particular case, do not require any formal approval or disapproval of the import control measures concerned, but merely contemplate an exchange of views. This procedure proved to be of great value to all parties concerned, and at the conclusion of the consultation, the South African delegation undertook to transmit the views expressed in the course of the discussions to its government for consideration.

Intersession Consultation Procedure

The South African case called attention to a difficulty inherent in the temporary machinery of the General Agreement. The GATT provides that its consultation procedures will be replaced by the machinery for consultation provided in the ITO Charter, under which a permanent organization will handle such matters. No procedure, therefore, was provided for handling urgent cases of consultation unless the Contracting Parties happened to be in session at the time a case arose requiring consultation.

To meet this difficulty the Contracting Parties decided it would be useful to provide for the appointment of committees representative of the Contracting Parties which would be convoked to begin necessary study and consideration in urgent consultation cases arising between regular sessions.

Renegotiations of the Geneva Schedules

Requests for modification or withdrawal of concessions included in the Geneva schedules to the GATT were introduced at the second session by Brazil, Ceylon, Cuba, and Pakistan. The Contracting Parties agreed that these renegotiations should proceed with those countries with which the concessions had been initially negotiated. The results of these Brazilian, Ceylonese, and Pakistani renegotiations were approved by the Contracting Parties at the third session and embodied in protocols modifying or replacing the original schedules. The renegotiation with Cuba has not been completed.

Economic Development Measures

The General Agreement permits contracting parties under certain conditions to maintain nondiscriminatory protective measures, having in mind particularly quantitative import restrictions, imposed for purposes of development or reconstruction. The Contracting Parties, under specified circumstances and conditions, may authorize new measures for the same purpose. The examination of these measures, including certain new measures proposed by Ceylon, in accordance with the provisions of article XVIII of GATT, was one of the most arduous tasks of the third session. It occupied a working party's time for more than 60 meetings. In addition to Ceylon, the Contracting Parties notified measures and took decisions with respect to Netherlands (for Indonesia), Chile, United Kingdom (for Mauritius and Northern Rhodesia), Cuba, India, Lebanon, and Syria.

In order to avoid the necessity for lengthy consideration of these matters at subsequent sessions, the Contracting Parties was agreed to establish a committee under whose auspices preparatory work on article XVIII applications can begin between sessions.

South African–Southern Rhodesian Customs Union

Article XXIV of the General Agreement lays down certain rules to which agreements for the formation of customs unions must conform, with a view to insuring that they will result in a genuine customs union within a reasonable period of time and will not merely result in an extension of preferential tariff regimes. The Contracting Parties were accordingly required to examine a new agreement between the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia under which the two countries propose to restore a union previously existing between them. On the basis of this examination and of certain undertakings given by the two governments, the Contracting Parties adopted a declaration that the two governments were entitled to claim the benefits of article XXIV. In the declaration, the Contracting Parties requested the two governments to instruct their Customs Union Council to include in each annual report a definite plan and schedule of the steps to be taken during the ensuing 12 months toward the reestablishment of the customs union.

Special Exchange Agreements

The General Agreement provides that any contracting party which is not a member of the International Monetary Fund or which ceases to be a member of the Fund, shall enter into a special exchange agreement with the Contracting Parties. After lengthy consideration by a Committee which had been set up at the second session, a draft special exchange agreement following closely similar provisions of the International Monetary Fund articles of Agreement was completed and approved by the Contracting Parties.

Indian Excise Duties on Products Exported to Pakistan

The third session settled a question which had arisen between India and Pakistan regarding the obligations of India under the General Agreement with respect to the rebate of excise taxes on goods exported to Pakistan. At the second session these two countries had been invited to consult with a view to reaching an amicable settlement on the basis of a ruling by the chairman on the legal issues involved.

Most-Favored-Nation Treatment for Occupied Areas

A United States proposal that the Contracting Parties agree, on a reciprocal basis, to the granting of most-favored-nation treatment for Japanese trade, was withdrawn from the agenda prior to its consideration. In a statement issued to the press at the time of the withdrawal, the delegation outlined the reasons for the proposal and expressed the hope that the Contracting Parties would give careful attention to its desirability.

Cuban Textile Industry

A working party examined a Cuban request for release from certain obligations in the General Agreement for the purpose of taking measures to resolve a reported crisis in the Cuban textile industry. The measures would involve renegotiation with the United States since Cuba granted the United States a number of tariff concessions on textiles in the 1947 Geneva negotiations. No conclusion was reached at Annecy, and it was recommended that bilateral discussions between the United States and Cuba with respect to the matter continue.

Czechoslovak Complaint Against the United States

A Czechoslovak complaint that the Unite States had failed in its administration of the is suance of export licenses to carry out its obliga tions under the General Agreement was rejecte by the Contracting Parties by a vote of 17 to with only Czechoslovakia voting for the com plaint.

Brazilian Internal Taxes

A working party examined in detail a complain by France that Brazil had imposed discriminator internal taxes on certain products. On the bas of certain assurances given by the Brazilian del gation, the Contracting Parties agreed to revie the matter at the next session in the light of actio taken by Brazil at that date.

Territorial Application of the General Agreement

Two decisions were taken on questions affectin the territorial application of the General Agre ment. Because of the changed international stat of Palestine, the Contracting Parties agreed th the United Kingdom should no longer be r garded as a contracting party with respect t Palestine. Because of the union of Newfoundlan with Canada in April 1949, it was necessary t adopt a declaration that the concessions grante by the United Kingdom on behalf of Newfoun land (Schedule B of article XIX of the Gener Agreement) were no longer part of the Gener Agreement. With respect to the latter decisio the United States reserved the right to take up an questions with the governments concerned whe sufficient time had elapsed to ascertain the effec of the change.

Cuban Preference Issue

At an early stage in the Annecy meetings, t Cuban delegation raised a fundamental questio regarding the legal status of the preferences th Cuba enjoyed in the United States market und the agreement reached at Geneva in 1947. T Cuban delegation contended that none of the pre erences they enjoyed could be reduced or elim nated without previous negotiation and mutu agreement between Cuba and the United State If this contention had been upheld, the Unit States would not have been able to grant any

the acceding governments at Annecy concessions which reduced the margins of preference enjoyed by Cuba without obtaining the consent of Cuba. The United States delegation took the position that such prior consent was not required. It felt that the whole purpose of the General Agreement is to reduce trade barriers and discriminations, including preferences.

Although every effort was made to reconcile the two points of view, it finally became clear that a decision of the legal issue would have to be made since, if it were not, the United States would not be able to conclude several of its Annecy negotiations. The Contracting Parties accordingly adopted a decision on August 10, by a vote of 14 to 1, upholding the United States position. Following the decision, the Cuban delegation withdrew from the third session. The United States delegation expressed regret at the withdrawal and assured the contracting parties that the United States was willing and desirous of conducting bilateral discussions with Cuba with a view to reaching agreement on their mutual problems. The Contracting Parties accordingly invited both countries to enter into bilateral discussions with a view to reaching a satisfactory solution.

Budget for 1950

A budget of $302,000 was approved for 1950. It is to be apportioned among the contracting parties on the basis of their respective volumes of foreign trade in 1938 and 1946. On this basis, the United States share is $53,000, the same as that of the United Kingdom.

Other Business

The Contracting Parties considered, among other matters, a Chilean complaint regarding Australian import subsidies on fertilizers, a problem on which bilateral discussions are to continue between sessions; the program of work of the ICITO secretariat, which serves the Contracting Parties in absence of an organization of their own (the secretariat was authorized to proceed with a report for the Contracting Parties on discriminatory measures being taken by contracting parties, which report is required to be made by March 1, 1950 under article XIV 1 (g) of the General Agreement); changes in the rules of procedure to permit calling of special sessions of the Contracting Parties; rectifications in the Geneva tariff schedules; and a large number of complicated legal problems relating to the status of the several protocols adopted at previous meetings amending the provisions of the General Agreement.

The Contracting Parties set up a working party to study the possibilities for a third set of tariff negotiations. This working party met at Annecy and later reconvened at London to complete its report which sets forth the rules of procedure for the third set of negotiations and a list of countries, which, it recommends, should be invited. This report has been circulated to all the governments represented at Annecy.

The Contracting Parties also decided to hold their next session at Geneva commencing on February 23, 1950.

II. THE TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS

The tariff negotiations between the contracting parties and the governments desiring to accede (Italy, Colombia, Uruguay, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Liberia, Denmark, and Nicaragua) were conducted at Annecy on the multilateral plan which had been used so successfully at Geneva in 1947. After the invitations had been accepted by 11 governments, preparations were made and requests for concessions were exchanged well in advance of the Annecy meeting. The negotiations opened at Annecy with the exchange of offers commencing in April. Although the United States negotiated with each one of the 11 governments, not every country negotiated with every other since in many cases the trade involved was not sufficient to provide scope for the exchange of advantageous concessions. Altogether, 147 bilateral negotiations were successfully concluded at Annecy. The operation resulted in additions to 18 of the 20 Geneva schedules and in 10 new schedules for the acceding governments. Colombia, one of the 11 countries which accepted the invitation to negotiate, although participating in negotiating, was unable to reach agreement with several countries, including the United States. Colombia withdrew its application to accede to GATT at this time.

While the negotiations were in progress, the Contracting Parties, in consultation with the acceding governments, drew up a protocol containing the terms on which the acceding governments would be enabled to adhere to the Agreement.

This protocol[1] (The Annecy Protocol of Terms of Accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) requires a separate decision of the contracting parties for each acceding government. It was opened for signature at Lake Success on October 10. It will remain open for signature by the contracting parties until November 30 and by the acceding governments until April 30, 1950. Upon receiving the support of two-thirds of the contracting parties and upon signing the protocol, an acceding government will become a contracting party.

Details of the tariff concessions exchanged by the United States and the acceding governments, together with trade statistics and related data, are included in an analysis prepared by the interdepartmental trade-agreements organization and published by the Department of State.[2]

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANNECY CONFERENCE

Apart from the obvious importance of extending the scope of the General Agreement by the addition of 10 new contracting parties to the 23 original signatories—and the consequent reduction of trade barriers—the Annecy conference demonstrated again the practical value of the General Agreement as body of rules for the fair conduct of international trade. The Geneva tariff negotiations, together with the negotiations completed at Annecy, prove how strikingly successful a multilateral approach to the reduction of trade barriers can be. The deliberations and actions of the contracting parties have shown that a procedure is being established for safeguarding and consolidating these reductions in barriers. Their meetings have served and will continue to serve as a forum for the discussion and resolution of disputes and issues in world trade relations hitherto sources of considerable international friction.

The third session was required to deal with several such disputes, and the Contracting Parties were able to settle most of them. They have requested the United States and Cuba to seek bilateral solution of certain outstanding problems.

The third session also undertook the first application of the consultation provisions of article XII of the General Agreement. The case of the Union of South Africa showed that such consultation can be useful in promoting international understanding of the difficult trade and payments problems confronting some of the contracting parties. It also demonstrated that consultation ensures that any required temporary deviations from the sound rules laid down in the General Agreement are fully justified on economic grounds and are in conformity with all the obligations of the Agreement.

Finally, the deliberations and decisions of the third session regarding import control measures proposed for economic development or for protection of domestic industries against injury were of great importance. By careful study and analysis, the Contracting Parties were able to prevent the use of such measures for purposes not contemplated in the General Agreement and the impairment of the tariff concessions exchanged at Geneva and Annecy.

In spite of the usefulness of the Agreement and the sessions of the contracting parties, it would be unwise to consider that GATT is enough. It is serving its main purpose of establishing equality of treatment and of bringing about reductions of trade barriers. In addition it has brought the principal trading countries of the world together for consultation on urgent issues. It operates though, under two great handicaps—the Contracting Parties lack the assistance of an organization to carry out the necessary research and preparatory work for their periodic sessions. This lack not only impairs the effectiveness and scope of what can be done but also imposes very heavy burdens on the representatives of the contracting parties at sessions. It also accounts for the length of sessions which is a source of concern to many governments. Secondly, since the Agreement is in force only provisionally, it can operate subject only according to existing legislation. The experience of the Contracting Parties, considered along with the extremely complex trade problems with which the world is faced, emphasizes more than ever the need for an International Trade Organization.

[1] Printed as Department of State publication 3664.
[2] See Department of State publication 3651.

Discussion of the Greek Situation

tatement by Benjamin V. Cohen
. S. Alternate Representative to the General Assembly[1]

The Committee has been concerned for days w with a problem affecting eight lives in the scussion of the Greek question. Human lives e always precious. The real problem, however, s been that of external assistance to the Greek errillas in warfare which, for the last several ars, has cost the lives of more than 50,000 Greek izens.

The Political Committee has now had a report om the Conciliation Committee which was ablished by unanimous vote on September 29. e Conciliation Committee, as is evident, has ored long and arduously at its difficult task. had been the hope of the United States delega- n that after such work, the Conciliation Com- tee might be able to report with some promise success, that it had achieved some sort of *dus vivendi*, which could lay the groundwork the ultimate settlement of many problems ng the northern frontiers of Greece, might be ieved.

'he formula on which the Conciliation Com- tee had been working, based upon the previous 'k of the Committee under the chairmanship of H. V. Evatt, seemed to the United States gation to have provided a simple and satis- ory starting point which could lead to peace- settlement if there was the will to achieve it. ile it did not look toward basic settlement of damental issues, it did supply the framework such settlement. It provided for (1) the blishment of diplomatic relations, (2) the wal, revision, or preparation of frontier conventions for the settlement of frontier incidents of the type which had brought about the disturbed situation along the northern frontiers of Greece, and (3) the establishment of mixed frontier conventions for the regulation of such incidents if and when they did occur.

The Conciliation Committee also suggested a most important formula which would have obligated signatories, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of a state, or for the purpose of changing existing frontiers. Good faith in acceptance of this formula would remove fears regarding the use of force to alter existing boundaries in the Balkans.

Cominform Countries Ignore Conciliation

Unfortunately, however, and despite the fact that the Greek delegation accepted the suggestions of the Conciliation Committee and that the Yugoslav delegation was also favorably disposed toward them, neither the Albanian nor the Bulgarian delegation was willing to do so. It was a matter of disappointment for the United States delegation to this impartial Conciliation Committee, despite its best efforts, that it was unable to develop a basis of conciliation on which an agreement could be reached.

It is interesting, however, to review briefly the positions taken by the states concerned in regard to the Conciliation Committee's suggestions. It is to be noted that the conciliators asked the representatives of Albania and Bulgaria whether their governments would agree that the United Nations verify the disarmament of the Greek guerrillas in their respective territories. There

[1] Made before Committee I of the Fourth General Assembly on Oct. 27, 1949, and released to the press by U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same

was no Bulgarian reply on this point. The Albanian representative rejected the proposal, stating that such verification would be "useless," because, he said, the guerrillas had been disarmed and interned. The Albanian and Bulgarian regimes have on several previous occasions announced the disarmament and internment of Greek guerrillas who had entered their territories, and each such announcement has been followed by renewed guerrilla incursions from these countries into Greece. Surely, if the recent Albanian and Bulgarian announcements in this regard are meant seriously, the governments of these countries would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by inviting United Nations confirmation of their alleged good conduct.

The Albanian representative also told the conciliators that the Albanian Government was not concerned with the implementation of the Third General Assembly's unanimous resolution calling for the repatriation under specified conditions of the Greek children removed from Greece. The Albanian representative said that there were no longer any Greek children in Albania. He did not say what has become of the 3,000 or more Greek children which that government had previously asserted that it harbored in Albania.

Albania also declined to accept the idea of a neutral chairman or referee for the proposed mixed frontier commissions, but offered no suggestion as to how differences between the members of the two-party commissions would be resolved in the absence of such neutral intermediaries. The Greek representative, on the other hand, accepted the Conciliation Committee's suggestion of a United Nations referee to assist the Commission resolve its differences.

The Greek representative also accepted the conciliator's proposal that Greece, on the one hand, and her northern neighbors, on the other, agree to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other's territorial integrity in particular to agree to refrain from force or threat of force for the purpose of changing the existing boundaries between them. Albania refused to accept such a pledge unless existing boundaries should be accepted as final and was supported in this position by the Soviet Union. Nor was it made clear by the Soviet Union to what extent its conditional approval of the Conciliation Committee's proposals were further conditioned on agreement on a general pacification of internal conditions in Greece. Bulgaria also clothed its rejection with an acceptance in principle conditioned on a general agreement among the Balkan countries and a general pacification in Greece being arrived at.

During my remarks on September 28, I said: "It cannot advance the cause of conciliation and peaceful settlement to introduce at this time extraneous territorial issues."

The historical territorial issue between Greece and Albania is only one of several territorial issues throughout the world and notably in the Balkans among them claims to the entire provinces of Greek Thrace and Greek Macedonia. The prospects for the future would be dim indeed if the maintenance of diplomatic relations and adherence to minimum standards of international conduct were made dependent on the immediate settlement of all territorial issues and the recognition of all frontiers as eternally final. The Charter does, however, clearly outlaw any effort to change existing frontiers by force or threat of force, and the Greek Government has offered to agree in specific terms that it will not use force or the threat of force to alter existing frontiers. That should be sufficient. The way to quiet and ultimately resolve the conflicting century-old historic claims in the Balkans is not through efforts to make it appear that existing frontiers are not stable unless they are accepted as eternally final.

We should not ignore the fact that Yugoslavia which in the years past was perhaps the most active in aiding the Greek guerrillas, has given indications of a considerable change in her policy and action. Only the Cominform countries retained a negative attitude towards the suggestion of the Conciliation Committee. We further take note of the fact that the Conciliation Committee is prepared to resume its efforts at any time during the present session whenever the parties concerned consider this to be desirable. We welcome and approve this offer of the Conciliation Committee to resume its efforts should the parties wish to avail themselves of their good offices.

Since, however, the conciliation efforts have been unsuccessful so far, I turn to the general problem which confronts this committee.

Greek Situation Historic Problem in U.N.

This Committee is fully acquainted with the problem of Greece, for it is now before it for the third time. Initially, the General Assembly, in September 1947, took up the Greek question because of the inability of the Security Council for reasons which are well-known to all, to reach any decision on the case. Since that time, the General Assembly has come to know the question well.[2]

On October 21, 1947, the General Assembly, by a vote of 40 to 6, established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, for purposes both of observation and of conciliation. The mandate of the Assembly was renewed in 19[illegible] by a vote of 47 to 6. At that time special stress was laid on the conciliatory functions of the Special Committee and upon the use of good offices with a view to finding some settlement of the problems at hand. However, as members of the General Assembly know, the Special Committee

[2] BULLETIN of Sept. 19, 1946, p. 407.

ould not make effective use of its conciliatory role, ecause of the refusal of the northern neighbors recognize the Special Committee as a duly con-ituted body of the United Nations or to cooper-e with it in any way. It now appears that the fficulties in the matter of conciliation, however, e not confined to the Special Committee on the alkans.

The United Nations Special Committee on the alkans has been in the Balkan area for almost years. Its reports require no detailed analysis, r it is brief and to the point and, no doubt, has en studied by all members of the Political Com-ittee. The Special Committee had the benefit direct observation undertaken by six observa-n groups stationed at various points in Greece. ither the Special Committee nor its observation oups were permitted to enter the territories of bania, Bulgaria, or Yugoslavia. The reports e based on the observations and the experience the members of the Special Committee them-ves as well as upon the work of the observation oups and upon the evidence obtained from the errogation of more than 1,500 witnesses dur-the past year.

I think we owe a great deal to the Special Com-ttee and the observation groups for the devo-n and ability they have given to their duties, en arduous, often hazardous, and seldom pub-ly acclaimed or appreciated. A few of the ervers have been killed and wounded in the vice of the world community. Their casualties e not been given even the attention which we e given to other individual casualties in the eek conflict.

n its report, the Special Committee noted that lbania is the principal source of material assist-e" to the Greek guerrillas and declared that anian support had been "vital to the contin-ce of the Greek guerrilla movement since all main guerrilla concentrations are found on Albanian frontier." Moreover, the Special nmittee declared that Bulgaria had continued ssist the Greek guerrillas, moral assistance to m was openly proclaimed by the Bulgarian ernment itself.

he Special Committee also reported, it is in-sting to observe, that Yugoslav assistance to Greek guerrilla movement had recently ceased, it stressed the very important assistance of nania to the Greek guerrillas, including the that the so-called "Free Greece" radio, had moved from the neighborhood of Belgrade to vicinity of Bucharest. It stated that this as-nce—together with that of certain other s in Eastern Europe—pointed toward "the tence of a highly coordinated system of sup-" to the Greek guerrilla movement. But the rt also noted that, on a number of occasions, Greek guerrillas openly acknowledged their foreign support, as stated by the Greek Communist Party itself, in the report of the Fifth Plenum of the Greek Communist Party on January 30–31, 1949, when it proclaimed that "in the Popular Democracies we found great and wholehearted support without which we could not have made progress."

Greek Children in Bondage

The report of the Special Committee also called attention to the fact that practically none of the approximately 25,000 Greek children who had been removed from Greece to the territories of her northern neighbors and elsewhere in Europe during 1948 had been returned to Greece in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly, approved on November 27, 1948. In fact, thousands of Greek children, contrary to the spirit of that resolution, have been transferred from one Soviet satellite to another, an action which has been openly proclaimed in those states. Moreover, "in violation of fundamental humanitarian principles, some of these children, of adolescent age, have been sent back to Greece to fight in the ranks of the guerrillas," and some of these children were actually interviewed by observers of the Special Committee on Greek soil.

After 2 years in Greece, carefully studying the Greek problem, the Special Committee reaffirmed the conclusions at which it had arrived during the course of 1948, and particularly its conclusion that "the continuation of the present situation constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and peace in the Balkans." It specifically recommended "that the General Assembly continue to provide for appropriate United Nations machinery with adequate powers of conciliation and observation to further a settlement between Greece and her northern neighbors and restore peaceful conditions along the northern frontiers of Greece, and to keep the United Nations informed of the situation."

The military situation in Greece is now much better than it was 2 years ago when this Assembly first took action and established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. Indeed, the Special Committee, in its supplementary report of September 19, 1949, noted that "the Greek Armed Forces have eliminated organized guerrilla resistance along the northern borders of Greece and have resumed effective control of those areas." Moreover, it is to be hoped that Greece may now have an opportunity to bind up its grievous wounds and to travel the road of peaceful reconstruction—a road which has been barred since the liberation of Greece in 1945.

Members of this Committee are, no doubt, aware of the statement of October 16, broadcast by the so-called "Free Greece" radio (Bucharest), in which the Greek guerrillas recognized their defeat and announced that the fighting in Greece had ceased. But it is important to read the propa-

ganda announcement with some care, for the guerrillas have stated very specifically, in their well-timed declaration:

"But they deceive themselves in a deadly way when they imagine that the Democratic Army exists no more. The Democratic Army has not put down its weapons, but merely stands at 'ground arms'. . . . The Democratic Army has not bent, and has not been crushed. It remains strong and with forces whole . . . This does not mean that we concluded peace. . . . We shall remain vigilant."

It is perhaps not without some significance, too, that the statement once more proclaims the association of the Greek guerrilla movement with the U.S.S.R. and the so-called "People's Democracies"—or in other words, the countries dominated by the Cominform. In view of that statement, and of the public admissions on the part of Albania and Bulgaria that large numbers of Greek guerrillas fled into those countries—as they have done repeatedly during the past 2 years—it is surely appropriate to inquire today precisely where those guerrillas are and whether, as the Governments of Albania and Bulgaria have asserted, they have, in fact, been disarmed and interned, in accordance with the principles governing the normal relations between states. According to my information there are at least 8,500 Greek guerrillas in Albania, and about 3,000 in Bulgaria. The United States delegation, at least, has no information as to the disarming or interning of these guerrillas. I might remind this Committee, however, that the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, in its supplementary report of September 16, took note of the fact—

"that a large proportion of the Greek guerrillas together with large numbers of other Greek nationals have sought refuge in or been forcibly taken into the territories of the northern neighbors of Greece, in particular Albania."

It is also noted that public announcement has been made that they had been disarmed and interned. Nevertheless, it was not without interest that both Albania and Bulgaria, during the course of the discussions within the Conciliation Committee, rejected any thought of verification of their assertions as to such disarming and internment by any agency of the United Nations.

In the view of the United States delegation, it is merely a matter of elementary prudence that the United Nations remain vigilant concerning the situation along the northern frontiers of Greece, while attempting, as it has done in the past, to bring about a peaceful settlement between Greece and its northern neighbors. In the light of existing circumstances the General Assembly cannot now take the hasty view that it is finished with the Greek problem.

U.S. Party to Joint Resolutions

The United States delegation believes that th United Nations Special Committee on the Balkan must be continued. It is our purpose within th next few days to submit jointly with some othe delegations a resolution covering the principa recommendations of the Special Committee. reserve my right to speak again in order to explai our concrete proposals.

Mr. Chairman, the United States delegation, tc gether with the delegations of Australia, Chin and the United Kingdom, is presenting two resc lutions, based upon the broad experience and th specific recommendations of the United Natior Special Committee on the Balkans, which, w hope, will contribute to a solution of the Gree problem. One deals specifically with the fate c the Greek children taken from Greece. The mai resolution is similar in character to previo resolutions which have been adopted by this Con mittee and by the General Assembly in 1947 an 1948, for it calls for the continuation of tl United Nations Special Committee on the Ba kans, with all the terms of reference contained the resolutions of 1947 and 1948, and also gives that body some other functions should the situ tion in Greece continue to improve.

It will be noted that the resolution recites t assistance which Albania and Bulgaria, esp cially, have given to the Greek guerrillas a calls upon all states concerned to cease forthwi rendering any assistance or support to the gue rillas fighting against Greece. The resolution al recommends that all members of the United N tions and other states refrain from any acti designed directly or indirectly to assist any arm group fighting against Greece. The resoluti calls upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia cooperate with Greece in the settlement of th differences by peaceful means and specifica recommends the reestablishment of diplomatic a good neighborly relations, the preparation, r newal, or revision of frontier conventions f the settlement of frontier incidents. The Spec Committee is instructed to be available to ass the governments concerned in the implemen tion of the recommendations of the Gene Assembly and to offer its good offices in the int est of pacific settlement. It will also be not that the new resolution calls for verification th Greek guerrillas who have entered the territor of other states have been disarmed, since it fully recognized that Greece faces the possi danger of further guerrilla incursions, especia from Albania and Bulgaria.

But I would also call your attention to the tw final paragraphs of the draft resolution, for th bear upon the tasks of rehabilitation. The re lution calls upon all states harboring Greek

ionals, as a result of operations of the Greek uerrillas against Greece, to facilitate the peace-ul repatriation to Greece of all such individuals ho desire to return and live in accordance with ie law of the land. The Secretary-General of ie United Nations, through the Special Commit-ee or other appropriate United Nations or inter-ational agencies is requested to extend any feasi-le assistance in making and executing arrange-ients for the repatriation to Greece or resettle-ient elsewhere of guerrillas who have been in-olved in the warfare.

It will be seen at a glance that we are proposing continue the conciliatory functions of the Spe-al Committee in the interest of bringing about ome settlement in the Balkan region, while re-aining vigilant along the northern frontiers of reece lest there be a recurrence of trouble in that sturbed area. But it will also be noted that the solution looks toward assistance to Greece along e road toward "human rehabilitation" which at country should be permitted to travel un-olested in the years to come.

The United States delegation believes that by ch action, by the continuation of the United ations Special Committee on the Balkans, with broad terms of reference, the United Nations n contribute further to the cause of peace in a oubled area. Much has been accomplished dur-g the past 2 years. Much remains to be done. may well be hoped that during the course of e coming year, the work of the United Nations th respect to the question of "threats to the ter-orial integrity and political independence of eece," will be crowned with complete success.

I reserve my right to speak again if necessary.

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Care and Resettlement of World's Refugees

REPORT ON IRO MEETINGS

by George L. Warren

The General Council of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) held its fourth Session at Geneva from October 11–20, 1949. The Executive Committee met concurrently from October 6–20, 1949.

This session was a regular session of the General Council convened under the provisions of the constitution of IRO. At the third (special) session of the Council held at Geneva June–July 1949, the Council adopted a resolution providing for the termination of IRO services with certain important exceptions on June 30, 1950. Under the resolution, August 31, 1949 was set as the closing date for registration of eligible refugees presently in IRO areas of operation and October 15, 1949 as the closing date of registration for those who arrived in the areas after August 31, 1949. The chief concerns of the Council at the fourth session were to determine the volume of work remaining for the organization as disclosed by the registrations, to consider further the problem of making provision for the continuing care of the hard core of nonresettleable refugees, to plan such operations as might be required subsequent to June 30, 1950, and to advise the General Assembly of the United Nations further with respect to the organization of protection for refugees under the auspices of the United Nations after the termination of IRO.

The Executive Committee met primarily to consider the annual report of the Director-General for 1948–49, to review the plan of expenditures for 1948–49, and to consider a request for assistance to the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The annual report of the Director-General for 1948–49 presented in the form of a printed brochure with pictures for presentation of the work of the organization to the public was accepted. In reviewing the plan of expenditures for the fiscal year 1948–49, the Executive Committee, in response to the pleadings of the representatives of the Western European members fo more adequate provision for nonresettleable refu gees who will remain in areas of present residenc recommended an allocation of 9 million dolla for the provision of continuing care for these re ugees, bringing the total of such allocations for th fiscal year 1948–49 to 10 million dollars.

Acting under authority of a General Council re olution, the Executive Committee authorized th Director-General to make such stocks of blanke tents, and medical supplies as may prove to be su plus to IRO requirements available as a gift UNRPR. The Committee also authorized an inte est-free loan to UNRPR in an amount not to exce the equivalent of 2.8 million dollars in currenci other than United States dollars to be repaid UNRPR out of future contributions and on justi cation by UNRPR of the emergency need for su a loan.

Sixteen of the eighteen members of the IRO we represented at the meeting: Australia, Belgiu Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fran Guatemala, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlan New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, United Kin dom, United States, and Venezuela.

China and Iceland were not represented.

Representatives of the United Nations, the Go ernment of Israel, the Vatican, International Re ugee Organization, and World Health Organiz tion, were also in attendance as official observe Many representatives of voluntary agencies operating with IRO were present.

The General Council accepted the annual rep of the Director-General for 1948–49 and t recommendation of the Executive Committee co cerning the allocation of 9 million dollars in t current year's budget to the item of care and ma tenance for provision for the continuing care nonresettleable refugees. The Council learn with regret that because of the heavy registratio of refugees before the closing dates the Direct

General was unable to present the final totals of refugees remaining to be served by IRO. The Council was advised that the eligibility of recent registrants will not be finally determined before December 1, 1949 and that the counseling program adopted at the third (special) session, June–July 1949, would not be completed before March 31, 1950.

Under the counseling program, each remaining refugee is expected to make known his plans for repatriation, reestablishment on the spot or resettlement. Nonetheless it became evident from the discussions on the Director-General's report and on the statistical reports presented that there would remain after the present year's operations are concluded on June 30, 1950, at least 100,000 nonresettleable refugees for whom provision for continuing care will need to be made and between 100,000 and 125,000 refugees who will require resettlement overseas. The destinations of these latter have not yet been determined, but it is expected that a majority will be resettled in Australia.

The discussions clearly disclosed the necessity for the continuance of IRO operations after June 30, 1950, if the IRO task is to be completed. Consequently the General Council determined that IRO should persist for a period of 9 months after June 30, 1950, in its effort to make provision for the nonresettleable refugees and to complete the movement. For this purpose the Council adopted a total budget of $55,165,446 for operations subsequent to June 30, 1950. Included in this budget is an item of 12 million dollars for the provision of care for nonresettleable refugees.

The Council having taken this action decided to advise the General Assembly of the United Nations which has on its agenda the problem of organizing protection for refugees after the termination of IRO that the initiation of the services of protection under the auspices of the United Nations should take place no later than January 1, 1951. The message to the General Assembly also contained a plea to all government members of the United Nations to assist IRO during the remaining period of its existence to find places of resettlement for the refugees still awaiting movement. The governments were especially requested to consider receiving on a humanitarian basis those refugees who are physically handicapped or in other ways incapable of complete self-support. In this connection, the Council was gratified to learn of the interest of the Governments of Norway and the United Kingdom in receiving certain numbers of blind refugees and of those suffering from tuberculosis.

The Council also gave serious consideration to the problem of refugees remaining in Shanghai and the 5,000 refugees presently in temporary asylum on the island of Samar in the Philippines who had previously been evacuated from Shanghai. The Council voted to make a special request to the Philippine Government to extend the period of temporary asylum already accorded to these refugees in order to provide more time in which IRO might accomplish their removal to places of permanent resettlement.

The effect of recent devaluations of certain currencies on the financial resources of the organization was discussed at length by the Council without reaching final conclusions. Many of the representatives of the member governments whose currencies had been devaluated were unable to state the position of their governments regarding the request of the IRO administration that contributions be made payable in the new rates of exchange after the dates of devaluation. Some representatives commented that the costs of goods and services to IRO in the currencies affected would not rise in the same degree as the increase in payments requested. The problem was finally left for direct negotiation between the Director-General and the governments immediately concerned.

The termination of the International Tracing Service provided a difficult problem for the Council. The International Tracing Service operated by IRO has been active in reuniting families, finding missing refugees, and identifying records of refugees who are missing or who have died. The Western European member governments of IRO require detailed information particularly from Germany on their nationals still missing as a result of the war in order that the benefits of legislation adopted in those countries since the war may be made available to the relatives of the missing persons. The International Tracing Service now has under its jurisdiction many tons of German records which are constantly being searched for the required information. The International Tracing Service will possibly not be able to complete this task before the termination of IRO, and the problem is posed concerning the auspices under which this tracing service may be maintained on a continuing basis after the termination of IRO. The Council reached no final decisions in the matter pending further conferences on the problem between the Director-General and the High Commissioners of the occupying powers in Western Germany.

Ely E. Palmer Appointed to U.N. Conciliation Commission

The President on November 4 approved the appointment of Ely Eliot Palmer of California, Foreign Service officer of the rank of career minister, as the United States representative on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Mr. Palmer replaces Paul A. Porter, who has resigned to resume his private law practice.

The United States in the United Nations

[November 11–19]

General Assembly Plenary

Trusteeship.—The General Assembly, on November 15, completed consideration of the reports on the Trusteeship Council and the question of administrative unions affecting trust territories. It adopted seven resolutions proposed in the two reports. The resolutions: (1) endorse the recommendations which the Trusteeship Council had made to the administering authorities to hasten the political advancement of the trust territories, and report on this to the next session of the General Assembly; (2) recommend that the Trusteeship Council accelerate its examination of petitions and ask that its visiting missions to trust territories report fully on the steps taken toward the realization of the objectives of the Charter in respect to trust territories; (3) endorse the Trusteeship Council's recommendations that the indigenous inhabitants of trust territories be given a greater participation in the economic life of the territories and reaffirming the principle that the interests of those inhabitants must be paramount in all economic plans or policies in the territories; (4) endorse the abolition of child marriages, corporal punishment, discriminatory laws and practices in trust territories; (5) urge that information on the United Nations and the trusteeship system be taught in the schools of trust territories and that administering authorities give special prominence to improving and increasing educational facilities in the trust territories; (6) recommend that the United Nations flag be flown over trust territories alongside the territorial flag; and (7) send the question of administrative unions back to the Trusteeship Council to complete its investigation and report to the next session of the Assembly. The United States supported all of these resolutions.

Economic Development.—The General Assembly, on November 16, approved the four resolutions on the question of economic development of underdeveloped countries. These resolutions deal with: (1) an expanded program of technical assistance to be financed by voluntary contributions and to be carried out by the United Nations and the specialized agencies; (2) the program of technical assistance for economic development carried out by the United Nations itself under the regular budget; (3) instructions to the Economic and Social Council with regard to its future work in the field, with special stress on financing; and (4) the influence of international economic and commercial policy on economic development.

United States delegate, Wilson Compton, supported all the resolutions, after deletion of a phrase in the fourth resolution regarding the controversial protective tariffs provision for underdeveloped countries.

Political Committee

Essentials of Peace.—The Committee devoted the week to intensive debate on the Soviet proposal for condemnation of the preparations for a new war and the conclusion of a five-power pact for the strengthening of peace, and a counterproposal of the United States and the United Kingdom entitled "Essentials of Peace." Andrei Y. Vyshinsky in presenting the Soviet proposal, said that it was the logical result of the policy of peace consistently followed by the Soviet Union for the last 32 years. Only "enemies of peace" could raise any objections to the Soviet proposal, he declared.

Ambassador Warren R. Austin, who introduced the joint resolution of the United States and the United Kingdom, said that the resolution set forth "basic requirements of peace" and sought to "erect a standard to which all believers in peace and all supporters of the United Nations may repair." It was, Mr. Austin said, "incompatible" with the Soviet proposal which "should be rejected . . . as an attempt to slander, obstruct and deceive." He reviewed the "long, unhappy list of broken Soviet pledges" and "power-grabbing action" which had forced peace-loving nations to seek other paths toward their goal.

The Yugoslav delegate declared that he could not support the Soviet proposal in its entirety because of the discrepancy between the words of the Soviet Government and the "deeds" of the Soviet policy against Yugoslavia. Nor could Yugoslavia support in its entirety the joint proposal of the United States and the United Kingdom, he said since certain paragraphs of that proposal pre-

udged the attitude of delegations with regard to he veto question and the problem of the control f atomic energy.

d Hoc Political Committee

Atomic Energy.—The Committee completed onsideration of the question of the international ontrol of atomic energy by adopting, on Novem- er 14, a joint Canadian-French proposal which sks the permanent members of the Atomic En- gy Commission (Canada, China, France, the oviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United tates) to continue their consultations with a view determining whether they might reach an greement on this question. The resolution also ecommends that all nations, in their use of their ghts of sovereignty, join in mutual agreement limit the individual exercise of those rights in e control of atomic energy to the extent required . . for the promotion of world security and eace, and recommends that all nations agree to xercise such rights jointly." The vote was 48 5 (Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Uk- ine, U.S.S.R.), with 3 abstentions (Israel, Union South Africa, and Yugoslavia). The Commit- e rejected: (1) a proposal by India to ask the ternational Law Commission to prepare a draft eclaration on the duties of states and individuals garding atomic energy to insure its use for peace- l purposes only; (2) a proposal by the Soviet nion, to ask the Atomic Energy Commission to sume its work and proceed forthwith to the eparation of simultaneous conventions on the ohibition of atomic weapons and the control of omic energy; (3) a proposal by Argentina, ask- g the permanent members of the Atomic Energy ommission to make every effort to secure, in the ortest possible time, a provisional agreement hich would "include as a minimum a renuncia- on of the use of the atomic weapon for purposes aggression."

Arms Census.—The Committee received a joint ench-Norwegian draft resolution which ap- oved the proposals formulated by the Com- ission for Conventional Armaments for the ubmission by member states of full information conventional armaments and armed forces and e verification thereof" and recommends that the curity Council "despite the lack of unanimity ong its permanent members on this essential ature of its work" continue to study the ques- on through the Commission for Conventional Armaments "in accordance with its plan of work in order to make such progress as is possible." United States delegate, John D. Hickerson, contended that this resolution was a "real incursion into the field of actual operations." It had evolved out of the Soviet Union's "sweeping and specious one-third disarmament proposals" and was based on the need for precise data before intelligent attention could be given to a practical disarmament plan. The census and verification scheme contained in the French-Norwegian measure provided the necessary practical basis but the Soviet Union had "thus far" refused to accept it.

Soviet delegate, Yakov A. Malik, opposed the plan for a world-arms census and verification, condemned the "Anglo-American bloc's" position, and insisted that no solution of armaments reduction could be achieved apart from the atomic energy problem. He introduced a resolution which stated: "The General Assembly recognizes as essential the submission by states both of information on armed forces and conventional armaments and of information on atomic weapons."

Social Committee

Refugees.—The Committee on November 15 approved the joint French-United States proposal for a high commissioner to furnish assistance and legal protection of refugees after the termination of the International Refugee Organization in 1951. United States delegate, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, explained that the United States voted against the resolution in its amended form because the proposal leaves the way open for a very broad interpretation of the term "refugee," implying material as well as legal assistance on a virtual "blank-check" basis. It committed the United Nations, and the United States as the largest contributor, to financing of undefined functions. The resolution is subject to approval of the General Assembly.

Trusteeship Committee

The Trusteeship Committee adopted resolutions which: (1) invite the special committee on information from non-self-governing territories to examine the factors involved in deciding whether any territory is or is not non-self-governing; (2) invite the Secretary-General to publish periodically data on special aspects of progress in non-self-governing territories; (3) request the Secretary-General to keep the special committee on non-self-governing territories informed of the nature of technical assistance granted to such territories. . . .

1944–1949: Five Years in Our Time

by Eugenie Anderson, Ambassador to Denmark[1]

MADAM CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, AND FRIENDS: This is indeed an honor and a pleasure for me to be your guest on the occasion of my first official appearance as United States Ambassador to Denmark. It is a pleasure as well, but one that I would enjoy more, if I could speak to you without notes as I have been accustomed to doing. I shall try to speak directly and simply and of the things which I know best.

Of course, I understand, as I believe that you do, that when President Truman nominated me as our first woman ambassador, he did so as a symbol of his own belief in the abilities of women in public life. I know that he intended my appointment to signify to all women that he recognizes our growing assumption of mature responsible citizenship, our work for the public good, not simply as women and mothers, but as citizens and as people.

I hope that you will excuse me if I speak to you rather personally for the next few minutes. For, I believe that many of you want to know how and why I have come in the past 5 years from my first precinct caucus to my present challenging position. It's true that very hard work has had a great deal to do with it, but there have been other forces—forces greater than any individual person. They are the same forces that have molded you in the past 5 years, the same forces that have changed most of the American people, the same inescapable realities that have shaped our Nation's foreign policy—that have made us turn outward to the world, that have forced us however reluctantly to assume a new role of creative leadersh in the world—to accept the responsibilities th go with maturity and with great power.

When we look back upon these past 5 years our national life, we see that 5 years ago the was not yet in existence a United Nations stru ture. It was still a dream in the minds of relatively few. Five years ago we had formulat no plan to rehabilitate Europe. There was non-Communist liberal movement. In fact, the was no broad comprehension of the Communi problem among the liberal and labor forc There was barely an integrated statement of t values for which we had fought the war. single step in the subsequent development of o foreign policy—ECA, the Atlantic pact, MAP—can stand alone. But in the formulati of these programs a clear pattern is emergi forged from the terrible realities of our tin These programs are deeply rooted in the gre democratic traditions of America and of Weste civilization.

My own part in the political process by whi these new steps have been accepted by our peo has been like that of so many other men a women. I was only one of that great group ivory-tower liberals who in 1944 for the first ti in their lives did more than talk about politi It's true that before that time I had studied poli cal, social, and economic questions. I had work for several years in the League of Women Vote which of course was a good training ground direct political participation. But I was only o of many who suddenly realized that the victor of the war would not be guaranties for democra that winning the war merely gave us a new cha to keep working, but that unless there was a

[1] Address made before the Women's National Press Club on Nov. 1, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

reater participation by many more citizens at ıany more levels of government, that we would ɔse by default the great victories for which so ıany had died.

We knew then that it would not be enough to in the war, but that there must continue to be a ational administration committed to the build- ıg of a United Nations. We knew that this could ot be done if there were too many men in Con- ress who still longed to return to the illusory com- ɔrts of isolationism.

So it was that I entered partisan politics in the ɔring of 1944 with the hope of replacing an isola- onist Congressman in my district with a man ho believed in international cooperation after the ar. We lost in my own Congressional district in 44 and 1946 and 1948. But we did move the ate of Minnesota out of the isolationist shadow.

In 1946, we in Minnesota, like liberals in so any other parts of the world, experienced the full ıpact of the new Communist offensive. We in e Democratic Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota ere "taken over" by the Communist Party. Now ıe can read any number of books about the nature communism, but unless and until one has been actual political combat with the Communist ırty, I doubt if it is possible to understand fully e destructiveness of Communists at work.

We learned the hard way how Communists rive on confusion and disorganization—because ɔ many of us were confused and without the ength of democratic agreement. We learned e bitter way how Communists can subvert an in- cent majority into a chaotic mass—can use with- t any moral scruples decent but unsophisticated ɔple, use them as their own instruments and s them aside after they have ceased to be ful.

But we also came to learn that if Communists ıld work hard, we could work harder; that if mmunists could confuse issues, that we could rify them. We learned that if Communists ıld plan strategy, that we could plan it better— ause our strategy was made not just by one or ɔ at the top, but by many good heads at many els. We discovered too that while Commu- ts could accept dictatorship that we could dis- line ourselves and that once we had arrived by ıocratic means at a given position, we knew to carry it through together.

'erhaps more than anything else we learned to e faith—deep faith—in the majority of people, their ability to make the right choices when know the truth and are armed with informa- and inspiration.

his experience in Minnesota in 1946—when the ımunists seized the Democratic Farmer Labor ty—was of course a turning point in my own tical orientation—just as at the same time this anti-Communist orientation was developing in the whole American liberal and labor movement and, just as it was being forced upon all the free nations of the world.

We in Minnesota did what other liberals and democratic peoples have done: we formed an organization, the Americans for Democratic Action, dedicated to the development of a positive dynamic liberal program. We excluded Communists from our organization—we recognized that we must tell the people the truth about communism and that at the same time we must give them something positive to be for. Under the leadership of Senator Humphrey, we succeeded in 1948 not only in ousting completely the Communists from the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, but we also laid the foundations for the building of a great coalition party of farmers—workers and liberals in general—and of course we carried the State of Minnesota in 1948 for President Truman. We sent Senator Humphrey to the Senate and four informed liberals to the House.

We knew that we were working in 1947 and 1948 not only for the destruction of Communist influence; we knew that we were participating in the public understanding of the new structure our foreign-policy architects were creating. Sometimes I have wondered whether we ourselves have grasped the really revolutionary nature of our postwar foreign policy and the deeply humanitarian basis on which it has been constructed. We should be proud—we are proud—that there are men and women in America today who have dared to merge their dreams and their common sense in the bold and imaginative programs which today comprise our foreign policy.

I know that there are some who say that this policy is based solely on our own self-interest—as indeed any foreign policy must be in part. But there are many kinds of self-interest among nations as among individuals. There is the kind which thinks only in terms of sheer physical survival—a concept which I am sure most of us view as a barren and unrewarding if not impossible one. Then there is the kind which thinks only in terms of brute power and force. There is also that self-interest which faces the facts of the modern world, which accepts the necessity for modern man to change himself before he destroys himself in a race with time against the terrible forces he himself has produced. This higher kind of self-interest recognizes that we are indeed all brothers and sisters bound closer and closer by science and technology; that unless we survive together we shall perish together—and with us will go down all the values for which we have struggled for more than 2,000 years. We can use these same immense new forces of science and technology—capable it is true of enormous destruction—for the building of a better life—not alone for the American people—but for all those people who are free to grow and to create with us—not utopia, not perfection, but a saner society and a freer world than the one we face in our time.

Restitution of Looted Property

An FEC Decision[1]

On September 22 and October 6, 1949, the Far Eastern Commission approved amendments to one of its earlier policy decisions on the subject of restitution of looted property.

It will be recalled that on July 29, 1948, the Far Eastern Commission approved a policy decision governing the restitution of property found in Japan which could be identified as having been looted from Allied countries.[2] Among other things, the policy authorized the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers to liquidate property known to have been looted but which, after careful inspection, could not be identified as to ownership. The proceeds from such liquidation would form a secured fund which SCAP was authorized to use at his discretion, as a credit basis for the occupation, provided that he preserved its initial value. The policy provided that the fund should ultimately be distributed by October 1, 1949, among the countries looted by Japan during the war (Australia, China, France, India, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom) in proportion to the "recognized national reparations shares" of those countries.

As the specified date of October 1, 1949, approached, it was evident that the distribution of the secured fund in the manner provided for in the policy would be impossible for two reasons: SCAP had not yet been able to complete the liquidation of all the unidentified looted property; the countries represented on the Far Eastern Commission had not yet been able to agree on a schedule of shares for reparations from Japan on which distribution of the secured fund was to have been based.

In the light of this situation, the Far Eastern Commission on September 22, 1949, extended the deadline date of October 1, 1949, by amending paragraph 8 of its policy on restitution of looted property as follows:

> The secured fund shall be made available for distribution to the recipient countries not later than 1 April 1950.

On October 6, 1949, the Far Eastern Commission approved a further amendment taking account of the fact that reparations shares had not yet been agreed on by the Far Eastern Commission. This amendment reads as follows:

> The secured fund should finally be distributed amo the countries herein specified (Australia, China, Franc India, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the Unit Kingdom) in accordance with the percentages mention above [i.e., reparations shares], or in accordance with schedule of shares to be agreed upon by such countri payable in United States dollars or, at the discretion the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, in forei exchange acceptable to the countries concerned.

The above amendment thus makes it possible, the absence of an agreed schedule of reparatio shares, for the seven looted countries to work o among themselves a schedule of shares applicab to the distribution of the secured fund.

[1] Amendments approved by the Far Eastern Commission and released to the press on Oct. 25, 1949. Directives based upon these policy decisions have been forwarded by the U.S. Government to the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers for implementations.

[2] *The Far Eastern Commission, Second Report of the Secretary General*, Department of State publication 3240, p. 37.

U.S. Asks Withdrawal of Certain Czechoslovak Employees

On October 31, the Department of State ma the following announcement:

> This Government has informed the Czechos vak Embassy in Washington that Dr. Ervin Mu Consul General of Czechoslovakia at New Yo and Jan Horvath, housekeeper of the Embassy Czechoslovakia, are persons *non gratae* to t Government and their immediate withdrawal fr the United States by the Czechoslovak Gove ment has been requested.

Finnish Compensation Claims Settl

[*Released to the press November 1*]

The United States Government today paid Finnish Government $5,574,739.27 in settlem of claims for compensation arising out of the r uisitioning in 1941 and 1942 of 15 Finnish vess lying in United States ports. The amount p includes interest at 4 percent. A difference opinion has existed between the Finnish sh owners and the appropriate United States ag cies as to the amount of compensation paya Today's payment, satisfactory to all the part follows the dismissal in the United States Co of Claims of suits for compensation against United States Government.

The payment was made pursuant to a rider an omnibus appropriation measure passed by House of Representatives as its last legislative on the last day of the first session of the 81st C gress. In view of the traditional friendly r tions between the Finnish and the Ameri peoples, the Congress with virtual unanimity proved immediate payment and selected t method for accomplishing it.

irst Mutual Defense Teams eave for Europe

atement by Acting Secretary Webb

eleased to the press November 9]

Representatives of the Department of State and e Department of Defense will leave Thursday, ovember 10, for Europe where they will conduct rther discussions concerning the suitability of oposed mutual defense assistance programs to e specific requirements of recipient countries. ie groups will conduct their discussions with presentatives of the North Atlantic Treaty coun- es which are to receive assistance under the mu- al Defense Assistance Program.

The inauguration of these programs, under the utual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, will nec- arily await the signing of bilateral agreements which negotiations were begun last week. After ese agreements are signed, and after the Pres- ent has approved recommendations for the inte- ated defense of the North Atlantic area by the uncil and Defense Committee under the North lantic Treaty, the full amount of the appropri- d funds and the contract authority will be avail- e for the assistance program.

The representatives are traveling by air to Lon- n, Rome, and Oslo. The group proceeding to ndon will conduct its discussions in London with presentatives of the Western Union countries nited Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxem- urg, and the Netherlands). The group going to o will also discuss the proposed Mutual De- se Assistance Program with representatives of nmark in Copenhagen.

n Europe, the units will work in close cooper- on with representatives of the Department of te, the Department of Defense, and the ECA, ated in the various countries. ECEA person- on the survey teams will be detailed from ECA sions abroad by Ambassador Harriman. ECA the function of examining the economic im- t of the MDAP on the economic recovery of ope. The personnel of the group leaving shington is as follows:

London and Western Union Countries

ichard B. Freund, representative of the Direc- for MDAP; G. McMurtrie Godley, Depart- t of State; Lt. Col. Hamilton A. Twitchell, e of the Secretary of Defense; Lt. Col. Ber- l Thielen; Maj. Ralph E. Vandervort; Capt. d H. Thomas; Commander Samuel F. rles; Col. Quinton T. Quick; Col. William E. tz; Lt. Col. Paul E. Greiner.

For Rome

Leonard Unger, representative of the director for the MDAP; Capt. Vernon Huber; Lt. Comdr. E. L. Andronik; Lt. Col. John F. Franklin; Col. Robt. D. Offer; Maj. William B. Hynd; Col. David Likes.

For Norway and Denmark

C. Gray Bream, representative of the Director for MDAP; Lt. Col. Harold N. Moorman; Maj. William M. Leffingwall; Lt. Col. Harold T. Morris; Lt. Col. Harold A. Radetsky; Maj. Everett E. Binford; Capt. Warner S. Rodimon; Lt. Cmdr. Ernest R. Peterson.

Additional Department Appointments

The Department of State has assigned the following personnel to posts in Europe in connection with the Mutual Defense Assistance Program:

James F. Hodgson has been assigned as special assistant to the Ambassador in Oslo for MDAP with the rank of counselor of Embassy; Raymond P. Ludden has been assigned to the Embassy in Brussels as special assistant for MDAP with the rank of counselor.

Sidney O'Donoghue has been assigned to The Hague as special assistant to the Ambassador for MDAP with the rank of counselor of Embassy; Harold Shantz has been assigned as special assistant to the Ambassador in Copenhagen for MDAP and will have the rank of counselor of Embassy; Edward G. Trueblood has been designated program coordinator of MDAP for France.

THE DEPARTMENT

Mutual Defense Assistance Office Established

1. To facilitate the orderly and systematic conduct of the Department's responsibility under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 and applicable Executive Order(s), there is hereby established in the Department the position of Director of Mutual Defense Assistance (S/MDA) who shall be a Special Assistant to the Secretary, effective this date.

2. Ambassador James Bruce has been designated Director, Mutual Defense Assistance. He was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, taking office on October 17, 1949.

3. Under the direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State the Director is assigned the general responsibility of carrying out the provisions of the Act in accordance with applicable Executive Order(s).

4. The Director shall have action responsibility in the Department of State for administering the Mutual Defense Assistance Act with appropriate review or advice by other offices of the Department. The Director shall:

a. Serve as the Secretary of State's representative with representatives of the Department of Defense and ECA on the Foreign Military Assistance Coordinating Committee, and chair the Committee (FMACC).

b. Assure the establishment and maintenance of necessary working relationships with the Department of Defense, ECA and other agencies having responsibility for policy, advice and operational activities in the mutual defense assistance program.

c. Be responsible for initiating and formulating Departmental positions required in connection with the role and responsibility of the Department of State in administering the Mutual Defense Assistance Act.

d. Assure the necessary coordination with other departments and agencies where their interests are involved or their services required.

e. Recommend to the Secretary final Departmental approval of programs of mutual defense assistance.

f. Direct the allocations of funds for the purpose of carrying out the programs of mutual defense assistance approved by the Department of State.

g. Initiate or review all communications to and from United States diplomatic missions and representatives abroad on matters concerning the overseas administration of the act.

h. Prepare or direct the preparation of reports and prepare summary program reports designed to provide such information as may be necessary and appropriate concerning the activities of the Department and of other collaborating departments and agencies of the government under authority of the act.

i. Plan for and expedite the preparation of manuals of procedure and instructions to the overseas organization for mutual defense assistance.

j. Provide for the definition of pertinent policy, reconciliation of disagreements with respect to policy, and the solution of operational disagreements arising in the United States or abroad among United States political, economic and military interests concerned in the furnishing of mutual defense assistance.

k. Stimulate and follow-up on Department of Defense and ECA supply action in accordance with approved programs.

l. Plan for appropriate domestic and overseas program of public information in collaboration with public information agencies of the Department of State, Department of Defense and ECA.

m. The Director shall serve as the channel for the formal interchange of information concerning mutual defense assistance among collaborating agencies.

5. The Director, as a principal policy officer responsible to the Secretary shall be provided with the necessary staff to carry out the responsibilities of his office.

6. This Announcement supercedes Departmental Announcement 43, April 6, 1949, paragraph 3 of Departmental Announcement 130, August 12, 1949, and Departmental Announcement 154, September 14, 1949.[1]

Appointment of Officers

John B. Howard, as Special Assistant to the Secretary, has been detailed to assist the Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 24, 1949.

[1] Not previously printed.

Department of State Facilities Available to Educational and Research Institutions

The Department of State is constantly seekin to improve its facilities for making available t the American people information and researc materials on United States foreign policy an international relations. Since educational ar research institutions have a direct and continuin interest in these matters, the Department is eag to be of service to them.

Any inquiry addressed to the appropriate D partmental unit will receive considerate atte tion. To assist in determining the appropriat unit before making inquiry, there follows a li of offices, divisions, and staffs, supplemented b descriptions of special facilities for furnishin desired information or assisting in projecte research.

1. Office of Public Affairs
   - Division of Public Liaison
   - Division of Publications
   - Division of Historical Policy Research
2. Office of Educational Exchange
   - Division of Exchange of Persons
3. Special Assistant to the Secretary of State f Intelligence
   - External Research Staff
   - Division of Library and Reference Services

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Division of Public Liaison

The Division of Public Liaison answers i quiries from schools, colleges, universities, ed cational organizations, research groups, and inc viduals seeking information concerning the D partment of State, the Foreign Service, and t current foreign policy and international relatio of the United States.

Other services made available by the Divisi include: arranging appointments with policy c ficers of the Department; arranging periodic n tional and regional conferences for the purpose making available to representatives of organiz tions background information on foreign-poli matters; and consulting on special needs of inc viduals and organizations for information regar ing developments in the field of foreign policy.

The Division is also responsible for transmitti the views of organizations, institutions, and inc viduals on matters pertaining to foreign policy the appropriate officers of the Department.

Division of Publications

The major function of the Division of Public tions is to contribute to public knowledge a understanding of the various aspects of Unit

tes foreign policy through books, pamphlets, l periodicals. These publications are prepared the basis of a planned program designed to et the public and professional demands for in- mation on current subjects as well as back- und for understanding and interpreting trends the United States conduct of its foreign ations.

'he Division periodically releases lists of publi- ons that are available from the Department of te or are sold by the Superintendent of Docu- nts, United States Government Printing Office. s planning to release publication lists on specific jects, such as foreign policy as a whole, atomic rgy and conventional armaments, collective urity, economics, international flow of informa- , scientific and cultural cooperation, special- agencies of the United Nations, and the United ions in general.

'he Division of Publications has the responsi- ty for preparing and editing the Department State BULLETIN, *Statutes at Large*, slip laws, *lomatic List*, *Foreign Consular Offices in the ted States*, *Foreign Service List*, and the *Reg- r of the Department of State*. It also edits the *eign Relations of the United States*, the *aties and Other International Acts Series*, *aty Developments*, and the *U. S. National mission Unesco News*.

he Division expects to continue its cooperation n the professional associations at their annual ferences in order to discover how well the artment's publications program is meeting r needs and to exchange ideas on ways to meet e needs more effectively in the future. The ision will send to these group meetings, when- practical, an exhibit of its publications, and nany occasions a representative will be pres- to answer questions on the program and on procurement of materials.

udget requirements place certain limitations he free distribution of the Department's pub- ions. It is the Division's desire, however, to e sample copies in the hands of leadership ps. The Department must encourage the eral public to purchase the publications from Superintendent of Documents, United States ernment Printing Office.

ecause of the intense interest of the American lic in the field of foreign affairs, the Division 'ublications has established the following un- ial distribution centers: (1) World Affairs ncil of Philadelphia,[1] 1411 Walnut Street, adelphia 2, Pennsylvania; (2) World Affairs ncil of Northern California,[1] 623 Sutter et, San Francisco 2, California; (3) Social nce Foundation, University of Denver, Den- 10, Colorado; (4) Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,[1] 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois; (5) International House, Gavier and Camp Streets, New Orleans 12, Louisiana; (6) United Council on World Affairs,[1] 355–A Boylston Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts; (7) Minnesota United Nations Association, 150 Nicholson Hall, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota; (8) Center for International Understanding,[1] 1207 Commercial Exchange Building, Los Angeles 14, California; (9) Council on World Affairs of Greater Kansas City, 1001 Dwight Building, Kansas City 2, Missouri; (10) Woodrow Wilson Foundation,[1] 45 East Sixty-fifth Street, New York 21, New York; (11) Southeastern Association for Adult Education, University of North Carolina, Extension Division, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; (12) Council on World Affairs,[1] 922 Society for Savings Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio; (13) Southwestern Legal Foundation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas 5, Texas; (14) Library,[1] University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; (15) American Association for the United Nations,[1] 909 Fourth Avenue, Seattle 4, Washington; and (16) St. Louis Council on World Affairs, Inc.,[1] 418 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

enters selling Department of State publications.

Division of Historical Policy Research

The major function of the Division of Historical Policy Research is the preparation of research studies and documentary compilations in the broad field of American foreign policy and diplomatic relations. Some of these works are prepared for use by policy-formulating officers of the Department, and some for release to the public. From Departmental files, the Division compiles our annual diplomatic record in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, and occasional special publications.

Through this Division, the Department has progressively liberalized its policy regarding the use of its files by nonofficial researchers. Departmental records dated prior to January 1, 1924 are now in the National Archives and in general are available for use by the public. Qualified persons, engaged in important research in the fields of American foreign policy and general international relations are granted, under appropriate regulations, access to records dated as late as January 1, 1933. The records of the still more recent period are "closed." However, the Committee on the Use of Departmental Files may make special categories of these records available to highly qualified researchers "in exceptional circumstances upon determination that the interests of national policy are served thereby."

The Division of Historical Policy Research is the channel for receiving requests for special historical information to be found in the records still in the custody of the Department. It is also the designated channel for receiving all applications from researchers for the use of Departmental records.

Since the Division finds it impossible to devote sufficient staff resources to meet the needs of the Department's policy-formulating officers, it is developing a program under which nonofficial scholars may be encouraged to undertake studies that might be useful to the Department. It therefore invites inquiries regarding topics and resources for research in the field of United States Foreign policy and diplomatic relations. It is also actively engaged in the preparation of a bibliography of unpublished studies in this field and would appreciate receiving information on projects being undertaken by individual scholars and research institutions.

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Division of Exchange of Persons

The Division of Exchange of Persons has basic responsibility for the direction and over-all administration of the Government's interchange-of-persons program under the Act for Cooperation with the Other American Republics (Public Law 355, 76th Congress), the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Congress), and the Fulbright Act (Public Law 584, 79th Congress).

At present the Division administers directly the exchange of professors and specialists under the Smith-Mundt Act and the Act for Cooperation with the Other American Republics. Persons wishing to apply for such exchanges should write to this Division. In other programs the Department utilizes the services and facilities of other Federal agencies and of voluntary organizations in their special fields of competence. American graduate students wishing to pursue further study in the other American Republics should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Persons wishing to go abroad under Public Law 584, the Fulbright Act, should write to the appropriate one of the following agencies:

For graduate study

Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

For teaching in national elementary and secondary schools

Division of International Educational Relations
United States Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

For college teaching, postdoctoral research, and for teaching in American elementary and secondary schools abroad

Conference Board of Associated Research Council
2101 Constitution Avenue, NW.
Washington 25, D.C.

The Division also provides information and counsel to organizations sponsoring interchange-of-persons programs and enlists the cooperation of American missions abroad in expediting desirable projects. The Division would appreciate receiving from organizations sponsoring such programs available information and literature pertaining thereto.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTELLIGENCE

External Research Staff

The Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Intelligence is responsible for the Department's research concerned with economic, social, political, and cultural conditions in foreign areas and the Department's library and reference services. These programs are carried on through the Office of Intelligence Research and the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition.

While the Department carries on its own intelligence research program, consisting of reports to aid in the formulation and execution of both long-range and day-to-day policies, it recognizes that many outstanding scholars and authorities on economic, social, and political conditions in foreign areas are outside the Government and that a great deal of valuable research on foreign areas is done or directed by them. The Department desires to utilize the product of this research as fully as possible and wishes to provide all possible assistance to scholars in the social sciences working on foreign areas.

The responsibility for a program to insure that the Department is informed about research progress on foreign areas, that the product of such research is available, and that appropriate assistance is given to scholars in the social sciences working on foreign areas has been centered in the External Research Staff. This Staff carriers out the program in cooperation with the various divisions of the Office of Intelligence Research and the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition. The External Research Staff invites inquiries regarding topics and resources for research on foreign areas.

Division of Library and Reference Services

The Division of Library and Reference Services of the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition maintains and services the Department's central collection of reference materials pertaining to foreign areas of the world and their people. The collection is particularly strong on economy,

ltural, social, and political subjects, including ternational law, diplomatic history, political and cial science, domestic and foreign law, and other bjects related to the work of the Department of ate.

In addition to foreign reference books, the folwing kinds of material and the information conined therein are cataloged, classified, and alyzed by subject: United States and foreign vernment reports, foreign newspapers and pericals, pamphlets and documents. There are a llion and a half card references to the 450,000 oks and 1,200,000 documents in the collection. The following services are available to quali-d scholars on request: supplying all available formation and documentation pertaining to spe-ic subjects; loaning of individual books and cuments; compiling of lists of references or bibgraphies on a given subject; arranging interrary loan; and furnishing data relative to urces of information in the Washington area.

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eath of Former Secretary Stettinius

atement by Secretary Acheson

eleased to the press October 31]

I was saddened and shocked to learn today of e death of the former Secretary of State, the onorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. During the itical period of World War II and immediately ereafter, he gave his efforts devotedly and efctively to his country. As Lend-Lease Adminrator, Under Secretary and Secretary of State, d as United States representative to the United ations, he made many contributions to the winng of the war and toward the building of a sere peace. We remember particularly the imeasurable contributions he made to the establhment of the United Nations.

Although Mr. Stettinius withdrew from public fe some time ago, the Department of State always iew it could count on his friendly advice and ntinued interest in accomplishing the objectives r which he had worked during the period of his vernment service. It was my privilege to serve ith and under Mr. Stettinius, and I join with the ition in mourning his death.

Chinese Communist Notices—*Continued from page 760*

(5) Foreign residents and Chinese having joint ownership of real estate shall also apply for registration (of the estate) according to the provisions of these measures.

(6) Where survey, for reasons, is necessary in regard to foreign residents' application for registering real estate, the land survey and resurvey procedures stipulated by the Land Board shall be followed.

(7) These measures shall become effective on the day of publication.

The Department of State has been informed that the Peiping Communist newspaper, *Jen Min Jih Pao*, has published a proclamation of the Peiping "People's Municipal Government," governing registration of real estate held by aliens in the municipal area and suburbs. It is the Department's understanding that the provisions are essentially the same as those published in the Peiping Communist newspaper, *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, of which the following is an unofficial translation:

In order facilitate control over aliens' property (both buildings and land) in this municipality, Municipal Land Administration Bureau has specially formulated measures for dealing with application for registration of aliens' real estate in Peiping municipality. Measures provide that in respect to all property (buildings and land) owned by aliens in municipality, owner or legal representative bearing a power of attorney should, between September 15 and end of October 1949, get application forms from Bureau and apply for registration. In applying for registration of real estate, aside from referring to measures provided in "Rules for Registration of Real Estate in Municipal Area," following procedure should be followed:

(A) Submit for examination complete set of title deeds (all title deeds in foreign languages should be accompanied by Chinese translation, latter to be accepted as correct version.) Receipts shall be issued by Bureau.

(B) Bring applicants' name, seal, and residence certificate.

(C) If applicant is religious body, school, company, store, social body, or other such organization, procedure shall be handled by responsible person or by designated agent. In addition, foreigners should fill out accurately and in detail facts concerning all their buildings and land, location, house number, use of property, present state of buildings and/or land, and from whom it was acquired, without concealment or omission or fabrication.

Any property (building or land) acquired by a foreigner in name of a Chinese or under any other name shall also be correctly registered without concealing facts. And particularly without committing acts such as concealing enemy or bogus property or invading other public or private property rights. Violators will definitely be dealt with legally.

The Department has instructed the American consulates general in Tientsin and Peiping to transmit to the appropriate local Communist authorities statements reserving the rights of absent American owners of real property.

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ANGUS WARD RELEASED BY COMMUNISTS

Secretary Acheson Sends Personal Letter to Thirty Nations

American Consul General Angus Ward and the four members of his staff who were arrested and imprisoned on October 24 in Mukden, China, were released on November 22, after all had been tried and found guilty by the Chinese Communist authorities.

Mr. Ward personally reported the information of the trial and subsequent release in a telephone conversation on November 23 with Consul General O. Edmund Clubb at Peiping.[1]

Consul General Ward told Mr. Clubb that all five imprisoned United States representatives were "up and about" and that their sentences were commuted to deportation.

The individual sentences imposed by the Mukden Communists were: Ward, 6 months' imprisonment, 1 year parole; Ralph C. Rehberg and Alfred Kristan, 4 months' imprisonment, 1 year parole; Shiro Tatsumi and Frank Cicognia, 3 months' imprisonment, 1 year parole.

In addition to being charged with the assault of a Chinese worker, Mr. Ward reported also that he was charged with certain financial obligations, including compensation to the injured, severance pay, and extra salary payments. The latter 2 charges apparently are in connection with closure of the consulate and discharge of the staff.

The Department instructed Mr. Clubb on November 23 to inform Mr. Ward that he and his entire staff are to depart from Mukden immediately.

Mr. Ward and the others were arrested in connection with an alleged incident that took place on October 11. The Department of State still has not received Mr. Ward's telegraphic report of what actually happened on October 11 and in the period up to the actual arrests.

[1] See Department of State press release 914, Nov. 23, 1949.

The following is the text of a personal message from Secretary of State Dean Acheson to the Foreign Ministers of all countries which have either diplomatic or consular representatives in China. The United States Chiefs of Mission at the posts listed below were instructed on the night of November 18 to deliver the messages to the respective Foreign Ministers urgently.

Ankara, Athens, Bangkok, Bern, Brussels, Bucharest, Cairo, Canberra, Caracas, Copenhagen, Habana, The Hague, Lima, Lisbon, London, Manila, Mexico City, Moscow, New Delhi, Oslo, Ottawa, Panama City, Paris, Praha, Rangoon, Rome, Sofia, Stockholm, Vienna, Warsaw.

I would like to emphasize the importance of concerted action by those countries which respect international law to protest the treatment being accorded United States consular personnel in Mukden, China. Since late November 1948, the entire United States consular staff and their families have been detained under house arrest inside the consular compounds. All communications between the staff and the United States Government have been strictly controlled by the local authorities, and there was one period of almost 7 months when no communication of any kind was possible. At the present time communication is permitted only at the will of the local authorities and it is not possible for the consular staff to report their situation in an effective manner.

Because of this kind of treatment it was impossible for the consulate to perform any of its functions, and on May 19, 1949, the United States Consul General at Peiping under instructions from the United States Government notified the appropriate authorities there that the consulate was being closed and asked that arrangements be made for the safe exit of the consular personnel and their families. On June 21, 1949, the Com-

munist authorities at Mukden notified the Consul General that he and his staff would be permitted to depart and that transportation facilities would be made available.

These assurances have not been honored. On October 25, the Chinese Communist press and radio announced that Consul General Angus Ward and four members of his staff had been arrested on October 24, 1949. So far as is known, they have been in prison since that time. The local authorities at Mukden have not permitted the consular staff to make a report concerning the facts in the case. So far as this Government has been able to determine, the consular staff has not been permitted to get in touch with Mr. Ward or the four members of his staff and has not been informed of the date of any hearings which may be held or permitted to make arrangements to protect Mr. Ward's interest at such hearings. This Government has not been informed in any way, except by press and radio reports, of the reasons for the arrest of Mr. Ward and the four members of his staff. The efforts of the United States Consul General at Peiping to determine the facts in the case and secure the release of Mr. Ward and the others have been completely ignored.

The international practice of civilized countries for many years has recognized that consuls should be accorded all the privileges necessary for the proper conduct of their duties. Although consuls do not have diplomatic immunity, it has been the universal practice, because of the public and official character of their duties, to permit them and their staff freedom of movement, and in the event that any criminal charge is made, to permit them to remain at liberty on proper arrangements for bail, with unlimited freedom to communicate with their Governments with respect to official business.

The treatment accorded to Mr. Ward and to the American consular staff in Mukden is in direct violation of the basic concepts of international relations which have been developed throughout the centuries. As such, it is of direct and immediate concern to all countries interested in diplomatic intercourse, particularly to those with missions or consulates in China. I ask you, as a matter of urgency, to express to the highest Chinese authorities in Peiping through such channels as may be available to you the concern which your Government undoubtedly feels over the treatment of the American consular staff in Mukden who have been arbitrarily deprived of their freedom for one year.

I am sending a similar communication to the Foreign Ministers of other countries which have representatives in China.

Registration of Real Property in China

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The Department of State announced today that it has been informed that the Peiping Chinese Communist newspaper, *Jen Min Jih Pao*, of November 7, published a proclamation issued by local Communist authorities concerning the period for registration of real property.[1] The following is an unofficial translation of the proclamation:

> The undertaking of registration of real property of aliens in this municipality was originally scheduled to end October 31. Recently, however, various foreign nationals have made petitions setting forth various kinds of practical difficulties which have resulted in their being unable to apply on time and have earnestly requested that an extension of the period be granted. With the aim of giving consideration to especially difficult conditions of aliens' public and private real property, [those alien owners of real property] who have not yet applied for registration should promptly proceed to the land administration bureau of this government and apply for registration. Exceeding the date will be dealt with in accordance with law. It is expected that this order will be observed without further delay.

Ambassador Jessup To Attend Conference on East Asia and Far East

[*Released to the press by the White House November 17*]

A regional conference of the chiefs of United States missions in Eastern Asia and the Far East will be held at Bangkok the end of January. Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup will attend this conference which will have as its object a general review of the situation in the area.

Ambassador Jessup will leave for the conference on the completion of his duties as a member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He will visit Tokyo and other cities on his way to the conference and then will return via India and Pakistan.

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[1] On November 7, 1949, the Department of State released unofficial translations of notices from Peiping and Tientsin Chinese Communist newspapers concerning the registration of real property in those cities; see BULLETIN of Nov. 21, 1949, p. 760.

U.S.–U.K. "ESSENTIALS OF PEACE"

A Challenge to Soviet Sincerity

Statement by Ambassador Warren R. Austin[1]

The representative of the Soviet Union has furnished this Committee with another exhibition of his verbal fireworks. His table thumping has twice inadvertently jarred the name plate of the United States from the table in front of me. All of us, I believe, will acknowledge his facility for creating flash and thunder, but our interest in the display was dulled a little by the number of times we have had to witness it. With only minor variations, the performance has been repeated at four successive General Assemblies.

In this General Assembly, the Soviet Union delegation, on the instruction of its government, charges that preparations for a new war are now being conducted in a number of countries and in particular in the United States and the United Kingdom. In its warmongering charges the Soviet Union departs from previous attacks upon "certain circles" and directs its accusations against governments, charging them with organizing aggressive blocs and pursuing aggressive aims. Today, we have listened to the representative of the Soviet Union expressing claims that propaganda for a new war is aided and abetted by the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. These charges are coupled with a proposal for a new treaty among the five permanent members of the Security Council. The proposal is epitomized in the item on the agenda reading: "Condemnations of the preparations for a new war and the conclusion of a Five Power pact for the strengthening of peace."

The purport of the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union was to offer proof that the United States and the United Kingdom are interested in breaking the peace of the world. All of us deeply regret that the skill and energy employed by the Soviet Union to produce propaganda proposals are not employed in an effort at harmony. Name-calling does not promote constructive collaboration. Provocation does not contribute to friendly cooperation.

We find in this resolution ingredients of all the Soviet Union's provocative proposals of the last 4 years artfully put together so that adoption of any part of it could be claimed by its sponsor to be a condemnation of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the other states not named.

The question of the control of atomic energy as well as the prohibition of atomic weapons is now being considered by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Therefore, I doubt that the Committee will want to be delayed by extensive consideration of the second paragraph of the Soviet resolution which refers to atomic weapons.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee has before it the report of the Atomic Energy Commission, which affords the benefit of 4 years' effort to achieve an effective, enforceable system of international control that would not only prohibit the destructive use of atomic energy but would safeguard complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions. That Committee also has before it a report on the consultations in progress among the six

[1] Statement made before Committee I on Nov. 14, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the United Nations on the same date.

permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

I am sure the Committee will agree that this vital issue needs to be considered in that setting rather than in relation to a vague paragraph that seeks to avoid effective control by deceptively promising prohibition.

I should, therefore, only like, at this time, to point out that this innocent, sweet-sounding paragraph constitutes continued resistance to the will of the General Assembly. It contains virtually the same ideas that were rejected by the Assembly at its last session by an overwhelming vote. It ignores the Assembly's finding that effective prohibition can be achieved only by placing all dangerous quantities of atomic materials and all facilities for making or using them in the hands of an international cooperative. This Soviet paragraph is a propaganda maneuver which I feel sure the Committee will want to reject in favor of the detailed, earnest study being given this subject in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. I believe we can be confident of the *Ad Hoc* Committee's ability to handle this issue constructively, and certainly we will not take the hazard of two committees opposed to each other in their views on the same subject.

Artificial Olive Branch

The trickery of the paragraph on atomic energy is combined with slanderous accusations in the first paragraph to introduce a proposal for a five-power pact. By its own terms, this Soviet draft resolution is revealed to be an artificial olive branch surrounded by thorns. This tall talk of peace sounds more like war.

A proposal honestly intended as a "measure for strengthening peace" would never be placed in such a setting. Its sham and pretense is exposed by the fact that the five permanent members of the Security Council have already, by the Charter, obligated themselves to strengthen peace. In this speech we listened to this morning, that atmosphere carried through in the phrase which I think I am quoting correctly, "The threat of war has come into the public field".

Under the Charter, the five permanent members of the Security Council have particular responsibility for maintaining peace and security. Their particular responsibility was recognized when they were accorded special voting privileges. The fact that one of these five—the Soviet Union—has ignored that particular responsibility and has abused that special privilege has been the principal barrier to constructive cooperation.

The principle of unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council is based on the assumption that they will cooperate toward a common goal of peace. But the Soviet Union has twisted that principle into a weapon of obstruction and sabotage of world peace.

At Yalta, at Potsdam, in the Allied Control Council, in the Council of Foreign Ministers, and in the long negotiations for peace treaties, the unanimity principle has been used by the Soviet Union, not to promote agreement but to delay settlements and to force concessions. And in the Security Council, a long list of vetoes provides evidence that Soviet cooperation is available only on Soviet terms and only for Soviet purposes.

Does the Soviet representative contend that a new pact would initiate a reversal of such policies? If it would, then such a pact is unnecessary. If it would not, then such a pact would be a futility.

Confidence in Soviet pledges has been undermined by the experience of the past few years. To find cause for concern, it is not necessary to recall the Friendship Pact with Nazi Germany or the Soviet nonaggression pacts with Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. We need only look at the long, unhappy list of broken Soviet pledges that has grown since we have been engaged in the common effort to create the United Nations.

You will recall the promises that free elections would be held in Poland, in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania. In the case of Rumania, it was the present Soviet spokesman who went to Bucharest and delivered an ultimatum that the existing government should be replaced with a hand-picked pro-Soviet government within 2 hours and 5 minutes. This action occurred within 3 weeks after Premier Stalin had agreed with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill that their governments would "jointly assist" these 3 ex-enemy countries to form governments "broadly representative of all democratic elements" and pledged to hold free elections.

This melancholy pattern, I regret to say, has continued and spread.

A Soviet agreement to withdraw troops from Iran at the end of the war was only fulfilled because the non-Soviet members of the Security Council stood together in demanding that the pledge finally be honored.

U.S.S.R. Power-Grabbing Actions

The depredation of Manchuria, the forced partition of Korea, guerrilla warfare waged against Greece, the threats to Turkey, the obliteration of freedom in Czechoslovakia, the ruthless destruction of all democratic opposition in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and now, the subjugation of Poland to the point where a Marshal of the Red Army has been installed as that partitioned country's Minister of Defense—all these are power-grabbing actions by the Soviet Union that peaceful words cannot hide.

Less than a year ago my Government and others at this table were faced with the threat of force in an effort to drive us out of our position in Berlin, which we held by virtue of an agreement with the Soviet Union. In that case, even starvation was employed as a weapon of Soviet policy. We and others here stood firm against such tactics and they failed.

Our efforts at this Assembly to promote compliance with the treaties of peace with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania have stimulated the Soviet spokesman to a vigorous demonstration of his highly developed art of denunciation. He has provided us with further evidence of Soviet disregard of ratified agreements which no longer fit the convenience of Soviet policy.

Since this Assembly began, we have seen still other treaties of friendship and alliance with Yugoslavia denounced and repudiated not only by the Soviet Union but by the other states which it still controls. These pressure tactics have been augmented by troop movements, border incidents, and an unrelenting rain of epithets.

This succession of events was referred to in a newspaper in my home state of Vermont, the Burlington Free Press, by the following headline: *The Sound of Breaking Treaties Familiar as Street Noises.*

Soviet Policies Shift Peace Paths

Faced with these facts, the peace-loving nations have been compelled to seek other paths toward their goal of peace. They have had to face squarely the problem posed by Soviet insistence that everybody is out of step but the Cominform. The aggressively reactionary Soviet policies that have prevented the Cominform states from cooperating with the rest of the world have forced the rest of the world to promote collective security without them.

These collective efforts to strengthen international peace and security are the real objects of the Soviet Union's attack. You are asked to condemn the United States, the United Kingdom, and an unspecified number of other states because they are partners in such agreements as the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. The Soviet Union thus wants you to condemn agreements which seek to advance the objectives of the United Nations. The existence of these agreements is a reassurance to all states having a similar aim and a similar purpose. Their purpose is peace.

None of the safeguards we have erected will ever be used unless there is a clear violation of peace which the Security Council is unable to prevent. None of these safeguards alter our hope that the Soviet Union will sometime join with the other members of the United Nations to strengthen collective security. That has been our hope since the first day we began planning the organization of the United Nations. It remains our hope today.

Congress Expresses U.S. Intent

Only the Cominform countries have chosen to misinterpret the intent of our efforts. Cominform spokesmen branded the North Atlantic Treaty as an aggressive alliance even before it was drafted. They have clung to their preconceptions despite the assurances given on behalf of the American people. But, I urge them to consider these Congressional declarations—the Congress of the United States expresses the public policy of the United States, the policy of the people.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in presenting the North Atlantic Treaty to the United States Senate for ratification, made these statements which stand as an official declaration of intent:

> The basic objective of the treaty is to assist in achieving the primary purpose of the United Nations—the maintenance of peace and security.
>
> It has been conceived within the framework of the United Nations Charter with all the solemn obligations against aggressive action which that document imposes upon its members.
>
> If it can be called an alliance, it is an alliance only against war itself.

The Mutual Defense Assistance Act which is designed to support the aims of the North Atlantic Treaty, as passed by both Houses of our Congress and approved by President Truman, opens with these declarations:

> The Congress of the United States reaffirms the policy

of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest.

In furnishing such military assistance, it remains the policy of the United States to continue to exert maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated in the Charter, agreements to achieve universal control of weapons of mass destruction, and universal regulation and reduction of armaments, including armed forces, under adequate safeguards to protect complying nations against violation and evasion.

Thus is declared the determination of the 150 million people of my country to do their part "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." No policy, no emotion stirs the American people so profoundly. The representative of the Soviet Union needs shed no more crocodile tears for the American taxpayers.

Their policy and their desire is to cooperate with all states—I repeat, Mr. Chairman, with all states—in the building of a universal system of collective security within the United Nations.

The Soviet proposal is not aimed at building a universal system of collective security within the United Nations. On the contrary, it points toward domination of world affairs by the major powers. This is an old objective of Soviet policy, but it shall not become an objective of United States policy.

We oppose this Soviet proposal because we believe the people of the world want more peace, not more pledges. We regard treaties as instruments of inviolable law and not as instruments of propaganda. We are opposed to treaties that render lip-service to important principles but then provide easy means of escape and evasion.

All members of the United Nations are bound to take effective collective measures for peace. They have been bound to do so from the first day they entered the United Nations. The people of the world want peace by action under the Charter. They do not want it in the form of domination by Five Major Powers. Peace is everybody's business.

U.S. Cooperation With U.S.S.R.

Solving this problem of security on a universal basis within the United Nations requires increasing cooperation among all the member states. The United States believes in such cooperation and believes that through the United Nations it ultimately can be achieved. I should like to point out, particularly to the Cominform representatives, some evidence of our belief in cooperation and to assure them that in spite of the disappointing experiences of the past few years, we hold firmly to that belief.

During the war we sent a military mission to Moscow to transmit military and technological information to the Soviet forces. That service continued throughout the war despite a complete lack of reciprocal treatment from the Soviet Union.

Millions of dollars of medical supplies and civilian goods, sent from this country by unofficial relief agencies, supplemented UNRRA aid valued at 250 million dollars.

Military and civilian supplies sent to the Soviet Union under Lend-Lease totalled approximately 11 billion dollars. This included equipment that has been invaluable to Soviet reconstruction—for example, electric power generating equipment totalling a million and a half kilowatts capacity, four huge aviation gasoline refineries, a 10-million dollar tire plant, thousands of machine tools, 5 million dollars worth of construction machinery, nearly 2,000 locomotives, and 427,000 trucks—approximately half as many trucks as the Soviet Union had produced in its entire history before the Nazi invasion.

Despite this intimate experience with American economic assistance—from which the Soviet Union emerged with its sovereignty unimpaired—Cominform spokesmen tell the world that the sole purpose and certain result of such assistance is economic and political domination by the United States.

The Soviet Union was invited to participate in the Committee of European Economic Cooperation which met in Paris in July 1947 to consider Secretary Marshall's proposal to implement European recovery with American aid. The main response to this offer of economic cooperation was violent propaganda offensive against the European Recovery Program, and the establishment of the Cominform for the declared purpose of sabotaging and wrecking that program.

Our efforts to obtain political cooperation have shared the same fate as our efforts at economic cooperation.

When Soviet spokesmen expressed fear of a revival of German and Japanese military power, Secretary Byrnes offered the Soviet Union a mutual-guarantee pact against German and Japanese aggression to extend for 25 or even 40 years. This offer was repeated by Secretary Marshall. The Soviet Government rejected the offer.

Soviet Refuses Cooperation

We have sought from the beginning to advocate and encourage full Soviet participation in all the work of the United Nations. Secretary Hull flew to Moscow in October 1943, to interest the Soviet Government in the idea of a postwar security organization. President Roosevelt devoted the closing weeks of his life to the same cause. Byelorussia and the Ukraine—as much a part of the Soviet Union as California and Texas are of the United States—sit at this table today in testimony of our earnest desire, and the desire of other states here, to secure Soviet participation in the work of the United Nations.

Most of us here are working together to build a more peaceful and a more productive world through such agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Refugee Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Labor Organization, the International Trade Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The Soviet Union is not participating in any of these peace-making partnerships. All of us know that the Soviet Union's non-participation is entirely a matter of its own choice. And I am sure I speak for all of us in saying that Soviet participation in these constructive efforts would be welcomed as evidence that it is ready to contribute to peace and progress.

In all this somber picture, nothing concerns us more fundamentally than the barriers that prevent the peoples under Soviet domination from having contact with the rest of the world. Free exchange of knowledge, ideas, and information among the peoples of the world is a basic requirement of peace. How can there be enduring peace unless peoples come to know each other, to recognize each other's faults, to appreciate each other's virtues, to find a basis for understanding? How can there be understanding when the Russian peoples' knowledge of the non-Soviet world comes solely from government owned and controlled organs that pour out the same abuse, misrepresentation, and distortion that characterize the speeches of the Cominform delegates here?

President Truman, in addressing the plenary session of the Assembly on October 24, made a statement which I urge the Cominform delegates to consider earnestly. He said:

> The challenge of the twentieth century is the challenge of human relations and not of impersonal natural forces. The real dangers confronting us today have their origins in outmoded habits of thought, in the inertia of human nature, and in the preoccupation with supposed national interests to the detriment of the common good.

History has left all of our countries—including my own—a legacy of barriers that hamper free interchange among peoples. Most of us are working together to tear down these barriers. But the Soviet Government has persisted in erecting a "spite fence" that blocks the Russian people from good neighborly relations with the rest of the world community.

Again and again, during the past four years, we have tried to promote cultural and educational exchange with the Soviet Union. In October 1945, the United States asked the Soviet Government to consider sending the Red Army Chorus or other similar groups to the United States for a tour. We expressed a desire to institute an exchange of ballet groups, theater groups, and orchestras, of holding reciprocal exhibits of art, architecture, and handicraft as a means of increasing mutual understanding. Nothing happened. The following month, Ambassador Harriman asked Mr. Vishinsky to consider the possibilities of initiating an exchange of students. He received no reply.

In 1946, invitations were extended to Soviet professors by the United States Office of Education, Princeton University, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The Universities of Texas, Amherst, Columbia, Cornell, and other institutions, as well as private citizen groups, offered scholarships to Soviet students. Princeton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and several others offered to exchange scientific personnel. Most of these invitations were not even acknowledged. None were accepted.

An invitation to exchange medical specialists accompanied by an offer of a penicillin plant was never answered.

War veterans receiving government funds for college study were authorized to use those funds for study in Soviet institutions. All applicants have been rejected.

The Boston Symphony Orchestra extended an invitation to the conductor of the Leningrad Philharmonic but received no answer. Twice the orchestra offered to tour the Soviet Union at its own expense but received no reply. A Soviet ballet

company was invited to tour the United States. Nothing happened.

The private and public groups making these and many similar offers refused to be discouraged.

Stalin's Words Contrary to Actions

When Marshal Stalin told an American visitor in December 1946 that he was unequivocably in favor of a wider exchange of ideas, students, teachers, artists, and tourists, Ambassador Smith quickly followed up the opportunity. For example, he presented to Mr. Vishinsky a specific proposal for a visit to the United States by 50 Soviet scholars in various fields of science and cultural studies.[2] All he ever received in reply was a simple acknowledgement.

In sharp contrast to Marshal Stalin's interview, the Soviet Government six months later, in June 1947, began a campaign to place every sort of legal obstacle, backed with the threat of heavy punishment, in the way of contacts between the Russian people and foreigners. This campaign began with the promulgation of the Secrecy Act of June 1947 and has proceeded with increasing intensity ever since. It has been part of an organized effort to persuade the Russian people that cultural relations with people from the non-Soviet world endangers the Soviet state. In such an atmosphere a mere gesture of friendship toward a Soviet citizen threatens his well-being.

Efforts to speak to the Russian people over the radio have been met by the most intensive jamming of the airwaves ever attempted in peace time. Quarantined from contact with the outside world, the Russian people are receiving from the official press and radio a mixture of hatred, abuse, and untruth that gives little evidence of a desire for understanding and cooperation.

Information coming from the Soviet Union has been subjected to strict censorship. Correspondents from the United States have been restricted to such a point that now only one newspaper and two press associations continue to maintain regular representatives in the Soviet Union. Correspondents from other non-Cominform countries are sharing a similar fate.

I cite these facts at length because they expose the root of our problem. There is no incompatibility between economic systems. The world is full of differing social and cultural institutions. But only in the area of the Cominform is interchange forbidden and branded as evil and traitorous.

If all the peoples of the United Nations could begin to meet and to talk with one another, we would be on the way toward solving the many problems that beset the world community. I am sure the people of the Soviet Union, no less than the people of the United States, want cooperation and peace. The refusal of the Soviet Government to let their people meet with others is perhaps the greatest single tragedy of our time.

Without the understanding that can come only from a free interchange among peoples, agreements among governments rest on unfirm foundations. A government which does not trust its own people can hardly be expected to trust others. Good neighborliness and peace can not grow in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust.

Measures for Strengthening Peace

If the Soviet Government wishes to undertake measures for strengthening peace, the means are at its instant command. Stop your campaign of hate against the non-Cominform world. For sake your doctrine that the non-Cominform world is your enemy. Let your people meet with ours and discuss together our common problems. Lift your iron curtain and you will strengthen peace.

The interest of the individual human being in peaceful progress was recognized by all of us when we signed a Charter which begins by declaring the determination of "we, the *peoples* of the United Nations . . . to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

The Charter is illuminated by the great light of freedom, tolerance, human dignity, self-determination of peoples, cultural and educational co-operation, and economic and social advancement. These principles, reflecting the highest spirituality of man, can lead us to peace and security if we express them in understanding, purposeful and resolute action.

By this Charter—by this real pact of peace—all 59 members of the United Nations have obligated themselves to settle their international disputes by pacific methods. They have agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner contrary to the Charter. They have pledged themselves to carry out decisions reached by the community of nations through the United Nations. The

[2] See, *Cultural Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union*, Department of State publication 3480.

have promised to assist the United Nations in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter. They have built the Charter on the principle of sovereign equality of members, with all that is included within that principle for the independence, integrity, and the obligations of states in relation to each other.

Action to fulfill these obligations, agreements, pledges, and promises is what the world requires now. That means respect for international obligations. That means noninterference in the internal affairs of other states through indirect aggression or through subverting their governments by manipulating minority groups and similar devices. That means respect for the rights of others. That means belief in the dignity of man and respect for the rights and freedoms of the individual.

The great majority of the members of the United Nations are making progress toward peace. The great majority of the nations are tackling patiently the serious problems besetting the world. The great majority of the nations are sharing their resources and technical skills to promote economic stability and progress. The great majority of the nations are exchanging ideas, information, and people to promote understanding.

The path toward peace must be traveled step by step. There are no super-highways. Patient, persistent efforts to solve each of the numerous and varied problems brought to the United Nations for settlement is required. We gain strength from those we solve to concentrate on those whose solutions have escaped us.

This is not the dramatic or the sensational course. Enduring peace will not result from a sweeping gesture; it will be the product of a continuing process; it will be the consequence of adherence to fundamental principles.

Joint Resolution: "Essentials of Peace"

My government, therefore, has joined with the United Kingdom in sponsoring a resolution which directs attention to the basic requirements for enduring peace. By this resolution, we seek to erect a standard to which all believers in peace and all supporters of the United Nations may repair. This resolution seeks to mobilize support for genuine efforts to settle disputes among nations and to promote understanding between them and their peoples.

Our resolution is put forward in full recognition that there is no substitute for performance by members of their treaty obligations. Good citizenship in the world community requires faithful adherence, in deed as well as in words, to the "Essentials of Peace."

By adopting this resolution the General Assembly would declare that the Charter of the United Nations is the most solemn pact of peace in history and lays down basic principles necessary

Text of U. S.-U. K. Joint Resolution

U. N. doc. A/C.1/549
Submitted Nov. 14, 1949

The General Assembly

Declares that the Charter of the United Nations, the most solemn pact of peace in history, lays down basic principles necessary for an enduring peace; that disregard of these principles is primarily responsible for the continuance of international tension; and that it is urgently necessary for all Members to act in accordance with these principles in the spirit of cooperation on which the United Nations was founded:

Calls upon every nation

To refrain from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter;

To refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence, or integrity of any state, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people in any state;

To carry out in good faith its international agreements;

To afford all United Nations bodies full cooperation and free access in the performance of the tasks assigned to them under the Charter;

To promote, in recognition of the paramount importance of preserving the dignity and worth of the human person, full freedom for the peaceful expression of political opposition, full opportunity for the exercise of religious freedom, and full respect for all the other fundamental rights expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

To promote nationally and through international cooperation efforts to achieve and sustain higher standards of living for all peoples;

To remove the barriers which deny to peoples the free exchange of information and ideas essential to international understanding and peace;

Calls upon every Member to participate fully in all the work of the United Nations;

Calls upon the five permanent Members of the Security Council to broaden progressively their cooperation and to exercise restraint in the use of the veto in order to make the Security Council a more effective instrument for maintaining peace;

Calls upon every nation

To settle international disputes by peaceful means and to cooperate in supporting United Nations efforts to resolve outstanding problems;

To cooperate to attain the effective international regulation of conventional armaments; and

To agree to the exercise of national sovereignty jointly with other nations to the extent necessary to attain international control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons and assure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

for an enduring peace. It clearly recognizes that disregard of these principles is primarily responsible for international tension, and asserts the urgent necessity of actions by member states in accordance with these principles in the spirit of cooperation on which the United Nations was founded.

Based on these realistic grounds, the resolution sets forth in detail the individual and collective actions that are essential if principles are to be put into practice.

The resolution calls upon all nations to refrain from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter; to refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence, or integrity of any state, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people in any state.

It calls upon all nations to carry out in good faith their international agreements and to afford all United Nations bodies full cooperation and free access in the performance of tasks assigned to them under the Charter.

The close link between human freedom, human well-being, and world peace is recognized in two paragraphs which call upon all nations to promote the dignity and worth of the human person, full freedom for the peaceful expression of political opposition, full opportunity for the exercise of religious freedom, full respect for other fundamental human rights expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and to promote nationally and internationally efforts to achieve and sustain higher standards of living for all peoples.

Every member of the United Nations is called upon to participate fully in the work of the organization. The five permanent members are especially urged to broaden progressively their cooperation and to exercise restraint in the use of the veto in order to make the Security Council more effective instrument for maintaining peace

Finally, it calls upon every nation to cooperat in supporting United Nations efforts to settle out standing problems; to cooperate in attainin effective international regulation and reduction o conventional armaments; and to agree to the exer cise of national sovereignty jointly with othe nations to the extent necessary to attain interna tional control of atomic energy which would mak effective the prohibition of atomic weapons an assure the use of atomic energy for peaceful pur poses only.

This resolution is, of course, incompatible wit the Soviet resolution which should be rejecte No part of the Soviet resolution is worthy eithe of amendment or adoption. It should be rejecte as an attempt to slander, obstruct, and deceive.

I have placed before this Committee the Sovi Union's record of noncooperation. And now, place before you, on behalf of the Governments o the United Kingdom and the United States, a res lution on "Essentials of Peace."

If the Soviet Union is ready to perform the essentials, then a Five-Power pact is not neede If it is not, then, I repeat, Mr. Chairman, the pa is a hollow proposal.

The resolution the United Kingdom and t United States have placed before you seeks fu fillment of the pledges we have made to suppo and defend the Charter of the United Nation Your overwhelming response to this resolutic would give new life to those pledges. It woul give new strength to the United Nations and ne hope to all mankind. In the fervent hope that i adoption will stimulate in every nation a re-ded cation to the principles of peace, we place befo you this resolution on "Essentials of Peace."

EXHIBITION IN GERMANY
OF THE RETURNED COLLECTION OF BERLIN PAINTINGS

With the return to the American zone of Germany of the final shipment of paintings from the Berlin Museums which had been exhibited throughout the United States,[1] this important group was reunited with the returned masterpieces already on display at the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point. On the occasion of the opening of the complete collection, as the tenth exhibition in Wiesbaden to be held under the supervision of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, the following statements by the officials of the American Military Government were published in Germany. They relate to the significance of the return of this collection from the United States in fulfillment of the American purpose and to the importance of great art as a common spiritual heritage.

Statement by Theodore Allen Heinrich, Chief, Museums Section, Education and Cultural Relations Division, OMGUS

With the addition of the final 97 masterpieces newly returned from America, where they were sent nearly 4 years ago to be safeguarded more carefully than at that time seemed possible in Germany, the whole of the 202 great works of art which shared that experience are now to be seen in these walls. Each one represents a not inconsiderable triumph of the human spirit; together they constitute an essential part of not only the German, but of the whole of the cultural heritage of Western civilization. It is 10 years since last they hung on the walls of a German museum, 10 years during which many thought that civilization itself was surely about to perish, years which have nonetheless not dimmed the glories of these paintings for all the dangers through which, immured in the darkness of packing cases in a variety of secure hiding places, they have been forced to pass.

An historic collection of pictures takes on many of the characteristics of a family and like all families in the time of a universal war, this too has suffered painful losses. The most tragic of these is the sacrifice of Signorelli's *Pan*, only one of too many paintings from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum which went up in flames in Berlin in 1945, but we may be thankful at the evidence of these galleries that most of the familiar great or near-great works of enduring quality have survived. Now that all the 202 paintings are again together, it may be seen that their selection from among the 1,200 Berlin paintings brought to Wiesbaden from the salt mines was guided largely by the desire to give even greater security to those particular pieces or groups of extraordinary quality which were unique or at least sparsely represented in the Berlin and other German museums. For this reason, we now again see the astonishing groups of early Flemish paintings, of Botticelli and Titian, of Hans Baldung Grien and Frans Hals, and why we have here an important pendant to the Wiesbaden Rembrandt exhibition of last year.

High quality is a persistent force which in works of art is capable of working its magic in greater or lesser degree on the beholder so long as their materials retain their physical integrity. Some may speak more strongly at one moment than another, but their noble spirit can never be wholly mute so long as they be visible. Goethe has remarked this phenomenon:

> Ein stiller Geist is Jahre lang geschäftig;
> Zie Zeit nur macht die feine Gährung kräftig.

It is that quiet spirit which lives and works in the

[1] For an account of the return, see BULLETIN of May 1, 1949, p. 543.

parts and the whole of a cultural heritage that give it its enduring value and the force which carries it across the barriers of time and national boundaries. By right of historic possession these masterpieces have become a part of the technical cultural heritage of the German people, and by love, they have become a major part of the spiritual heritage. Because Germans love and treasure them, though few of them are German works of art, there has been demonstrated in this sense a serious kinship with the spirit of western civilization. And because that quiet spirit speaks clearly and forcibly wherever it may appear, we have just witnessed the phenomenon of people literally besieging museum doors in America for an opportunity to see these masterworks in each of the 14 cities where, shown for a brief 2 or 3 weeks in each, they were enjoyed all together by no less than 2,500,000 eager visitors.

It is indeed a mighty force exerted by these silent and often very old ambassadors of the indomitable human spirit. It may be idle to suppose, however much we should like it to be true, that they alone, an essential expression of our common cultural tradition, can or ever will influence unregenerate human nature to live up to the best in itself. But they do and will always give immense pleasure and will now and then inflame one more man of gifts to create things worthy of taking place with them and thus further enrich that cultural heritage of which we are apt to be so casually proud.

This year marks the celebration of several events which have had far-reaching effects on the cultural and material wealth of the modern world. The most junior of these centenaries is being celebrated in California, where the discovery of gold just 100 years ago opened a singularly fruitful territory on which the cultures of a relatively young America, an old Europe and a still more ancient China have met with singularly interesting result and in 2 of whose cities these very paintings have just now been viewed with vivid interest by over 250,000 people. Antwerp is celebrating the birth in 1599 of a prince among portrait painters, Anton van Dyck, and Florence, digging still more significantly into history, is observing the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of that prince of patrons, Lorenzo de'Medici, known as *The Magnificent*, who was a principal progenitor of one of the great turning points in the intellectual development of Western civilization, the Renaissance. The Florentine room of this exhibition has very intimate ties with Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, who would surely have appreciated both the aesthetic and political nuances of this collection.

Germany is particularly conscious, in this year of significant anniversaries, of the bicentenary of Goethe's birth at Frankfort in 1749, and this exhibition may stand as a tribute to the living spirit of that great European, who believed so deeply in good will and in beauty, who understood so fully the desperate spiritual adventure that is the creation of a great work of art and the excitement of that battle won, and who, savoring to the fullest the often fatal duality of human nature, courageously explored the Mephistotelian spirit of negation while affirming the positive, striving impulse of the human Faust. He gave to our civilization an imperishable symbol of the divine comedy of life and told us far more about ourselves than we may care to recognize. This is one of the great tasks of art. An artist himself, he gave to all artists perhaps the one piece of advice which has universal validity: "*Bilde, Künstler, rede nicht.*" His spirit is indeed a worthy patron to stand guard over the gesture which this present exhibition represents.

It is hoped, therefore, that in future Wiesbaden exhibitions, until now necessarily concerned very largely with the great art of the past and of Europe alone, will explore in new directions. They should maintain the rigorously high standards that have been set, but at the same time help acquaint the German people with the accomplishments of their non-German contemporaries and to demonstrate by precept the truth of an observation made in this space before: he who shows himself wholly hostile to the expressions of serious modern art need claim no serious understanding or real sympathy for the accepted art of the past, for they are one. It is the "quiet spirit" of which Goethe spoke which in the end enjoys its enduring triumph over all the other manifestations and perturbations of history—and it is ours to cherish. Let us seek it here and wherever else we may recognize it.

Statement by James R. Newman, Director, Office of Military Government for Hesse

Promises are sometimes easier to make than to fulfill on schedule, and during my recent stay in America, I have heard it seriously discussed

(*Continued on page 833*)

Soviet Misinterpreting Blocks Atomic Agreement

U.S. SUPPORTS FRENCH-CANADIAN RESOLUTION

Statement by John D. Hickerson
Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs [1]

Yesterday the Soviet Representative repeated lmost every argument, charge, and distortion pre-iously made by various Soviet representatives gainst the motives of the United States and other ıembers of the Atomic Energy Commission, and gainst the United Nations Plan of Control and 'rohibition.

Again, the representative of the Soviet Union ives clear evidence that he hasn't read or has mis-nderstood, or misinterpreted, or refuses to believe ıe clear intent of the United Nations plan.

For example, the Soviet representative quoted ıe Baruch proposals to support his claim that the ıternational agency would have the power to fix ıe quotas and, therefore, to interfere with the eco-omic life of nations. But that is not what is pro-ided in the plan developed by the Commission nd approved by the General Assembly last fall. hat plan provides that quotas of each country are be agreed upon and written into the treaty be-ore the treaty is ratified and signed by the par-cipating nations. The agency would thereafter obliged to carry out these agreed quotas.

The Soviet representative further stated that ıe plan empowers the agency to prevent and ıppress national research in the field of atomic ıergy. This is sheer imagination. The United ations plan provides that the agency should en-ourage and promote research in all national and scientific institutions and, in cooperation with the scientists of all nations, should publish scientific information so that there would no longer be secrets in the field of atomic energy.

The Soviet representative then quoted the Acheson–Lilienthal report of 1946 to justify the absurd charge that the United States might be in a position to retain its atomic weapons, even after the control plan had gone into effect. But if he read the plan approved by the General Assembly, he would find that the plan prohibits the national ownership or use of weapons and also prohibits the national possession of nuclear fuel which is in the explosive weapons. When the plan approved by the General Assembly goes into effect, neither the United States nor any other nation would have in its hands atomic weapons or the explosive nuclear materials out of which they are made. These are the provisions of the plan approved by the General Assembly which would make the prohibition of atomic weapons effective and enforceable.

United Nations Plan

The United Nations plan provides that the stages of transition from the present situation to that of complete international control are to be agreed upon in advance and written into the treaty. The plan provides that the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, which operates by majority rule, shall determine when one stage is completed and another shall begin. No nation would be in

[1] Made before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the eneral Assembly on Nov. 11, 1949, and released to the ess by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on e same date.

a position to protract or prolong this period of transition leading to full effective control and prohibition. All nations would be treated in exactly the same way. The nuclear fuel in atomic weapons in the possession of the United States would be removed and turned over to the international agency at exactly the same time that the nuclear fuel would be removed from any atomic weapons in the possession of the U.S.S.R. or any other nation and turned over to the international control agency.

It is apparent that the Soviet representative was not really debating the United Nations plan. He was discussing some sections taken out of context of the Acheson-Lilienthal report or out of the proposals first put forward by Mr. Baruch. He was discussing various statements and articles carefully selected from the press in countries where there is freedom of expression for every shade of opinion.

The Soviet representative charged that the purpose of the United Nations plan is to extend and expand an American monopoly over the entire nuclear industry of the world in the guise of some great supertrust. I am frankly at a loss to understand how the willingness of the United States to turn over its atomic energy industry and its atomic materials to the possession, operation, and management of an international agency under the United Nations could be construed as "continuing and expanding an American monopoly". We are rather proposing to participate in a great international cooperative in which all nations would participate on fair and equitable terms to develop and use atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind.

The Soviet representative told us yesterday that atomic energy was being used in the U.S.S.R. for such peaceful purposes as moving mountains, irrigating deserts, and clearing jungles. Whether or not this is nonsense, I will not say. I can say, however, that when the Soviet representative said this he was implying a recognition of one of the basic facts that must be taken into account in any solution of the atomic energy question; that is, the same atomic energy developed for peaceful uses is automatically and inescapably available for military purposes. If nations have devices in their possession which can level mountains, they also have in their possession devices which can level cities. If nations are permitted to own and control such power, no system of control or inspection can be more effective than the good faith, intentions, and motives of the nations possessing such power. That is why the United Nations plan provides for an international cooperative to take over all such dangerous materials and facilities and to make sure that they are used for peaceful purposes only. Because nuclear fuel can be converted so easily and almost instantaneously into bombs, the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union would be wholly ineffective as a means of control.

The Soviet representative gave a startling confirmation of this yesterday.

The United States has not overlooked or neglected the peaceful side of atomic energy, even though we have not attempted anything so spectacular as mountain-moving. For example, for some time the United States Atomic Energy Commission has been distributing, either free or at very low cost, isotopes for medical and research purposes to any and all countries which desire them. To date, I believe some 30 countries have received shipments. Soviet scientists are offered the same opportunities that have been given scientists of other countries, providing they comply with the conditions applicable to all. These conditions merely call for a collective and open sharing of scientific results and developments. What is the Soviet Union doing to share the knowledge of the peaceful uses it has developed?

U.S.S.R. Statement

Yesterday the Soviet representative made frequent and disparaging references to the statement by representatives of Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States on the consultations of the six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission. The closing words of that statement are so opposite to our discussion that I am impelled to bring them again to the attention of the Committee:

> It appears from these consultations that, as in the past the Soviet Union will not negotiate except on the basis of the principles set forth in the Soviet proposals of June 1947.
>
> The essential points in the Soviet control proposals, and the reasons for their rejection by the other five Powers as brought out in the consultations, are as follows:
>
> The Soviet Union proposes that nations should continue to own explosive atomic materials.
>
> The other five powers feel that under such condition there would be no effective protection against the sudden use of these materials as atomic weapons.
>
> The Soviet Union proposes that nations continue, as at present, to own, operate, and manage facilities making or using dangerous quantities of such materials.
>
> The other five powers believe that under such conditions it would be impossible to detect or prevent the diversion of such materials for use in atomic weapons.
>
> The Soviet Union proposes a system of control depending on periodic inspection of facilities the existence of which the national government concerned reports to the international agency supplemented by special investigations on suspicion of treaty violations.
>
> The other five Powers believe that periodic inspection would not prevent the diversion of dangerous materials and the special investigations envisaged would be wholly insufficient to prevent clandestine activities.
>
> Other points of difference, including Soviet insistence on the right to veto the recommendations of the International Control Agency, have not yet been discussed in the consultations.
>
> These consultations have not yet succeeded in bringing about agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the other five Powers, but they have served to clarify some of the points on which there is disagreement.

It is apparent that there is a fundamental difference not only on methods but also on aims. All of the Sponsoring Powers other than the U.S.S.R. put world security first and are prepared to accept innovations in traditional concepts of international cooperation, national sovereignty, and economic organization where these are necessary for security. The Government of the U.S.S.R. puts its sovereignty first and is unwilling to accept measures which may impinge upon or interfere with its rigid exercise of unimpeded state sovereignty.

If this fundamental difference could be overcome, other differences which have hitherto appeared unsurmountable could be seen in true perspective, and reasonable ground might be found for their adjustment.

The correctness of every word of this statement was demonstrated by the speech of the Soviet representative yesterday.

U.S. Supports French-Canadian Resolution

Obviously, we must continue our efforts to resolve these differences. I am sure we can all agree on that. The question is where and how. The debate in this Committee has confirmed our conviction that the best way to do this is to carry forward the consultations of the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with the terms of the resolution introduced by France and Canada. I renew the pledge I made a few days ago that we in the United States, with a deep sense of humility in the face of this problem, are prepared to continue to do our full part in meeting the challenge of atomic energy. We are prepared to consider sympathetically any proposals or suggestions looking to a satisfactory solution. The efforts to resolve these differences must continue, and we, for our part, are ready to continue.

Discussion of the Greek Case in the General Assembly

Statement by Benjamin V. Cohen, U.S. Alternate Representative[1]

The Greek case is now before the Assembly for he third time.

This case arises from the aid given by the northrn neighbors of Greece to Greek guerrillas in their fforts to overthrow the existing Greek Governnent. That aid the Assembly has twice found was iven contrary to the Charter and constituted a hreat to the territorial integrity and political inlependence of Greece.

The Cominform countries have opposed the acion taken by the Assembly in its last two sessions nd oppose the action now recommended by the olitical Committee. They have taken the posiion that the Greek case arises from the policies of he Greek Government and the aid extended to hat government by the United States and the Jnited Kingdom. They insist that peace between reece and her northern neighbors can come only rough measures of internal pacification in Greece nd the cessation of aid to the Greek Government rom the West.

The position of the Cominform countries igores many facts of the present and many facts f the recent past. These facts clearly disclose at the activities of the Cominform countries ave been an obstacle and not a help to the restoation of peace on a democratic basis in Greece. et us briefly examine the record.

[1] Released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the eneral Assembly on Nov. 17, 1949.

Liberation Government and the EAM

The difficulties in Greece go back to the struggle in the winter of 1944–45 between the Liberation Government of Greece and EAM, the Greek Communist popular-front organization created during the Axis occupation. EAM viciously attacked the Liberation Government as being collaborationist, monarcho-Fascist, undemocratic, and sought by force to overthrow it. Supporters of the government charged the Communists as being more pro-Soviet than Greek and recalled that the Communist leaders had shown little interest in the defense of Greek freedom until the Soviet Union was attacked. The struggle led to many excesses and much bitterness. The bitterness was exacerbated by the widespread feeling in Greece, which subsequent events clearly confirmed, that the Communists were more concerned to seize power on behalf of the Soviet-dominated world Communist movement than to restore it to the Greek people. That does not, however, mean that all those working with the EAM were so motivated. There were patriotic Greeks who had cooperated with EAM during the Axis occupation because of the active part the Communists had taken in the resistance movement.

The hostilities of 1944–45 were terminated shortly after the appointment of the greatly respected Archbishop Damaskinos as regent by an armistice agreement, known as the Varkiza agreement, concluded on February 12, 1945, between

the Greek Government and EAM. The agreement provided for a broad amnesty, the disarmament of the regular Communist forces, a plebiscite on the monarchy, and an election under international supervision. Following the armistice, there were complaints from the start by both sides concerning truce violations. The Communists demanded an immediate election. There was a revival of bitter attacks upon the Government accompanied by the recurrence of guerrilla operations.

In the winter of 1945–46 when conditions were still tense within Greece, the Soviet Union sought through the Security Council to have the remaining British military forces withdrawn from Greece. The Government of Greece appeared before the Council and stated that the British troops were in Greece at its request and that their presence there was necessary to the maintenance of public order and to prevent the renewal of civil war. The Security Council refused to request the withdrawal of the British forces.

Parliamentary Elections

During the winter of 1945–46, the Greek Government began preparations for parliamentary elections and asked that the four great powers observe these elections as contemplated by the Yalta and Varkiza agreement. Britain, France, and the United States responded to this request, but the Soviet Union refused on the ground that international supervision of the election would constitute an interference in the internal affairs of Greece. Thereupon, the Greek Communists also shifted their line and opposed the holding of the election. Some of the center parties opposed the holding of the election, fearing that the bitter feeling in the country against the Communists would react in favor of the more conservative parties. But the Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, and the Government insisted that a free election was necessary for the maintenance of the authority of the Government, and, despite the Communist boycott, the election was held on March 31, 1946.

The election of 1946 was held under the close scrutiny of more than 1,000 American, British, and French observers. The Allied Mission to observe the Greek election estimated that the proportion of qualified voters who abstained for "party reasons" was about 15 percent. The Allied Mission in its report concluded:

> That notwithstanding the present political emotions in Greece conditions were such as to warrant the holding of elections, that the election proceedings were on the whole free and fair, and that the general outcome represents a true and valid verdict of the Greek people.

Though the election of 1946, like most elections, may not have been a perfect register of the popular will or of the comparative strength of different parties, it did afford a much freer expression of the popular will than was afforded in any of the postwar elections in other countries of southeastern Europe. The election did unquestionably give convincing proof that the Communist popular-front groups did not enjoy the confidence of the Greek people and in no way represented the Greek people as a whole.

The Communists were unwilling to accept the election or to confine their struggle with their political opponents to peaceful political opposition. Guerrilla warfare did not cease but increased. The interest of the Cominform countries in the guerrilla activities was scarcely concealed. In the summer of 1946, the Ukraine brought charges in the Security Council that Greek policy was disturbing the peace in the Balkans. The Security Council, apparently regarding this as a case of the pot calling the kettle black, refused to intervene.

It soon became evident that the guerrilla activities were being supported and aided by the northern neighbors of Greece, not sporadically or casually, but actively and deliberately in accordance with an internationally concerted Communist plan. It was then, in December 1946, that the Greek Government drew the attention of the Security Council to the danger to the peace arising from the assistance being given by Greece's northern neighbors to the Greek guerrillas.

Appeal for American Aid

It was in March 1947, that the Greek Government first appealed to the United States Government for material aid in maintaining her political independence and territorial integrity. American assistance from the start not only was conditioned on the continuing consent of the Greek Government, but was also expressly made subject to termination whenever the Security Council or General Assembly should find that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations made the continuance of American assistance unnecessary or undesirable. And what is more, we expressly waived our right of veto should the question of American assistance come before the Security Council.

American aid was extended to Greece, as American lend-lease aid was extended to other Allies during the war, to protect our common interest in the preservation of freedom in the world. It will be recalled that the United States extended more than 50 billion dollars' worth in lend-lease to our Allies during the war, and more than a billion of that amount went to the Soviet Union. That aid safeguarded and did not compromise the independence of the Soviet Union or of any of the other Allies. American aid has not been used and will not be used to compromise the independence of Greece.

American aid to Greece has not been given to support any particular party or faction. Our aid

as been given to safeguard the independence of reece from the efforts of the Cominform to mpose the Communist system by force upon the eople of Greece. This is its sole purpose. Ameri-an aid to Greece does not threaten the legitimate nterests in Greece of any foreign power, nor does t in any way threaten the security of Greece's orthern neighbors or of any other power. No merican combat troops have ever been sent to reece, and there is not a single American military, aval, or air base in the country.

The investigations of the Security Council con-rmed the facts regarding the activities of the ominform countries in support of the Greek uerrillas, but the Council was unable to act ecause of the Soviet veto. It was then in the all of 1947 that the United States first brought ie Greek case to the attention of the General ssembly.

eneral Assembly Action

Both in 1947 and 1948, the General Assembly ound that the aid given to the Greek guerrillas y the northern neighbors of Greece was a threat the peace and a violation of the Charter. In 947, the General Assembly created the Special ommittee on the Balkans for purposes of observa-on and conciliation and in 1948, continued the mmittee with special stress upon its conciliatory inctions. This year the Political Committee ecommends to the Assembly that the Assembly gain condemn the aid being given to the Greek ierrillas in violation of the Charter, particularly y Albania and Bulgaria, and ask that such aid terminated. Meanwhile it recommends that the ssembly call upon all states to cease all arms ipments to Albania and Bulgaria and to take to account in their relations with such states the tent to which they abide by the recommenda-ons of the Assembly. The Political Committee so recommends that the Assembly continue the pecial Committee for another year.

The Political Committee further recommends at the Assembly call upon the northern neigh-rs of Greece harboring Greek nationals as a re-lt of guerrillas' operations against Greece to cilitate the peaceful repatriation of all such dividuals who wish to return and live in ac-rdance with the law of the land. The recom-endation expressly refers to peaceful repatria-n and does not suggest that any individual be quired to return who does not wish to return. ie Political Committee also recommends that the ssembly authorize the Secretary-General to ar-nge through the Special Committee or other propriate United Nations or international agen-s the extension of any feasible assistance to the vernments concerned in making and carrying t arrangements for the repatriation to Greece or resettlement elsewhere of Greek guerrillas and other Greek nationals who have been involved in the guerrilla warfare. It is our hope now that the struggle between the guerrillas and the Greek Government has abated and that the Special Committee or the Red Cross or some other international group may, with the cooperation of Greece and her northern neighbors, arrange for the repatriation to Greece or their resettlement elsewhere of the Greek nationals who have been involved in the guerrilla warfare. . . .

Attitude of Cominform States

The Cominform states have talked loud and long in the committee about a so-called terror in Greece. One cannot but express the hope that these states may in their own countries move toward those ideals of tolerance for dissident groups that they have preached with such eloquence to the Greeks. The Greek Government has had a good reason, as I have shown, to suspect that the Cominform's interest in Greece has not always been an interest in Greek freedom or Greek tolerance. The Greeks have had good reason to suspect the Cominform bearing gifts.

The epithets and imprecations which we heard hurled at the Government of Greece by the speakers from the Cominform countries in the Political Committee seemed more calculated to stir the Greek Government to reprisals than to move it to mercy and greater tolerance. The storm and fury of the Cominform spokesmen contrasted so markedly with the dignity and restraint displayed by the Greek representatives under the most grave and unwarranted provocations.

There is no iron curtain between the Greek stage and world opinion. The members of this Assembly are, therefore, informed as to the true state of affairs inside Greece from their own diplomatic representatives and their own nationals, official or otherwise, who are free to travel in Greece where they choose. The members of this Assembly are thus aware that if conditions in Greece are somewhat less than perfect, this fact is primarily the legacy of a cruel occupation and the fruit of the bitter guerrilla warfare fomented and supported by Greece's Cominform neighbors.

There have been no executions in Greece since the announcement of the leniency legislation on September 30. There have been, however, in the meantime, a number of reports of executions and death sentences in the Cominform countries. The violent remarks of the delegations of the Cominform countries seem almost calculated to goad the Greek government to follow the Cominform's own pattern of terror. We cannot accept the Cominform's pleas for the blanket repeal of death sentences in Greece, while Greek independence is still threatened, as bona fide pleas for mercy and greater tolerance.

The effect of the remarks of the Cominform delegations in the Political Committee, whatever

their intention, was not to further peace in Greece or peace between Greece and her northern neighbors. The effect of their remarks was to incite and revive efforts to overthrow the Greek Government, in line with past Cominform policy. Their pleas seemed designed to stir up passions and even to incite to further violence the extremists on both sides of the languishing hostilities in Greece.

The way to bring about conditions of good will and tolerance in Greece is to stop civil warmongering. Armed rebellion always calls forth stringent security measures to maintain law and order. Armed rebellion usually strengthens the more extreme elements on both sides of the conflict.

We are truly concerned to see an era of good feeling inaugurated in Greece which will permit the free expression of opinion in free elections and greater freedom in all other aspects of Greek life. But the way to bring about such an era of good feeling, amnesty, and tolerance is to remove the threats to the territorial integrity and political independence of Greece.

Whatever may be the shortcomings of the Greek Government, we cannot support the proposals made by the Soviet Union in the Political Committee which are based on the assumption which in our judgment is contrary to the facts that external threats to Greek independence arise from the repressive measures of the Greek Government. It is our view that the stringent security measures in Greece, concerning which the Soviet Union complains, are a direct result of the external threats to Greek independence. We believe that those measures will and certainly should be relaxed and eliminated when the external threats to Greek independence are removed.

Some of the Cominform delegations have also insisted that the difficulties between Greece and her northern neighbors are due to aggressive territorial designs of Greece. Such a suggestion is in our judgment without the slightest basis in fact. The observations conducted by the Special Committee over the last 2 years reveal that, while there have been some minor and unavoidable frontier violations on the part of Greece in repulsing guerrilla fighting along the frontier, there is no evidence whatsoever of aggressive designs by Greece upon the territory of her northern neighbors. Following the war, Greece did claim the right to submit to the Council of Foreign Ministers certain historic claims. But Greece has repeatedly declared that she does not seek any change in her frontiers except by peaceful means. Greece has made it clear to the Conciliation Committee that she will respect her Charter obligations and that she will unqualifiedly accept the Conciliation Committee's suggestion that she and her northern neighbors agree not to use force or the threat of force to change existing boundaries. . . .

The Greek case continues to occupy the attention of the Assembly not because of any aggressive designs on the part of Greece, but because of the continued intermeddling of Greece's northern neighbors in the internal affairs of Greece. . . .

Danger in Balkans Reduced

Thanks, however, to the courage of the Greeks and to the support given to Greece by states which do respect the Charter and the recommendations of the General Assembly, the danger to peace in the Balkans has been substantially reduced. It has even been announced that the guerrilla forces have temporarily grounded their arms. That does not mean that vigilance on the part of the United Nations is not necessary to see that that they do not again take up their arms. It is, however, happily becoming apparent that the Charter and the recommendations of the General Assembly cannot be treated as if they were mere scraps of paper.

The Special Committee on the Balkans has also reported that one of Greece's northern neighbors which in the past has contributed substantial aid to the Greek guerrillas has virtually stopped that aid. That action is significant not only for its bearing on the Greek case, but it is, I think, also significant of a growing appreciation among states that those who wish the protection of the United Nations must respect the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter and the considered opinions of the Assembly regarding the fulfillment of those purposes and principles. . . .

Let us hope that more and more states are coming to realize that they have an interest in the observance of the Charter even though their own immediate interests are not involved, or even though their immediate interests may be adversely affected. Let us hope that our common interest in the Charter as an instrument of law, of freedom and of peace will unite us in defense of the Charter.

For the reasons I have explained, the United States delegation will support the proposals recommended by the Political Committee and will vote against the Soviet proposals.

Greek Children

Before closing, I should like to add only a few words regarding the resolution on the Greek children. . . . The Political Committee has unanimously recommended that the Assembly again urge all states harboring Greek children to cooperate with the International Red Cross to arrange for the early return of these children to their homes. It is the hope of the United States delegation that the Assembly without dissent will make this appeal on behalf of the Greek children and that all states concerned will act promptly to carry out this humanitarian task.

[November 19–25]

General Assembly

With Committee action on many of its agenda items completed by this tenth week of the General Assembly, there were 10 plenary sessions during the week to consider the Committee reports.

Greece.—On November 18 the Assembly approved the two resolutions on the Greek border question recommended by the Political Committee. The first of the approved resolutions asks the states concerned (Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania) to cease rendering any assistance to the Greek guerrillas; recommends that all United Nations members and other states refrain from action designed to assist any armed group fighting against Greece and from direct or indirect provision of arms or other materials to Albania and Bulgaria until the United Nations has determined that the unlawful assistance of these states to Greek guerrillas has ceased; and continues the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. The second resolution urges all United Nations members and others harboring Greek children to make all necessary arrangements for their early return to their homes and asks the International Red Cross to report on progress being made in the return of the children.

Italian Colonies.—The Assembly on November 21 approved by a large majority the plan for disposal of Italy's former colonies in North Africa recommended by the Political Committee. Briefly, it provides that Libya made up of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan "shall be constituted an independent and sovereign state" as soon as possible and in any case not later than January 1, 1952; independence for Somaliland 10 years from the date of the approval of the trusteeship agreement by the General Assembly, unless at the end of that period the General Assembly decides otherwise, under Italian trusteeship in the interim period with an advisory council composed of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines; and for Eritrea, a United Nations Commission of Investigation composed of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa, to recommend a solution by June 15, 1950.

United States representative, Philip C. Jessup, told the Assembly that he regarded the resolution as one of the most gratifying achievements of this or any session of the General Assembly and hoped this example would encourage the reference of similar problems to the United Nations when narrower means of negotiation failed.

Field Service.—On November 22, the Assembly adopted by a large majority two resolutions relating to the establishment of a United Nations field service. The first notes the Secretary-General's intention to establish a field service of not more than 300 persons to perform protective, administrative, and service functions with United Nations missions. The second requests the Secretary-General to establish a list of qualified individuals to constitute a "Panel of Field Observers" to perform observation and supervisory duties with field missions.

Membership.—With approval of the 11 resolutions recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, the General Assembly on November 22 completed action on the item concerning admission of new members of the United Nations. Nine resolutions request that the applications of Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Portugal, and Nepal be reconsidered by the Security Council. Another resolution proposed that an advisory opinion be requested from the International Court of Justice on whether in the absence of a favorable recommendation from the Security Council the General Assembly can admit an applicant to membership. The eleventh resolution called upon the permanent members of the Security Council to refrain from the use of the veto in the consideration of membership applications. A Soviet proposal for blanket approval of 13 applicants (except Korea) was rejected.

United States representative, John S. Cooper, in supporting the approved resolutions, said that absolute universality was not applicable in this question, since consideration of Charter requirements on an individual basis was imperative. No member had the authority to condition the admission of an applicant on the acceptance of another. Tracing the reasons for United States opposition to the Soviet-sponsored candidates (Albania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Hungary, and Rumania), he maintained the matter was up to these countries, although the Soviet Union would

use its "undoubted influence" to persuade these nations "so to conduct themselves as to qualify for membership." Mr. Cooper recalled that consistent Security Council and General Assembly majorities had favored admission of the other nine applicants and maintained there was real discrimination in the Soviet position of obstructing the majority will.

Atomic Energy.—After prolonged debate both in the Political Committee and the Plenary, the General Assembly decided, on November 23, to request the six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission to continue their consultations with a view to determining whether they might reach agreement, to keep the Atomic Energy Commission and the Assembly informed, and to ask all nations to join in mutual agreement to limit exercise of the rights of sovereignty in reference to atomic energy control to the extent required for promotion of world security and peace. The vote was 49 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with 3 abstentions (Yugoslavia, Israel, and South Africa). The Soviet resolution, rejected earlier by the Political Committee, was defeated. It blamed the United States and United Kingdom for atomic control deadlock, made similar accusations in connection with the six-power consultations, and instructed the Atomic Energy Commission to begin work immediately on preparation of prohibition and control conventions to enter into force simultaneously.

Before conclusion of the general debate, United States representative, John D. Hickerson, and the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, and Canada defended the majority control plan of the Atomic Energy Commission as the only effective one, while the Soviet representatives renewed charges about United States-United Kingdom monopolists and aggressive designs. In a reference to the "Kuomintang" representative, Andrei Vyshinsky argued that the Chinese Communists constituted the only legal government in China but said he was not submitting the question "now" of depriving the present delegation of its General Assembly seat.

Other Plenary Action.—On November 22, the Assembly voted to continue indefinitely the Interim Committee, with only the Soviet bloc opposed. On November 24, the plenary approved seven reports submitted by the Administrative Committee, including appointments to fill vacancies in the Committee on Contributions and other subsidiary organs of the General Assembly; the resolution relative to the Secretary-General's report on the permanent headquarters; the statute for the establishment of an Administrative Tribunal to hear and pass judgment on applications from United Nations staff members alleging nonobservance of the terms of their employment contracts. Also approved were the five draft resolutions designed to improve coordination between the United Nations and specialized agencies.

Political Committee

Essentials of Peace.—After prolonged debate, the Committee rejected on November 25 the Soviet proposal condemning the preparations of the United States and United Kingdom for a new war, outlawing the atomic bomb, and proposing a five-power pact for the strengthening of peace. The Committee adopted the counterproposal of the United States and United Kingdom which lays down the "Essentials of Peace." The vote was 53 to 5 (Slav states) with Yugoslavia abstaining.

Ad Hoc Political Committee

Arms Census.—The Committee, on Novembe 19, approved the proposals of the Commission fo Conventional Armaments, presented in a join Franco-Norwegian resolution, which provides fo a world-wide census on conventional armament and armed forces and verification of the data The Commission for Convention Armaments wil be asked to continue to study the question.

Palestine.—The Palestine Conciliation Commis sion initiated Committee debate November 24 o the draft statute for the City of Jerusalem United States Deputy Representative, John C Ross, said that his delegation supported the pro posal as reflecting the objective of "the estab lishment of an international regime for Jerusalem which will take fully into account the principl of maximum local autonomy and the interests o the international community."

Other Items

The Security Council on November 18, meetin for the first time since October 25, took note of th report of the United Nations Commission fo Indonesia on the round-table conference at Th Hague but deferred substantive discussion penc ing distribution of the appendixes to the repor The General Assembly's Social Committee, o November 21, adopted a resolution which co gratulates the United Nations International Chi dren's Emergency Fund for its European an Middle East activities now being extended to Asi Latin America, and Africa, noted the existenc of children's needs arising out of war and othe calamities, and drew members' attention to th need for further contributions.

Second Session of North Atlantic Council

DEFENSE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The North Atlantic Council convened today in Washington in its second session. The Council considered and approved a report of the Working Group on the establishment of a "Defense Financial and Economic Committee" under the North Atlantic Treaty, as follows:

I

1. In accordance with the decision of the North Atlantic Council on September 17, 1949, and in further implementation of Article 9 of the Treaty, there is hereby established a Defense Financial and Economic Committee. It shall be responsible for advising the Council on the financial and economic aspects of measures for the defense of the North Atlantic area.

II

The following general provisions shall govern the operation of the Defense Financial and Economic Committee:

1. The Defense Financial and Economic Committee shall be composed of a representative at a ministerial or similarly high level of responsibility from each signatory country. It shall report directly to the North Atlantic Council. It shall consult with the Defense Committee as appropriate.

2. The Committee and any subordinate bodies which it may set up shall establish and maintain close working relations with the North Atlantic military organization, and particularly the Military Production and Supply Board. The Committee or its subordinate bodies shall provide them with guidance on all relevant economic and financial factors; shall obtain from them information on those requirements of defense programs which are relevant to the consideration of economic and financial questions; and shall provide them with guidance on financial and economic arrangements to meet the requirements of defense programs.

3. The Defense Financial and Economic Committee is, in particular, responsible to the North Atlantic Council for the performance of the following functions, having regard for the principle of self-help and mutual aid in the field of military production and supply, and for the primary importance of economic recovery and continued economic stability:

(1) To develop in cooperation with the Military Committee (including the Standing Group) and the Military Production and Supply Board overall financial and economic guides to and limits of future defense programs, including military production programs, which NAT countries as a group and individually should undertake within available financial and economic resources.

(2) To appraise the financial and economic impact on member countries of major individual defense projects formulated by the Military Production and Supply Board or the Military Committee (including the Standing Group), including consideration of financing problems and availability of raw materials, capital equipment, and manpower, and, on basis of such review, make recommendations as to action on such projects.

(3) To recommend financial arrangements for executing military defense plans, and particularly financial arrangements for the interchange among NAT countries of military equipment, surplus stocks, or materials and equipment to be used in producing military equipment.

(4) To measure and to recommend steps to meet the foreign exchange costs of imports of materials and equipment from non-member countries required by defense programs under the NAT.

(5) To consider, as may be found desirable and appropriate, plans for the mobilization of economic and financial resources in time of emergency.

4. The Committee may delegate to any Regional Defense Financial and Economic Committee which may be established by the Governments of a Region any of its functions which, in its judgment, can be better performed by regional committees. Actions of regional committees under such delegations shall be under the general guidance of, and in accordance with the general policies laid down by the North Atlantic Committee, and shall be subject to its coordination and review.

5. The Committee shall provide itself with such subordinate bodies and staff assistance as may be necessary to carry out its functions. In particular, there shall be a permanent working staff in London, composed of qualified personnel representing interested countries, to carry on the day-to-day work of the Committee and to which the Committee may delegate such of its functions as it deems appropriate. The Committee shall have a Secretary, with suitable assistance, to perform secretarial and administrative functions.

6. The Committee shall meet at such times and places as may be required. Its secretariat and working staff shall be located in London. The Committee shall decide its own rules of procedure. Chairmanship shall be held in turn by the parties according to the alphabetical order in the English language beginning with the United States. Each party shall hold the office for one year. If any party does not wish to accept the Chairmanship, it shall pass to the next party in alphabetical order.

DIRECTIVE TO THE MILITARY PRODUCTION AND SUPPLY BOARD

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The Council took note of and approved the action of the Defense Committee in establishing a "Military Production and Supply Board." The Military Production and Supply Board has already met in London in its first session and has initiated a work program which was summarized in a communiqué issued in London on November 2.

The Council approved the directive issued by the Defense Committee in establishing the Military Production and Supply Board.

I

1. In accordance with the decision of the North Atlantic Council on September 17, 1949, and in furtherance of Article 9 of the Treaty, there is hereby established a Military Production and Supply Board.

II

The following general provisions shall govern the operation of the North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board:

1. The North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board shall be composed of a representative at the subministerial level from each signatory country. It shall report directly to the Defense Committee.

2. The Board shall establish and maintain close working relations with the appropriate military bodies set up under the Defense Committee. It shall look to them for information on military requirements and work with them to insure that, in so far as feasible, the military production and procurement program supports defense plans effectively. The Board shall also work in close coordination with the military bodies on the promotion of standardization of parts and end products of military equipment, and provide them with technical advice on the production and development of new or improved weapons. To facilitate the fullest cooperation and exchange of information between them on matters of joint interest, the Board shall establish and direct a suitably representative liaison group on a working level in Washington to work with the Standing Group.

3. The Board shall maintain close working relations with the finance and economic machinery to be established by the Council, and look to it for guidance on all relevant economic and financial factors.

4. The North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board is responsible to the Defense Committee for the performance of the following functions, having regard for the principle of self-help and mutual aid in the field of military production and supply.

a. The review of the military supply situation on the basis of data to be secured from the appropriate military bodies on military matériel requirements and on the current availability of military matériel to meet such requirements.

b. The recommendation to the Defense Committee of ways and means of increasing available supplies where they fall short of requirements either from production, surplus equipment or equipment economically capable of rehabilitation. In preparing such recommendations, account shall be taken of strategic factors, of physical capabilities of individual countries to produce military matériel, of the importance of securing maximum efficiency and integration of production, and of the guidance furnished by the finance and economic machinery with respect to financial and economic considerations.

c. The promotion of more efficient methods for producing military equipment and of the standardization of parts and end products of military equipment, including conservation in the use of strategic and critical materials, and including ad

ice to the appropriate military bodies on the pro-
luction problems involved in proposed new weap-
ns or modifications in existing weapons.

5. The Board may delegate to any Regional
Supply Board which may be established by the
Governments of a Region any of its functions
which in its judgment, can be better performed by
egional boards. Actions of regional boards un-
er such delegations shall be under the general
uidance of and in accordance with the general
olicies laid down by the North Atlantic Board,
nd shall be subject to its coordination and review.

6. The Board shall provide itself with such
ubordinate bodies and staff assistance as may be
ecessary to carry out its functions. In particu-
ar, there shall be, in addition to the liaison group
n Washington, referred to in paragraph 2, a per-
nanent working staff in London, composed of
ualified personnel representing interested coun-
ies, to carry on the day-to-day work of the Board.
he Board shall have a Secretary, with suitable
ssistance, to perform secretarial and administra-
ve functions.

7. The Board shall meet at such times and places as may be required. Its secretariat and working staff shall be located in London. The Board shall decide its own rules of procedure. Chairmanship shall be held in turn by the parties according to the alphabetical order in the English language beginning with the United States. Each party shall hold the office for one year. If any party does not wish to accept the Chairmanship, it is passed to the next party in alphabetical order.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY ACHESON

[*Released to the press November 16*]

The North Atlantic Council will hold its second session in Washington on Friday, November 18, at the Department of State. I will represent the United States in my capacity as Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, and it is expected that the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty will be represented by their diplomatic representatives in Washington. The Council will consider reports from the Defense Committee and the Working Group on the Military Production and Supply Board, and a Defense Financial and Economic Committee, respectively.

hird Round of Tariff Negotiations Under GATT

Released to the press November 10]

The United States will participate next year in "third round" of negotiations for mutual tariff nd other trade-barrier reductions which has been greed upon by the contracting parties to the Gen-al Agreement on Tariffs and Trade concluded Geneva in 1947. These negotiations will open late September 1950 at a site to be determined February 1950 by the contracting parties to the greement.

The proposed negotiations will be a significant rward step in United States economic foreign olicy. They will be a direct development of the ans announced by the President and the Secre-ry of State for pressing ahead with the trade-greements program which was renewed by ongress this year for the sixth time. They will in line with the 1949 tariff negotiations at nnecy, France, the General Agreement of 1947 nd the preceding bilateral reciprocal trade agree-ents entered into by the United States. They ill likewise be in accord with other programs nich this country has undertaken to help solve e American balance-of-payment problem and e foreign-dollar shortage. They will help this country carry out its functions as a creditor nation in the world economy by opening United States doors more widely to imports and thereby helping to close the wide gap between United States exports on the one hand and United States imports on the other. Lowering or removing unnecessary barriers which keep out foreign goods needed and wanted by this country's industries and consumers will make it easier for other countries to pay for their purchases of American products, purchases which help to keep our farms and factories in operation.

The principal purpose of the forthcoming meeting will be to afford opportunity for further tariff concessions between the original 23 contracting parties to the General Agreement and between them and the countries which are expected to become contracting parties as a result of the recent Annecy negotiations. In addition, a number of "new" countries may negotiate for the purpose of accession to the Agreement. Inquiries have been sent to various countries asking whether they would be interested in participating in the 1950 negotiations. Countries which indicate such an interest will be announced later.

The forthcoming United States negotiations, either with parties to the Agreement or with "new" countries, will be carried on under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended, and under the procedure set up by executive order for conducting the trade-agreements program. According to present plans, public notice of intention to negotiate at the 1950 meeting will be given in the spring of 1950 and will be accompanied by a list of products on which the United States will consider making tariff concessions.

Foreign Ministers Meet in London

[*Released to the press November 4*]

When Messrs. Schuman, Bevin, and Acheson met in Washington, they agreed it would be desirable for the three of them to meet fairly frequently to discuss problems of common interest. During this week OEEC and the Council of Europe completed meetings in Paris where important matters were discussed. In addition the German Federal Republic has recently been established and is now operating, and the Atlantic Treaty machinery has been set up and is functioning. It would seem that these events make further discussion among the three profitable at this time. Therefore, the three Foreign Ministers have decided to meet in Paris for a 2-day meeting during the week commencing November 7.

Ministers End Conference at Paris

Communiqué

The Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France ended their conference in Paris on November 11, with an agreement on measures necessary to preserve and consolidate the peace of Europe and the world.

At the meetings, which opened November 9, the Ministers met to examine and discuss common problems. The Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands joined them on November 11 for the consideration of matters particularly affecting the interests of these three countries.

At the conclusion of the meetings, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France issued the following communiqué:

"At the meeting in Paris, the three Foreign Ministers were conscious of the heavy responsibility placed upon them to preserve and consolidate the peace of Europe and the world. They desire to assert their determination to meet this responsibility with both firmness and humanity; firmness in their resolve that no country shall be permitted to menace the peace and security of its neighbors, humanity in their recognition that a lasting peace can only be found in a closer association of the peoples of the world. Since both the great world wars sprang from a militaristic spirit emanating from within Germany, and since the countries represented by the Foreign Ministers are in occupation of German territory, it was natural that their consideration of the problem of peace in Europe should have been directed largely toward Germany's relation to Europe, the situation in Germany, and their policy in respect of Germany.

"The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their policy as expressed in the occupation statute of giving to the Federal Republic a wide area of free determination in the conduct of German affairs, an area which under the statute would grow wider as the administration of the Federal Republic gave confidence that it was proceeding towards the establishment of a free, democratic, and peaceful Germany. At the same time, the Ministers considered it appropriate to support and foster the progressive integration of the German people into the European community. These decisions were based on the expectation of the Ministers that the Government of the German Federal Republic would give further evidence of its pacific intentions and of its sincere desire to associate itself with those nations devoted to the cause of democracy, justice under law, and peace. Consequently the three Foreign Ministers have given the High Commissioners certain instructions and powers which will permit them to achieve the aims indicated above."

Pakistan and Burma Become Members of Far Eastern Commission

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The representatives of the Far Eastern Commission on November 17, 1949, welcomed the Ambassadors of Pakistan and Burma as new members to the Commission. The Government of the United States has long recognized that the participation of Pakistan and Burma in the war against Japan and the increasingly important role that these newly established states are playing in the United Nations and in southern Asia entitled them to membership in the FEC. The Government of the United States is gratified that all the participating governments of the FEC have now agreed to the admission of Pakistan and Burma to the Far Eastern Commission.

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

Fifth Session of Food and Agriculture Conference

The Department of State announced on November 19 that the President has appointed Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, as United States member and chairman of the United States delegation to the fifth session of the annual conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. This meeting is scheduled to open at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C., on November 21. Named by the President to serve as alternate United States members were: Albert J. Loveland, Under Secretary of Agriculture, and Durward V. Sandifer, Deputy Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, Department of State. Named to serve as associate United States members were: Stanley Andrews, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture; Philip V. Cardon, Administrator, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture; John W. Evans, Chief, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State; and Ralph S. Roberts, Director, Office of Budget and Finance, Department of Agriculture.

The President has also appointed the following five Congressional advisers to the delegation: Olin D. Johnston, United States Senate; Milton R. Young, United States Senate; Harold D. Cooley, House of Representatives; Clifford R. Hope, House of Representatives; and Victor Wickersham, House of Representatives.

Other members of the United States delegation announced are as follows:

Advisers

Edward W. Allen, United States Commissioner, International Fisheries Commission and International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission
Andrew W. Anderson, Chief, Branch of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior
Hugh H. Bennett, Chief, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture
Persia Campbell, Vice Chairman, National Association of Consumers
Charles R. Carry, Director, Fishery Products Division, National Canners Association
William W. Chandler, Assistant to the Under Secretary, Department of Agriculture
Wilbert M. Chapman, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, Department of State
John H. Davis, Executive Secretary, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
Paul D. Dickens, Chief, International Statistics Division, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury
Foster F. Elliott, Associate Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture
James C. Foster, Acting Chief, Commodities Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
Stanley B. Fracker, Research Coordinator, Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture
Tom Gill, Society of American Foresters
Albert S. Goss, Master, The National Grange
Keith Himebaugh, Director, Office of Information, Department of Agriculture
George M. Ingram, Chief, Division of International Administration, Department of State
Charles E. Jackson, General Manager, National Fisheries Institute
Francis A. Linville, Economic Resources and Security Staff, Department of State
John C. Lynn, Assistant Legislative Director, American Farm Bureau Federation
Loring K. Macy, Acting Director, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce
William H. Martin, National Association of Land Grant Colleges
William A. Minor, Jr., Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Agriculture
Wesley R. Nelson, Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior
James G. Patton, President, National Farmers' Union
Fred J. Rossiter, Associate Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture
Robert B. Schwenger, Chief, Regional Investigations Branch, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture
Hazel K. Stiebeling, Chief, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, Department of Agriculture
Jewell W. Swofford, Federal Security Agency
Ralph S. Trigg, Administrator, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture
Lyle F. Watts, Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
Oris V. Wells, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture
Faith M. Williams, Chief, Division of Foreign Labor Conditions, Bureau of Labor Conditions, Department of Labor
Milburn L. Wilson, Director, Extension Service, Department of Agriculture

Technical Secretary

James O. Howard, Head, Division of Foreign Agricultural Information, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

Assistant Technical Secretary

Ursula Duffus, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Press Relations Officer

Patrick W. Condon, Office of Information, Department of Agriculture

Public Liaison Officers

Clara B. Ackerman, Extension Service, Department of Agriculture

Garland C. Routt, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State

Executive Secretary

Henry F. Nichol, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Administrative Officer

Malcolm Peake, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

The provisional agenda for the fifth session of the Conference includes: (1) general review of the world situation and outlook in food and agriculture and of developments since the fourth session, held in Washington, November 1948; (2) examination and report on agricultural commodity problems and national and international action needed to solve them; (3) study of a report concerning all financing facilities for agricultural development, the use being made of these facilities, and the nature of the demand for them; (4) consideration of FAO participation in the comprehensive United Nations program of technical assistance for economic development, and review of the actions taken so far by the United Nations and by FAO, respectively, to make suitable preparations for carrying out the program at such time as funds may be made available; (5) approval of FAO's program of work for the coming year; (6) study of and recommendations on a number of administrative and financial matters; and (7) decision on the permanent site of FAO headquarters.

It is expected that 58 FAO member countries and a number of intergovernmental organizations will be represented at the fifth session of the Conference. Several other countries have applied for membership, and their applications will be considered by the Conference.

ILO Metal Trades Committee

On November 8, the Department of State announced that the following delegation is representing the United States at the third session of the Metal Trades Committee of the International Labor Organization (ILO), meeting at Geneva, November 8–19, 1949:

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

Rev. Jerome L. Toner, O.S.B., public member, Minimum Wage Commission, State of Washington, Olympia, Wash.

Robert M. Weidenhammer, Office of Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce

Alternate Delegate

Harry M. Douty, chief, Division of Wage Analysis, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

WORKERS REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

James Brownlow, secretary-treasurer, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Taylor T. Buchanan, Editor, Moulders' *Journal*, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, Cincinnati, Ohio

EMPLOYERS REPRESENTATIVES

Delegate

George Romney, assistant to the president, Nash-Kelvinator Corporation, Detroit, Mich.

Alternate Delegate and Adviser

Harlan V. Hadley, manager, Washington Office, Automobile Manufacturers Association, Washington, D.C.

The agenda for the meeting includes: (1) a study of the problems of vocational training and promotion in the metal trades industry; (2) a study of the systems of wage calculation in the industry; and (3) a review of a general report dealing with actions taken by the countries members of the Committee or by the International Labor Office in the light of conclusions of previous sessions of the Committee.

The Metal Trades Committee is one of nine industrial committees established by the Governing Body of the ILO to implement the ILO objectives of improving international labor standards and promoting international cooperation in specific industries. The first session of the Metal Trades Committee was held at Toledo, Ohio, in 1946, and the second session at Stockholm, Sweden in 1947.

U.S. Observer to Rhine Boatmen Conference

On October 31, the Department of State announced that Alvin Roseman, United States representative for specialized agency affairs, Geneva, will represent the United States as an official observer at the International Labor Office (ILO) Special Tripartite Conference concerning Rhine boatmen. The Conference, scheduled to be held at Geneva, October 31–November 5, will bring together government employer and worker, representatives of the countries concerned with navigation on the Rhine River.

The purpose of this meeting is to consider draft conventions on social security and conditions of work for Rhine boatmen.

Arrangements have also been made through the Allied High Commission for Germany for a tripartite delegation from the German Federal Republic to attend the forthcoming meeting.

"Stop Communism" is Not Enough

THE PROBLEMS IN THE NEAR EAST, SOUTH ASIA, AND AFRICA

The slogan, "Stop Communism," is inadequate for action in the problem emerging today in international affairs, George C. McGhee said on November 19.

The Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, addressing the National Convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America at Chattanooga, Tennessee, spoke of the problem of "emerging independent states throughout the world which seek for their peoples the opportunity to live a freer and better life,—the problem of the growing realization among vast populations that they are not playing a role in international affairs commensurate with their material resources or their great human and spiritual qualities."[1]

Obstacles in Foreign Relations

There are two major obstacles, Mr. McGhee said, to the successful prosecution of American foreign policy.

There are two major obstacles, Mr. McGhee said, to the successful prosecution of American foreign policy. In dealing with these obstacles, he made particular reference to their impact on the area of his responsibility in the Department of State—the Affairs of that vast region comprising Africa, the Near East, and South Asia, including the Arab States and Israel; Greece, Turkey, and Iran; Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Ceylon, and Burma.

Mr. McGhee described this area as a territory of 7,450,000 square miles and one that is five times the area of the continental United States. It contains a population of 625,000,000 people, dispersed in 20 independent states and over 70 dependent territories that represent all phases of political and social evolution.

"The first major obstacle, which is tragically familiar to the world at large,—has often been described as the basic ideological conflict between communism and capitalism. But, to the practical mind,—and the American citizen is preeminently practical,—Marxist economic doctrine is clearly revealed as a front for the real conflict,—the struggle between the free world and the forces of Soviet imperialism. This brand of imperialism is new in its techniques but not in its objectives. By its actions during the past few years, Soviet imperialism has demonstrated unequivocally the true nature of its objectives. There is now a realistic awareness of the nature of the present conflict, and a firm determination throughout the free world to resist this great threat to our freedom."

The other obstacle, Mr. McGhee described, "is the complex of internal political and economic problems which face new and undeveloped nations of the world. These problems are particularly acute in those countries which have recently emerged from colonial status and are engaged in a struggle to attain political stability, economic viability and self-respect among the family of nations."

Communism

Communism in Europe has been checked, Mr. McGhee stated, mainly by economic recovery and by the restoration of confidence.

"In China," Mr. McGhee continued, "the expansion of militant communism will gravely retard the establishment of political and economic sta-

[1] For complete text of Mr. McGhee's address, see Department of State press release 893 of Nov. 19, 1949.

bility for a considerable period. It will be impossible to gauge the effects of recent events in China before its new leaders have been confronted over a long period of time with their practical internal and international responsibilities. At the same time, the rapidity of the Communist advance in China poses grave problems for the Soviet Union, which will seek first to define the nature and extent of its influence over the Chinese Communists, and then to consolidate this vast area within the Soviet orbit."

In speaking of the Near East, Mr. McGhee said that that area is still being subjected to the threat of Soviet aggression along a great part of its northern borders, the area adjacent to the Soviet Union and the satellite states. "At the present time Greece with American aid is successfully liquidating the remnants of the guerrilla movement which has so long threatened its existence as a free nation, a movement inspired, supported, and guided by the Soviet Union since 1946."

The Assistant Secretary said that Turkey, reinforced by its national cohesion and determination to resist Soviet encroachment, has thus far withstood threats of force, territorial claims and demands for military bases, Soviet denunciation of the Turko-Soviet treaty of friendship, and intensive propaganda campaigns.

Iran, Mr. McGhee said, has the unique distinction of having expelled a Soviet-sponsored puppet government, which gained a foothold in northwestern Iran. "For the past 5 years," he continued, "Iran has firmly stood its ground before a virulent campaign of intimidation, manifested by troop movements along Iran's frontiers and incursions into Iranian territory; repeated demands for an oil concession as a front for political and economic penetration; and the full force of Soviet propaganda."

The present conflict between Soviet imperialism and the free world should not be underestimated; nor is there cause for complacency. We should, Mr. McGhee said, understand the internal problems of the emerging states.

New Advances in Independence

Mr. McGhee recalled that Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen achieved independent status during the 1920's and 1930's; Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, in 1946; Israel, in 1948.

"These states are only now beginning to break away from the traditional economic and social patterns which have restricted proper distribution of wealth and led to exploitation and discrimination. They are only now beginning to scrutinize opportunities for economic development and social reform which will raise living standards and create a sound basis for their economic progress and social well-being," he said.

"Although the actual hostilities in Palestine have been brought to an end, a state of peace does not yet exist. Until a permanent and lasting settlement of the Palestine problem can be achieved, both the Arab states and Israel will continue to maintain the heavy psychological and financial burdens of military preparedness, to the detriment of economic recovery and stabilization."

The problems of the Near East in relation to Israel are being dealt with by two United Nations groups: the Palestine Conciliation Commission and the Economic Survey Mission. The essential elements of a settlement of the problem, according to Assistant Secretary McGhee, include provisions for delimitation of Israel's frontiers and the future disposition of Arab Palestine; solution of the refugee problem; and the future status of Jerusalem.

Mr. McGhee said that the Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East, established by the Palestine Conciliation Commission, is meeting such problems as these. The Mission is preparing a technical formula on which the Near Eastern states can proceed toward a solution of their most pressing problems, Mr. McGhee stated.

The President, Mr. McGhee recalled, has expressed the readiness of the United States to consider the assistance which we might properly extend, under the auspices of the United Nations, toward any program formulated by the Mission which will contribute to restoration of peace and stability in the Near East.

The problem, Mr. McGhee said, "presents a perfect opportunity for the application of the President's Point 4 program." We feel, he continued, "certain that other nations having a community of interest with the Near East will also be prepared to examine the Mission's recommendations sympathetically and constructively."

With the exception of Egypt, Liberia, Ethiopia and the Union of South Africa, all of the other geographic units of the continent are dependent politically upon European administering powers. "During the coming years," Mr. McGhee said, "the United States, in close cooperation with the colonial powers, will have the opportunity to expedite the development of enormous economic potential of Africa for the benefit of its peoples and as a means of assisting its new nations to create a basis for political and economic stability."

Mr. McGhee described South Asia, where the advance of militant communism in China is creating growing apprehension. Communist ideology has gained comparatively little influence in South Asia itself; the more pressing problems are largely internal in character. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Nepal, having successfully advanced toward their goal of ending colonial rule and establishing self-rule and independence, are now free to govern their own destiny (except Burma within the framework of the British Commonwealth). India and Pakistan, for example, must

integrate into their new political systems the diverse minority groups, religious sects, and social classes, as well as the former domains of the princely states.

The future political status of Kashmir is preventing the establishment of political and economic collaboration between India and Pakistan. If the United Nations succeeds through the Commission for India and Pakistan in its mission of mediation, and there is no recurrence of large-scale communal violence in either of the dominions, it may be possible to achieve eventual Indo-Pakistani cooperation, on which the future stability and the rational economic development of the Indian subcontinent depend.

"In the so-called struggle between the Soviet Union and the western powers," Mr. McGhee said, "we are hopeful that the nations of South Asia will desire increasingly to associate themselves with the free world on all issues of fundamental importance, on their own volition and on the basis of full equality and partnership. In support of this objective, we seek to make it clear to them that we genuinely desire their development toward complete self-government internally, without foreign interference; that we do not wish to mold them to our pattern of thought; and that we desire to benefit from a deeper understanding of their distinguished culture, traditions and philosophy.

"On the economic side, it is a major preoccupation of these states to find means of utilizing their vast resources to provide higher living standards for their people, and to cope effectively with the dual problems of overpopulation and recurrent famine. In addition, they are mindful of the need to develop their foreign trade and to attract foreign capital in order to promote economic development."

The Basic Need for the ITO

The ITO is in many ways a master blueprint of economic foreign policy through which the United States and other democratic nations with similar ways of life may survive in the years to come, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs Willard Thorp said on November 17.

Speaking before the Virginia Conference on World Trade, the Assistant Secretary told the group that the economic health of a nation is closely related to political developments and that we must recognize that the appeal of communism is most effective with masses of people throughout the world who live in poverty and without hope of any change in their economic situation.[1]

"If people see no hope of benefiting under our way of life," Mr. Thorp said, "they will turn to another way, as yet unproved, simply on the assumption that they have nothing to lose and at least a chance to gain."

The Assistant Secretary said that for the first time, on a world scale, the United States way of life is being seriously challenged. Men are awaking to a realization, he said, that from a technical standpoint poverty is no longer necessary.

The world economy is still seriously unsettled, Mr. Thorp said, because international economic relationships are out of balance. Foreign countries have created a maze of restrictive and discriminatory controls, and world trade is being channeled through discriminatory bilateral agreements because foreign nations are trying to conserve the few hard currencies available to them, to utilize these currencies for essentials, and to allocate commodities which have been in short supply as a result of war dislocations.

"These emergency trade practices," the Assistant Secretary said, "may form a permanent pattern governing much of the world's commerce unless something is done soon." Such a pattern could place American businessmen in a position where they might find themselves unable to break into foreign markets without federal aid and accompanying governmental controls.

In addition, Mr. Thorp added, these trade controls would, in the long run, restrict world trade and prevent it from expanding. This restriction would keep world production down and freeze standards of living at a dangerously low level—and the latter is what totalitarian agitators thrive upon.

The Assistant Secretary said the United States is trying to meet these dangers in its attempt to expand world trade as rapidly as possible, for through greater trade we will create greater production, as well as capacity to produce, and greater production will make possible higher living standards.

Mr. Thorp pointed to the European Recovery Program; bilateral aid agreements between the United States and various recipient governments,

[1] For complete text of Mr. Thorp's address see Department of State press release 894 of Nov. 17, 1949.

with provisions for obligating the signers to cooperate in reducing public and private barriers to trade; and the Point 4 program, with its provision for supplying technical knowledge and encouraging the flow of private investment to underdeveloped areas, as three tools the United States is using to expand production and trade and raise living standards throughout the world.

"Since the first World War," the Assistant Secretary said, "there has been an increasing tendency for nations faced with urgent economic problems having international repercussions to try to solve these problems on a unilateral or, at most, a bilateral basis. The net effect of this tendency has been to aggravate the initial problems themselves, to create a whole new complex of additional problems, and drastically to restrict world trade to the detriment of all countries."

In order to remedy an otherwise chaotic condition, Mr. Thorp said, two things are required. First, obtain general agreement on the principles which should underlie international trade policy, including a careful definition of the exceptions which should be permitted; and, second, establish an organized procedure of consultations whereby nations can discuss their day-to-day problems, in the light of general principles to which they have all subscribed.

It was to meet these two major needs, the Assistant Secretary added, that a code of principles subscribed to by most nations including definite agreement on when departure from these principles was justified that the charter for an International Trade Organization was hammered out in lengthy negotiations culminating in the Habana conference of 1948.

As a result of the Habana conference, representatives of 54 countries indicated that their nations were sympathetic to the idea of conducting economic relations in accord with a definite set of principles.

Some of the principles in the field of commercial policy are:

1. International trade can be expanded more rapidly if no country gives special favors to the trade of another country, but treats all alike.
2. The selective reduction of tariffs and the elimination of tariff preferences should be negotiated with each other.
3. All barriers to trade or limitations on imports should be openly concentrated at the customs frontier.
4. The "invisible tariff" of confusing and complicated customs regulations should be lowered by simplification.
5. Quotas should not be used for protective purposes, but should be limited to use in certain specified situations and that their use must be subject to international control and scrutiny.

Mr. Thorp pointed out that the delegates to the Habana conference could not ignore the hard facts of the world around them, and they were charged with drafting a charter that could work.

They recognized, he said, that however much a country might wish to let its people buy freely in the markets of their choice, they simply could not permit unlimited free choice in times when they were very short of certain kinds of foreign exchange. They recognized also that as a practical matter a country with limited supplies of dollars had to budget its dollar purchases so as to be sure that the few dollars at its disposal were used to buy essentials.

In view of these hard facts, the Assistant Secretary said, the delegates to the convention did not desire to exclude the principle of free choice of markets from the Charter. Instead, he said, the delegates affirmed the principle; committing themselves to observe it as soon as they could and to the extent that they could—recognizing that some nations could not observe it immediately and that when balance-of-payments difficulties exist, a country which is suffering from such difficulties is justified in deviating from the principle.

The delegates, therefore, inserted special provisions to meet particular needs of particular members.

These so-called "exceptions," Mr. Thorp said, "are nothing but a recognition by the delegates of the hard fact that some of the principles of the charter cannot be fully applied before conditions are improved."

The exceptions make it possible for countries to adopt the charter now, the Assistant Secretary said, and to put into effect immediately many of its provisions which can be applied at once and which in themselves hasten the return of orderly international trade.

"At the same time," Mr. Thorp said, "the charter, by fixing the long-run principles of trade, enables countries to plan now their long-run courses of action on the basis of prospective cooperative trade relations rather than economic warfare; and this, too, hastens the return of orderly international trade."

With the International Trade Organization, the Assistant Secretary concluded, we have the machinery for developing a genuine international approach to international trade.

Visit of Cuban Educator

José M. Gutierrez, dean of the School of Education of the University of Habana, recently arrived in Washington, where he will spend several days before beginning a series of visits to various cities for the purpose of observing the work done in the field of personal counsel for students in the universities of this country.

Greek Officials Visit President Truman

[*Released to the press by the White House November 18*]

The President received a courtesy visit from Greek Deputy Premiers Constantine Tsaldaris and Sophocles Venizelos at noon today.

Messrs. Tsaldaris and Venizelos, who head their country's delegation to the General Assembly and are the leaders of the two principal parties in the Greek coalition government, called to pay their respects to the President before returning to Greece.

The President took this occasion to congratulate the Greek leaders on the victories won by the Greek national forces—victories which have reduced the Communist guerrilla movement to police proportions. He expressed the hope that this would make possible the early restoration of normal peacetime conditions in Greece and rapid reconstruction of the Greek economy. The President also assured his callers of the continued interest of the United States in the welfare and security of the Greek people.

Radio Station at Salonika To Expand VOA Balkan Audience

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The Voice of America will have a strong new link to listeners in the Balkans, and the people of Greece will have an improved radio service of their own as the result of a joint U. S.–Greek radio-transmitter project now nearing completion in Salonika. The new station will be a 50-kilowatt medium-wave (Standard Broadcasting) transmitter. It is being built under an agreement between the Greek and United States Governments and is scheduled to be put into operation early in 1950. It will broadcast on 804 kilocycles.

The initial contract under the Greco-American agreement will extend for 10 years and may be renewed by mutual consent of the two governments.

The United States is responsible for construction of the station which, when completed, will be operated by the Greek Government under the direction of a joint board, composed of Greeks and Americans.

The Voice of America will use the new transmitter during designated evening hours for the relay of broadcasts to Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. The remaining air time will be allocated under the direction of the Greek program director of the radio station.

The new station was designed to expand the Balkan listening audience beyond the owners of short-wave receivers and beyond those now reached by the medium-wave relay facilities of the Voice of America at Munich. The construction is part of the normal expansion program authorized by Congress last year for the International Broadcasting Division, the Department of State.

Italy Presents Film Awards

On November 21, the representatives of the Italian Embassy at Washington presented awards to representatives of United States Government Departments and Agencies and to a representative of the Embassy of Canada at Washington, on behalf of a Canadian producer, for prize-winning films entered at the Tenth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art.

The International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art was held at Venice, August 17 to September 1, 1949, to give public recognition to films showing outstanding progress in the motion picture field as a means of artistic expression and the dissemination of knowledge between nations.

The United States Departments and Agencies on behalf of which awards will be received are the Army, the Navy, Interior, the Veterans Administration, and the United States Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency.

ECA Gift Parcel Regulations

[*Released to the press by ECA November 14*]

A reduction in the parcel post rate for gift relief packages shipped by individuals in the United States to friends and relatives in eight Marshall Plan countries was announced today by the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Gift packages may now be sent to the following countries at the new rate of 6 cents per pound: France, Greece, Western Germany, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Italy, and Trieste. These reductions are made possible by ECA and through the cooperation of the participating countries and represent an 8 cents per pound reduction in the original prices. When the gift package program was first started, the rate was 14 cents per pound. In July 1948, the rate was reduced to 10 cents per pound.

Packages may also be sent to Austria at reduced charges, but the rates to that country vary because of transit charges in shipping the packages via France and Switzerland.

The new reduced rates became effective as agree-

ments with countries receiving grants were concluded. These provide for using counterpart funds to defray inland transportation costs. Ocean freight on these packages is paid by ECA.

Through the cooperation of the United States Post Office Department, some 25,000 posters announcing the new rates and encouraging the public to send gift parcels to Marshall Plan countries are being distributed for display in all first-, second-, and third-class post offices throughout the United States.

All gift packages sent abroad carry an ECA sticker which says in several languages: "For European Recovery. Postage Reduced on This U.S. Gift Parcel Through The Marshall Plan."

Housing Collection Prepared for Information Use Abroad

[*Released to the press November 2*]

A comprehensive study collection on housing, planning and construction has been prepared by the Department of State for use in United States libraries and information and cultural centers abroad.

The collection consists of an integrated assembly of photographs, plans, books and special reports on experience and practice in the United States in the fields of house and community planning, design and construction. It covers housing projects in many localities, individual homes, and special building types both public and private. Information is included on materials and methods of construction and on housing needs, costs and financing methods.

Material in the collection is suitable for general public information and display as well as for study by architects, builders and others. The collection contains over 1200 photographs, plans and diagrams, a basic library of 100 books, and more than 500 special reports.

The collection was prepared as a result of numerous inquiries received from abroad on housing and planning practices in the United States and is a part of the Department's program of international educational exchange. Sets of the collection are being circulated abroad and a master set is on file in the Department's Division of Libraries and Institutes where it is available for inspection by interested persons.

The Department has recently published a guide to a Study collection on housing, planning, and construction techniques, which describes the scope and organization of the collection.

Revalidation of Securities of German Issue

[*Released to the press November 16*]

As a matter of particular interest to the holders of German securities (stocks, shares, bonds, and debentures other than German dollar bonds), the Department of State invites attention to a law for the settlement of securities (German Economic Council Ordinance No. 155), enacted by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany effective on October 1, 1949. Except for bonds payable in foreign currencies and for obligations of the former German Government, this ordinance requires that essentially all securities of German issue must be revalidated to avoid becoming null and void.

A substantial amount of German securities was destroyed, looted, or lost in other ways, particularly during the fighting in Berlin. Some of these securities are still in blocked deposits in the Soviet zone or sector of Berlin. As a result, the bona fide owners of such securities in Germany and abroad cannot exercise their rights. Moreover, the marketability of securities still in possession of those rightful owners is prejudiced by the existence of a large number of securities which are offered for sale by wrongful possessors. The ordinance is aimed at dealing with those problems and thus protecting the rights of true owners of German securities. A special ordinance is being worked out to deal with German securities payable in foreign currencies, including German dollar bonds.

Revalidation of securities covered by Ordinance No. 155 can take the form of the issuance of certificates of negotiability when the securities are physically available to the owners, or held for their account by existing credit institutions whose records are available for supporting applications for such certificates. Applications for certificates of negotiability must be presented prior to January 31, 1950, to German credit institutions authorized to act on behalf of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Revalidation also can be effected by the recognition of documented claims evidencing ownership when the securities themselves are not so available. The period specified for the filing of such documented claims is 6 months after the publication of a notice in the German legal *Gazette*, covering the particular security issue in question, indicating that preliminary requirements of the ordinance with respect thereto have been completed.

The procedure for revalidation provides with respect to each individual issue for a calculation of the total amount of securities for which certificates of negotiability have been issued or applied for prior to January 31, 1950. The remainder of each issue becomes a "Collective Document," for participation in which substantiated claims to

securities ownership will be considered and conflicting claims adjudicated.

The determining date of ownership of all the securities to be proved in this claims procedure is January 1, 1945, with certain provisions for acquisition after that date stemming from bona fide ownership as of January 1, 1945. If the claimant furnishes proof that the securities were lost or are not available to him because of a measure not legally valid, he shall furnish proof of ownership up to the date of the loss, instead of up to the effective date of the ordinance.

For the purpose of advising persons not resident in Germany with respect to this ordinance and its implementing regulations, the German Federal Ministry of Finance has established offices abroad. Such an office, known as the Securities Settlement Advisory Agency of the German Federal Republic, has been established at 29 Broadway, New York 6, New York. Requests for further information and for the English translation of the law should be addressed to that office.

Egypt Signs Fulbright Agreement

[*Released to the press November 3*]

Egypt and the United States today signed an agreement under the Fulbright Act, putting into operation the program of educational exchanges authorized by Public Law 584, 79th Congress.

The signing took place in Cairo, with Prime Minister Hussein Sirry Pasha representing the Government of Egypt and Ambassador Jefferson Caffery representing the United States. Senators Ellender, Young, Ferguson, Green, and Jenner, who are in Cairo as a special subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, were invited to attend the ceremony.

The agreement provides for a United States Educational Foundation for Egypt to assist in the administration of the educational program financed from certain funds resulting from the sale of United States surplus property to that country. It provides for an annual program of the equivalent of approximately 300 thousand dollars in Egyptian pounds for certain educational purposes. These purposes include the financing of "studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities of or for citizens of the United States of America in schools and institutions of higher learning located in Egypt or of nationals of Egypt in United States schools and institutions of higher learning located outside the continental United States . . . including payment for transportation, tuition, maintenance, and other expenses incident to scholastic activities; or furnishing transportation for nationals of Egypt who desire to attend United States schools and institutions of higher learning in the continental United States . . . whose attendance will not deprive citizens of the United States of America of an opportunity to attend such schools and institutions."

The Foundation in Egypt will consist of eight members, the honorary chairman of which will be the United States Ambassador to Egypt. The members of the Foundation will include four citizens of Egypt and four citizens of the United States.

After the members of the Foundation in Egypt have been appointed, information about specific opportunities for American citizens to pursue study, teaching, or research in that country will be made public.

Competition for awards for graduate study will open November 10 and close on December 31, 1949. Persons now enrolled in American colleges and universities should apply to the Fulbright Program Advisors on their campuses. Others should apply directly to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York.

Further inquiries about other opportunities in Egypt should be directed as follows:

For university teaching and teaching in American secondary schools

Conference Board of Associate Councils
2101 Constitution Avenue NW.
Washington 25, D.C.

For teaching in national secondary schools

United States Office of Education
Federal Security Agency
Washington 25, D.C.

Visit of The Shah of Iran

Remarks by President Truman

[*Released to the press by the White House November 16*]

YOUR MAJESTY: I am happy to welcome you to the United States on this, your first visit here. I have looked forward to Your Majesty's visit with great pleasure, and I trust that during its course you may have the opportunity of becoming well acquainted with our country. I trust, too, that we may have the opportunity of acquiring through Your Majesty a better knowledge of Iran, its heritage of greatness and culture, and the courage and far-sightedness with which present-day Iran, led by Your Majesty, is facing the problems of the modern world.

Our countries were partners in the struggle against fascism. The traditional friendship which bound us together during those troubled times has grown even stronger in the years since

the war. Your Majesty's visit represents the high point of this relationship, which will, I am sure, become still closer in the years ahead.

You have come a long way to be with us, and we are very grateful.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I bid you a most hearty welcome.

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 16*]

His Imperial Majesty, the Shah of Iran, is arriving today for a visit in the United States. The President, members of the Cabinet, and other officials will greet the Shah upon his arrival at the Military Air Transport Terminal at Washington National Airport on board the President's personal plane, the *Independence*.

The Shah's visit is primarily a good-will visit which, it is hoped, will enable him to become acquainted at first hand with the United States and its institutions. The Shah is most anxious to see American industrial, sociological, and agricultural techniques, matters of first interest to Iran right now since that country has embarked on an ambitious 7-year program of economic and social development.

We are happy that the Shah is coming and feel confident that his visit will strengthen our existing very friendly relations with Iran.

Commission Set Up To Control Navigation on the Danube

[*Released to the press November 15*]

The following is the text of a note delivered today to the missions in Washington of the Governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Yugoslavia. Parallel notes are being delivered by the Governments of France and the United Kingdom.

"The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of [country concerned] and has the honor to refer to the meeting held November 11, 1949 at Galatz, Rumania under the terms of the Convention signed at Belgrade August 18, 1948, by the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian Republic, the People's Republic of Rumania, the Ukranian S.S.R., and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The Government of the United States desires to advise the Government of the (country concerned) that the Government of the United States does not recognize that Convention as having any valid international effect.

"The Convention signed by seven delegations over the objections of the Governments of France, the United States, Austria, and the United Kingdom and, in contravention of the well-established rights of Belgium, Greece and Italy, violates the concept of international waterways which has been recognized in Europe for more than 130 years. It fails to provide an adequate basis for freedom of navigation on the Danube. In this failure it negates the provision of the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and also fails to carry out the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers of December 6, 1946. Moreover, the Convention omits any provision for nonriparian representation in a Danube Commission. It seeks to deprive the United Kingdom, France, Italy Belgium, and Greece, without their consent, of treaty rights established by international agreement in 1921 and disregards the legitimate interests of nonriparian states. The rejection by the majority at the Belgrade Conference of any relationship between the Danube Commission and the United Nations indicates an intention to seal of the Danubian area from normal intercourse with the rest of the world to the area's own direct disadvantage.

"Although the Convention professes to devise a regime of navigation in the interest of all riparian states, Austria is at present denied representation on the so-called Danube Commission and no provision whatsoever is made with respect to German participation.

"The Belgrade Convention, when coupled with the device of Soviet-controlled joint companies which acquired long-term exclusive control of facilities essential to the conduct of Danube commerce, is clearly designed to enable the Soviet Union to maintain a monopoly of Danubian commerce.

"For these reasons, the Government of the United States does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Danube Commission, established under the Belgrade Convention, over any part of the Danube River. The Government of the United States looks forward to the time when the states interested in the Danube as an international waterway, acting as free agents and true representatives of their people, agree upon a new Convention which effectively promotes nondiscriminatory constructive utilization of the Danube. Until then the Government of the United States considers the Definitive Statute of the Danube, signed in Paris July 23, 1921, to be in force for the entire Danube River.

"In view of the importance of the Danube River to European economic and social development and the United Nations expressed interest in the Belgrade Conference, a copy of this note is being forwarded to the Secretary-General of the United Nations."

U. S. Express Gratification With New Costa Rican Government

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

[*Released to the press November 9*]

We are happy, along with the many other friends of Costa Rica, that the inauguration of Señor Otilio Ulate marks the return of Costa Rica to constitutional government. The provisional administration of President José Figueres turned over the authority of the Government to the elected President, Señor Ulate, in ceremonies that were attended by Assistant Secretary Edward G. Miller, Jr., Ambassador Joseph Flack, and Congressman Laurie C. Battle of Alabama, and Donald L. Jackson of California. We view with profound satisfaction Costa Rica's success in solving serious political and constitutional questions in a democratic manner fully consistent with the country's long traditions of liberty and devotion to the principles of representative government.

Argentina, Chile, and U.K. Agree Not To Send Warships to Antarctica

[*Released to the press November 19*]

The Government of the United States is very pleased to learn that, being anxious to avoid any misunderstanding in Antarctica which might affect the friendly relations between Argentina, Chile, and the United Kingdom, the Governments of these three countries have informed each other that in present circumstances they foresee no need to send warships south of latitude 60 degrees during the 1949–50 Antarctic season, apart, of course, from movements such as have been customary for a number of years.

The United States Government does not contemplate sending any vessels to Antarctica during the 1949–50 Antarctic season.

U.S. Educator To Lecture in Haiti

Mercer Cook, professor of Romance languages, Howard University, has been awarded a grant-in-aid by the Department of State for a 3-month lecture assignment in Haiti, beginning in January. He will lecture at the Institut Haitiano-American, Port-au-Prince. His subject will be the negro in American life and literature.

Mexico Makes Payment Under Claims Convention

[*Released to the press November 18*]

The Ambassador of Mexico has presented to the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs the Mexican Government's check for 2.5 million dollars, United States currency, representing the eighth annual installment due to the United States under the claims convention concluded November 19, 1941. The Assistant Secretary requested the Ambassador to convey to his Government an expression of this government's appreciation.

Under the terms of the convention, Mexico agreed to pay the United States 40 million dollars, United States currency, in settlement of certain property claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of Mexico, as described in the convention. Payments heretofore made amount to 23.5 million dollars. With the present payment of 2.5 million dollars, the balance remaining to be paid amounts to 14 million dollars to be liquidated over a period of years by the annual payment by Mexico of not less than 2.5 million dollars United States currency.

Exhibition in Germany—*Continued from page 810*

whether our promise to return the present and final group of German-owned masterpieces to Wiesbaden should not be postponed. These discussions, in the Congress of the United States and elsewhere, questioned on the one hand the evident political instability of postwar Europe, on the other suggested that the unprecedented interest shown in these paintings by the American people deserved an extension of the tour they have just completed in my country. I am proud that our decision was to honor our promise to the letter and that the whole of this fabulous collection is now reunited, at the time we said it would be, on the walls of the very building from which they set out on their long journey for safer refuge in the autumn of 1945. When a promise fulfilled is not only a thing of honor, of spiritual worth, but takes the form of such visible beauty as this, I feel we may be encouraged to believe that the high hope I expressed in connection with the opening of the previous exhibition may be realized. I, therefore, repeat it here for the present and tenth exhibition of the Wiesbaden Collecting Point:

> It is our earnest hope that our act of faith in honoring our convenantal obligations to your works of art will not only have increased our understanding and respect for each other, but that it will serve to establish as an active principle in the future conduct of international affairs the ideal so hopefully and unequivocally expressed in the Hague Convention.

AEC Program on Isotope Distribution

JAPAN TO PARTICIPATE IN PROGRAM

[*Released to the press by AEC November 11*]

The United States Atomic Energy Commission announced today that it has approved the participation of Japan in the program for the foreign distribution of radioisotopes.

Under an arrangement with the Department of the Army, exports of isotopes to Japan will be made through the headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and surveillance over Japanese research projects will be maintained by SCAP personnel to assure their safe and effective use.

The SCAP Foreign Trade Office in New York will act as agent for Japanese wishing to purchase isotopes from the United States.

Japanese scientists will be required to comply with the regulations governing the distribution of isotopes under the Commission's foreign distribution program. The isotopes will be used in work in medicine and biology and as tools for research in the physical sciences.

The Department of State has informed the Commission that the sale of radioisotopes to the Japanese under the supervision of SCAP is in accord with the general principle of American foreign policy to extend such appropriate humanitarian assistance to occupied countries as will contribute toward the establishment in these countries of stable, democratic governments.

The admission of Japan to the foreign distribution program brings to a total of 30 the number of nations that have qualified to receive isotopes produced in the United States.

To qualify for receipt of radioisotopes produced in AEC facilities, foreign nations normally must make application through diplomatic channels to the Department of State, and agree to certain stipulations regarding their usage. The Department of State then either grants or withholds approval in accordance with policies previously agreed upon jointly by the Department and the Commission. Specific action was taken in this case since Japan is the first occupied country to be granted approval to receive radioisotopes from the United States.

THREE-YEAR SUMMARY

[*Released to the press by AEC November 14*]

More than 300 universities, hospitals, and research laboratories in 41 states and territories of the United States are using isotopes produced by the United States Atomic Energy Commission for medical, biological, industrial, agricultural and scientific research, and medical diagnosis and treatment, the Commission stated in a report published today.

The report, *Isotopes—A Three-Year Summary of U.S. Distribution*, is available to the public from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. for a price of 45 cents.

The report provides a useful measure of the value of isotopes to peacetime research by listing more than 1,850 publications that have been issued on work done with these valuable products of the atomic energy program. The list is the most comprehensive bibliography yet published on research progress made through the use of Commission-produced isotopes.

The report also summarizes the growth of the isotope distribution program during the 3 years it has been in effect, outlines the various methods of isotope production, and describes the typical ways in which isotopes are used in the United States and 21 foreign nations.

"The number of radioisotope shipments made from January 1 to June 30 of this year," the report states, "is nearly double that for the same period last year and more than triple the 1947 figure." Since the program was started on August 2, 1946, more than 7,000 shipments of radioisotopes have been made.

Also described in the report are the participation of private companies in the preparation of isotope-labeled compounds and the program for training scientists in the proper methods for handling and using radioisotopes.

The appendixes to the report contain a chronological outline of the growth of the isotopes distribution program, a list of institutions using isotopes in the United States and abroad, outlines of procedures for obtaining isotopes, and lists of available isotopes and isotope-labeled compounds.

The appendixes also list the titles, authors, and journal references of the 1,850 published papers. A complete author index of over 1,800 names has been included to facilitate use of this report as a reference guide.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Proportion of Career Officers Abroad Largest in U. S. History

[*Released to the press November 13*]

The United States is represented abroad today by a greater proportion of career officers as chiefs of mission than at any time in its history.

Of the 68 men and 2 women now representing the United States as chiefs of mission in foreign capitals, 48 are career officers who have spent most of their lives in the Foreign Service. Twenty-two are noncareer officers. Thus, 68 percent of our ambassadors, ministers, and other chiefs of mission are career men.

A study of the Foreign Service records indicates that for a career officer to become an ambassador or minister means that he started as a vice consul at approximately 2,500 dollars per year and has served from 20 to 25 years in various foreign countries.

Of the chiefs of mission, 53 are of ambassadorial rank and 11 are ministers. Two United States chiefs of mission have dual rank; Loy W. Henderson, Ambassador to India, is also Minister to Nepal; J. Rives Childs, Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, is also Minister to Yemen.

All but one of the present 68 ambassadors, ministers, and other chiefs of mission have been appointed either by President Roosevelt or President Truman. The lone exception is the present Ambassador to Egypt, Jefferson Caffery, dean of the career Foreign Service. When President Roosevelt first took office, Mr. Caffery was already serving as a chief of mission, having been nominated to be the American Minister to Colombia by President Hoover.

U. S. Near Eastern Diplomats To Meet at Istanbul

[*Released to the press November 10*]

The Chiefs of United States diplomatic missions in the Near East will meet in a conference under the chairmanship of George McGhee, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, on November 26 at Istanbul, Turkey.

The conference is part of a routine series of meetings being held with the chiefs of mission in various parts of the world.

Burton Y. Berry, newly appointed Director of the Office of African and Near Eastern Affairs, and Gordon H. Mattison, Deputy Director of the Office, will accompany the Assistant Secretary to Istanbul.

United States diplomatic representatives who will attend the conference include the American Ambassadors from Cairo, Jefferson Caffery; Athens, Henry F. Grady; Tehran, John C. Wiley; Ankara, George Wadsworth; Tel Aviv, James G. McDonald; Baghdad, Edward S. Crocker; Jidda, J. Rives Childs; the American Ministers from Beirut, Lowell C. Pinkerton; Damascus, James H. Keeley; the American Chargé d'Affairs a. i., at Amman, A. David Fritzlan; and the Consul at Jerusalem, William C. Burdett, Jr.

THE DEPARTMENT

Bureau of German Affairs

[*Released to the press November 2*]

The Department of State announced today the establishment on November 1, 1949, of the Bureau of German Affairs. Henry A. Byroade has been designated to head the new bureau with the title of Director and the rank of Assistant Secretary of State.

The establishment of this new bureau completes the major organizational arrangements made by the Department of State to meet its new and increased responsibilities in Germany. These arrangements began last September with the establishment of the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG) under John J. McCloy, who also is the United States member of the Allied High Commission for Germany which was created at the same time.

In creating the new Bureau of German Affairs, the former Office of German and Austrian Affairs was abolished, with its staff transferred to the new bureau with the exception of the former Division of Austrian Affairs, which has been transferred to the Bureau of European Affairs.

In addition to the designation of Mr. Byroade, the principal appointments which have been made in the Bureau of German Affairs include:

Executive Director	Arthur A. Kimball
Special Assistant to the Director	Raymond A. Cheseldine
Officer-in-Charge, German Political Affairs	Perry Laukhuff
Officer-in-Charge, German Economic Affairs	Jacques J. Reinstein
Officer-in-Charge, German and Austrian Public Affairs	Henry J. Kellerman

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The Department of State bulletin

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December 5, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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THE WORLD FUNCTION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

The world function of the North Atlantic community is to create a great unbalance of force on the side of the free world in order to expose the futility of all narrow schemes for nationalistic expansion running counter to the good of the world community as a whole, Howland H. Sargeant said on November 25.

Speaking before the Birmingham Christmas Carnival at Birmingham, Alabama, Mr. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, said that in time we will see such cooperation of the great powers in the United Nations that less and less need will arise for such regional defense arrangements as Rio, Brussels, and the Atlantic pacts.[1]

Mr. Sargeant said that the peoples of the North Atlantic community, have made it quite clear that we have organized ourselves against nothing except aggression—that we want peace and mean to have it. The free peoples of the world, Mr. Sargeant said, have recently discovered their kinship and interdependence as never before, and are making this kinship the solid foundation for building a new kind of world.

They are no longer obsessed with their differences; they are enthusiastically obsessed with their similarities and their need for each other, he said. They have found in this mutual identification the grounds for making a practical beginning in the establishment of a free, democratic world in which ultimately the peoples of all nations may join together in a new society of man."

On April 4, 1949, Mr. Sargeant recalled, Lester Pearson, the Foreign Minister of Canada, Dirk Stikker, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, and Ernest Bevin, U.K. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, expressed the conception that our North Atlantic community can focus democratic energy into a force which will integrate the world.

This concept of an organized North Atlantic community, Mr. Sargeant said, is very new, though its roots go back a long way in history, in close ties of friendship, and in the close similarity of interests and aims among the member nations.

The intention of the Soviet Union not to cooperate with the West was evident within 3 months after the signing of the United Nations Charter. Mr. Sargeant stated that "succeeding events demonstrated that Soviet collaboration during the war had been solely concerned with getting Western assistance in defeating Germany—that the creation of puppet states, subservient to the Kremlin, remained an important objective to Soviet foreign policy." Despite its pledge to abide by and support the great aims of the United Nations, the Soviet Union progressively disclosed that its real intention was to press for nationalistic expansion west, south, and east.

After many attempts on the part of the Western powers to reach some agreement with the Soviet Union in the Council of Foreign Ministers and in the Security Council, it was impossible to avoid, Mr. Sargeant said, the conclusion that the Soviet Union did not wish to see a peaceful settlement of disputes and the general establishment of peace and goodwill, but hoped to exploit violence and disorder in pursuing Russian imperialistic designs. "No distortion of logic could conceal," Mr. Sargeant stated, "the implications of Soviet refusal to assist the efforts of United Nations Commissions in restoring peace in the Balkans and Korea." Indeed, it was very evident that the Soviet was inciting the very violence that the United Nations majority was attempting to stop.

Under the impact of these developments, Mr. Sargeant continued, the concept of the common aims and interests of the North Atlantic community began to emerge. These nations had demonstrated their determination to carry out their obligations under the United Nations Charter, and

[1] For complete text of Mr. Sargeant's address, see Department of State press release 920 of Nov. 25, 1949.

had the collective capacity to throw a decisive weight in favor of law and order, of peace and economic progress, as against disorder and aggression. They went to work:

"The Marshall Plan, based on maximum cooperation of Europeans, began a vigorous and successful attack on restoration of Western Europe's productivity, through self-help and mutual aid. Out of this came the Organization for European Economic Cooperation with the participating nations of the European Recovery Program breaking all historical precedents in meeting around a council table to come to grips with the problems besetting them all and to solve those problems not on a basis of the separate needs of narrow nationalistic aims but on the basis of the well-being of the Western European community as a whole.

"On this side of the Atlantic, there came another unprecedented development. The United States joined with the other American Republics in forming the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, a collective defense arrangement under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, declaring that any attack on any one of the signatory nations would be taken as an attack on all and would be collectively resisted. In March 1948, the British, French, and Benelux countries produced a similar stabilizing arrangement in Western Europe in the Brussels Treaty, with almost identical terms. They created a Council of the five Foreign Ministers and arranged for periodic meetings with the Defense Ministers and Finance Ministers. They established a Chiefs of Staff Committee and a Military Committee to work out the plans for their collective defense, and they invited the United States to participate in the work of the Military Committee. We sent a representative or an observer."

Mr. Sargeant said that it is easy to see what was happening: On both sides of the Atlantic, free nations were forming "centers of stability" which might themselves constitute a stabilizing influence within the United Nations and compensate for the instability arising from the failure to obtain the essential cooperation of the great powers. Continued failure to win the unanimity of the great powers left the United Nations ineffective for the guaranteeing of world security and unable to deal adequately with some economic, social, and political problems of international scope.

Mr. Sargeant emphasized that it was imperative to achieve stability on a regional basis, within the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and thereby to hold the United Nations steady despite the lack of big power unanimity.

In the summer of 1948, conversations began at Washington between representatives of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. They had concluded, Mr. Sargeant said, that an arrangement for the North Atlantic community, similar to the Rio and Brussels pacts, was to their collective interest, was essential for support of the United Nations, and was politically practical. On April 4, 1949, the countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty. Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, and Portugal had joined with the 7 nations which initiated the 1948 conversations.

Within a few months of the signing of the pact Mr. Sargeant said, the Congress approved the Mutual Defense Assistance Program with the effect o supporting the capacity of the MAP countries foi their collective defense while continuing Unitec States military aid to certain other friendly, free nations.

Mr. Sargeant pointed out that the peoples of th North Atlantic community have made it quit clear that they have organized against nothin except aggression—that they want peace and mea to have it. They have also made clear, he con tinued, their faith in the United Nations as th best assurance of the good of all mankind and thei determination to bring it to the full flowering o success.

Mr. Sargeant had the following to say of action on the economic front that are essential if a meas ure of stability in the security field is going to b introduced into the world community:

"The sufficient increase of world productivit and world trade is of course an immensely difficu and complicated problem, but the members of th North Atlantic community, in cooperation wit the other free nations can make an immense co tribution to its solution. By reduction of trac barriers—through progressive lowering of tarif and easing of restrictive customs regulations and by mutual assistance in increasing our ind vidual and collective productivity, we can set i motion a steadily expanding exchange of goo which will extend economic benefits to all oth nations.

"Through the European Recovery Progra technical and scientific conferences, exchan groups representing labor and management, a

ther measures, we are already sharing our technologies and thereby moving toward the steady expansion of productivity in Europe. Through he Point 4 program we are broadening this effort o other countries both directly and through the Jnited Nations and its specialized agencies.

"But on the matter of expanding the exchange f goods, we are still confronted with a grave problem. This centers largely around the great excess f American exports over imports, with a resulting inability of other countries to sell us enough o pay for what they are buying from us.

"In all likelihood, the United States will have to ontinue economic aid programs in some measure or a long time to come, but we can now begin to see a ultimate remedy for the basic cause of the roblem, which will allow goods and money to circulate ever more freely and fully throughout the orld, to everyone's advantage. Western Europe ust expand its volume of goods for export and already moving toward this through their superb forts under ERP. President Truman's Point 4 rogram of technical and investment aid to the nderdeveloped areas of the world—to be carried t mainly through the United Nations—holds the romise of steadily expanding the ability of that two-thirds to buy and sell in the world's markets. Secretary Acheson, only the other day in New York, affirmed the determination of our government to promote a big increase in American purchases from other countries benefitting the American people both as taxpayers and as consumers. Many nations are already making great progress in reducing tariffs and other barriers to international trade. If we can succeed in putting the International Trade Organization into full operation, alongside the other specialized agencies of the United Nations, its code of fair, liberal trade practices will have a sure and beneficial effect on the international exchange of goods and an established forum will be provided in which the free nations can work out their trade problems around the conference table. In this combination of curative measures lies our clear path toward reaching a genuine balance of payments for all countries at a high level of production and sales."

In concluding, Mr. Sargeant predicted that we will live to see a state of world economic health and shared prosperity almost beyond our present imagining and that we will see it in a world of enduring peace. In the pages of history still unwritten will appear a tribute to the North Atlantic community for its great role in bringing this to pass.

Disposition of Former Italian Colonies

Statement by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup[1]

Mr. President: In the view of the United States delegation, the result of the deliberations of the First Committee on the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies is one of the most gratifying achievements of this session of the General Assembly. I believe it will be agreed by all of us that this problem, involving the fate of millions of human beings and the disposition of more than half a million square miles of territory, is one of the most complex and difficult problems which has yet been placed before the United Nations for solution. The four principal Allied powers were unable to resolve this problem and referred the question to the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Peace With Italy. They agreed in advance to accept its recommendations in the hope that this body would be able to succeed where the Four Powers had failed. If now in this Assembly we shall through our combined wisdom be able to find a solution based on justice and the basic principles of the Charter, we shall have achieved a great success. We shall have marked a milestone in the development of the United Nations as an instrument truly capable of solving even the most difficult of the problems facing the world today. We might well hope that this example will encourage in the future the reference of other similar problems to the United Nations for solution when efforts through bilateral or other narrower means of negotiation fail. Secretary of State Acheson pointed out in his address to this Assembly on September 21: "The development of this precedent might well assist the settlement of various other political problems by special agreements, in advance, to accept recommendations of the General Assembly or the Security Council, or in legal questions, the determination c the International Court of Justice. Through suc advance agreement additional services can an should be rendered from time to time by the Ge eral Assembly and other organs of the Unit Nations."

[1] Made before the plenary session of the General Assembly on Nov. 18, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

Work of Political Committee

The work of the Political Committee in reachi the recommended solution of this problem has n been easy. The draft resolution which Committ I has presented to us is an outstanding example the good results of extensive study, discussion, a argument and, above all, of consultation and a commodation. I am sure that the terms of t draft resolution do not conform in all respects wi the individual views of any single delegati Throughout the history of the Assembly's consid ation of this problem, we have heard many vari and conflicting points of view expressed. Yet, a result of persistence, patience, and good will, t First Committee has been able to reach a soluti which has been supported by 49 delegations.

With respect to Libya, my government is hap to support the recommendation that this territo become a united and independent state, and look forward to welcoming it in the near future a member of this organization. It is the view my government that the provisions of the dr resolution will achieve the independence of Li within the shortest possible time and in an orde fashion under the continuing responsibility of United Nations. The terms of the resoluti furthermore, ensure that the form of the Lib state and the constitution of its government s be determined by the people themselves. Thus Assembly will fully respect the right of self-de mination of the Libyan people.

Italian Somaliland

The Committee was also able to reach full agreement on the principle that Italian Somaliland should become an independent sovereign state. However, with respect to this territory it has been agreed that a 10-year period of trusteeship will be required for the development of full self-government and independence.

The Government of the United States is convinced that the Committee's recommendation that Italy administer the territory during this trusteeship period is a solution which will insure the rapid progress of the people of Italian Somaliland toward independence. We believe that Italy is well-equipped to provide the assistance and guidance which the people of Italian Somaliland need to help them during the trusteeship period. The Committee has received the formal assurances of the Italian Government of its willingness to assume this responsibility and to administer the territory under the trusteeship system in full conformity with the provisions of the Charter. I should like to take this opportunity to state formally that the Government of the United States has complete confidence in the sincerity and good will of the democratic government of Italy in undertaking this difficult task. We are confident, moreover, that Italy will loyally fulfill its obligations to the people of Italian Somaliland in such a way that they need have no cause to fear the return of an Italian administration to their country. Rather, they may expect the Government and the people of democratic Italy to work with them and help them in a spirit of close friendship and collaboration.

Provision for representatives of Egypt, Colombia, and the Philippines to assist the Italian administration, as well as for the establishment in the trusteeship agreement of constitutional principles guaranteeing the rights of the inhabitants of this territory, should further reassure the people of Italian Somaliland. This recommendation of the General Assembly provides every possible safeguard for the protection of their rights and interests during the trusteeship period by taking cognizance of the principles suggested in the Annexure presented by the distinguished delegate from India. The Trusteeship Council will insure that from the very start of the trusteeship period there shall be constitutional guaranties of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all of the inhabitants of Italian Somaliland. Moreover, from the very beginning of the trusteeship there will be institutions designed to insure the inauguration, development, and subsequent establishment of full self-government.

Eritrea

My delegation has been disappointed at the failure of the Political Committee to reach agreement on a definitive solution for the problem of the disposition of Eritrea. In the last session of the General Assembly, 36 other delegations besides my own supported the provision for the incorporation of all Eritrea except the western Province into Ethiopia. Throughout the discussions in the present session a very large degree of agreement, almost of unanimity, has been manifest in favor of recognition of Ethiopia's just claims. Many delegations have referred to Ethiopia's ethnic and historic ties with Eritrea, its general affinity with the people of Eritrea, and its pressing economic needs. These delegations merely differed on the extent to which Ethiopia's rights and claims should be satisfied.

The United States Government has long been convinced that the people of all but the western Province of Eritrea desire reunion with Ethiopia, and my delegation has strongly advocated such a solution for this problem. In view of the apparent desire for separate independence expressed by some of the representatives of the inhabitants of Eritrea who appeared before the Political Committee, my delegation joined with others in attempting to work out a compromise formula somewhere between independence and full union with Ethiopia. We envisaged the initial establishment of some form of federation which, while uniting the territory with Ethiopia as far as essential common interests are concerned, would still retain for the people of Eritrea a very large measure of autonomy with respect to local problems and interests. After a 5-year "trial" period, the people themselves would have had an opportunity through a plebiscite to determine whether to continue that arrangement, to secede or to unite more closely with Ethiopia. Unfortunately, neither this nor other attempts at reaching a compromise solution seemed to achieve the necessary support.

My delegation regrets, as I am sure we all do, that the question of the final disposal of Eritrea must again be postponed. The very extensive debate in the Subcommittee and in the Committee has, however, convinced many delegations that the facts of the situation must be still further clarified before a solution can be found capable of commanding the support of this Assembly. When it became obvious that the basic differences of opinion within the Committee precluded reaching a solution, we agreed that only through further study of the problem and through a new and objective analysis of the facts could the General Assembly find a solution which could be accepted by the necessary majority of its members. For this reason we voted for the Committee's recommendation for the establishment of a Commission composed of representatives of governments with no direct interest in Eritrea. We can all trust this Commission to render a report reflecting the actual sit-

uation in the territory and on the basis of which the next session of the Assembly will be able finally to resolve this problem. We, therefore, will maintain our support of this part of the Committee's recommendation.

Adjustment of Boundaries

As the Assembly is aware, we also have before us the question of the appropriate adjustment of the boundaries of the former Italian colonies. In view of the complex technical aspects of this problem and the lack of complete information before us, it has not been possible for the Committee to make substantive recommendations to the Assembly. In order that the Assembly may subsequently give consideration to this matter, it has been proposed that the procedure to be adopted be studied by the Interim Committee, and that a report be submitted to the fifth regular session of the General Assembly. My delegation agrees and hopes this resolution will receive the general acceptance of the Assembly.

Mr. President, I will not take more of the Assembly's time to discuss further this problem which has already consumed so much of our energies and about which so much has already been said. In closing, however, I would like to observe on behalf of my delegation that the Assembly might well congratulate itself on a difficult job well done. We may even hope that despite the complex and controversial aspects of this problem, the resolutions recommended by the Political Committee will receive the unanimous approval of this Assembly. As in the case of our own delegation such unanimous approval would not mean that we have all succeeded in persuading our colleagues that our own preferred positions should be accepted. It would mean that we have all joined, in the spirit of the Charter, in a cooperative effort to help the General Assembly to discharge its novel and important responsibilities in this matter.

Resolution on the Disposal of the Former Italian Colonies

A.

U.N. doc A/1089
Adopted Nov. 21, 1949

The General Assembly,

In accordance with Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, 1947, whereby the Powers concerned have agreed to accept the recommendation of the General Assembly on the disposal of the former Italian Colonies and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it.

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation, having heard spokesmen of organizations representing substantial sections of opinion in the territories concerned, and having taken into consideration the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of the territories, the interests of peace and security, the views of the interested Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter,

A. *With respect to Libya, recommends:*

1. That Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan, shall be constituted an independent and sovereign State;

2. This independence shall become effective as soon as possible and in any case not later than 1 January 1952;

3. That a constitution for Libya, including the form of the government, be determined by representatives of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan meeting and consulting together in a National Assembly;

4. That, for the purpose of assisting the people of Lib in the formulation of the constitution and the establis ment of an independent government, there shall be United Nations Commissioner in Libya appointed by t General Assembly and a Council to aid and advise him;

5. The United Nations Commissioner, in consultati with the Council, shall submit to the Secretary-General annual report and such other special reports as he m consider necessary. To these reports shall be added a memorandum or document that the United Nations Co missioner or a member of the Council may wish to bring the attention of the United Nations;

6. That the Council shall consist of ten membe namely:

(a) One representative nominated by the Governm of each of the following countries: Egypt, France, Ita Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States America;

(b) One representative of the people of each of three regions of Libya and one representative of minorities in Libya;

7. That the United Nations Commissioner shall app the representatives mentioned in 6 (b), after consulta with the administering Power, the representatives of Governments mentioned in paragraph 6 (a), leading sonalities and representatives of political parties organizations in the territories concerned;

8. That, in the discharge of his functions, the Un Nations Commissioner shall consult and be guided by

dvice of the members of his Council, it being understood hat he may call upon different members to advise him n respect of different regions or different subjects;

9. That the United Nations Commissioner may offer uggestions to the General Assembly, to the Economic and ocial Council and to the Secretary-General as to the easures that the United Nations might adopt during the ransitional period regarding the economic and social roblems of Libya;

10. That the administering Powers in co-operation with he Commissioner:

(a) Initiate immediately all necessary steps for the ransfer of power to a duly constituted independent overnment;

(b) Administer the territories for the purpose of assist-ng in the establishment of Libyan unity and independence, o-operate in the formation of governmental institutions nd co-ordinate their activities to this end;

(c) Make an annual report to the General Assembly on e steps taken to implement these recommendations;

11. That upon its establishment as an independent State, ibya be admitted to the United Nations in accordance ith Article 4 of the Charter.

. *With respect to Italian Somaliland, recommends:*

1. That Italian Somaliland shall be an independent sov-eign State;

2. This independence shall become effective at the end f ten years from the date of the approval of the Trustee-ip Agreement by the General Assembly;

3. During the period mentioned in paragraph 2, Italian omaliland shall be placed under the International Trus-eship System with Italy as the Administering Authority;

4. The Administering Authority shall be aided and dvised by an Advisory Council composed of representa-ves of the following States: Colombia, Egypt, and the hilippines. The headquarters of the Advisory Council all be Mogadiscio. The precise terms of reference of e Advisory Council shall be determined in the Trustee-ip Agreement and shall include a provision whereby the rusteeship Council shall invite the States members of e Advisory Council, if they are not members of the rusteeship Council, to participate without vote in the bates of the Trusteeship Council on any question re-ting to this territory;

5. That the Trusteeship Council negotiate with the dministering Authority the draft of a Trusteeship Agree-ent for submission to the General Assembly if possible ring the present session, and in any case not later than e fifth regular session;

6. That the Trusteeship Agreement shall include an nex containing a declaration of constitutional princi-es guaranteeing the rights of the inhabitants of Somali-nd and providing for institutions designed to ensure the auguration, development and subsequent establishment full self-government;

7. That in the drafting of this declaration the Trustee-ship Council and the Administering Authority be guided by the annexed text proposed by the Indian delegation;

8. That Italy be invited to undertake provisional administration of the territory.

(a) At a time and pursuant to arrangements for the orderly transfer of administration agreed upon between Italy and the United Kingdom, after the Trusteeship Council and Italy have negotiated the Trusteeship agreement;

(b) On condition that Italy gives an undertaking to administer the territory in accordance with the provisions of the Charter relating to the International Trusteeship System and to the Trusteeship Agreement pending approval by the General Assembly of a Trusteeship Agreement for the territory;

9. That the Advisory Council shall commence the discharge of its functions when the Italian Government begins its provisional administration.

C. *With respect to Eritrea, recommends:*

1. That a Commission consisting of representatives of not more than five Member States, as follows: Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa, be established to ascertain more fully the wishes and the best means of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea, to examine the question of the disposal of Eritrea and to prepare a report for the General Assembly together with such proposal or proposals as it may deem appropriate for the solution of the problem of Eritrea;

2. In carrying out its responsibilities the Commission shall ascertain all the relevant facts including written or oral information from the present administering Power, from representatives of the population of the territory, including minorities, from Governments and from such organizations and individuals as it may deem necessary. In particular, the Commission shall take into account:

(a) The wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea, including the views of the various racial, religious and political groups of the provinces of the territory and the capacity of the people for self-government;

(b) The interests of peace and security in East Africa;

(c) The rights and claims of Ethiopia based on geographical, historical, ethnic or economic reasons, including in particular Ethiopia's legitimate need for adequate access to the sea;

3. In considering its proposals the Commission shall take into account the various suggestions for the disposal of Eritrea submitted during the fourth regular session of the General Assembly;

4. The Commission shall assemble at the headquarters of the United Nations as soon as possible. It shall travel to Eritrea and may visit such other places as in its judgment may be necessary in carrying out its responsibilities. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure. Its report and proposal or proposals shall be communicated to the Secretary-General not later than 15 June 1950 for distribution to Member States so as to enable final consideration during the fifth regular session of the General Assembly. The Interim Committee of the General As-

sembly shall consider the report and proposal, or proposals, of the Commission and report, with conclusions, to the fifth regular session of the General Assembly.

D. *With respect to the above provisions:*

1. *Invites* the Secretary-General to request the necessary facilities from the competent authorities of each of the States in whose territory it may be necessary for the Commission for Eritrea to meet or travel;

2. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in accordance with established practice,

(a) To arrange for the payment of an appropriate remuneration to the United Nations Commissioner in Libya;

(b) To reimburse the travelling and subsistence expenses of the members of the Council for Libya, of one representative from each Government represented on the Advisory Council for Somaliland, and of one representative and one alternate from each Government represented on the Commission for Eritrea;

(c) To assign to the United Nations Commissioner in Libya, to the Advisory Council for Somaliland, and to the United Nations Commission for Eritrea such staff and to provide such facilities as the Secretary-General may consider necessary to carry out the terms of the present resolution.

ANNEXURE

Text Proposed by the Delegation of India

(See section B, paragraph 7)

The following constitution shall be annexed to and form part of the trusteeship agreement for any of the former Italian colonies that may be placed under the International Trusteeship System:

1. The sovereignty of the Trust Territory shall be vested in its people and shall be exercised on their behalf by the authorities and in the manner prescribed herein.

2. The executive authority of the Trust Territory shall be exercised by an Administrator appointed by the Administering Authority.

3. To assist him in the discharge of his functions the Administrator shall appoint a Council consisting of five representatives of the principal political parties or organizations in the Trust Territory.

4. In matters relating to defence and foreign affairs, the Administrator shall be responsible to and carry ou the directions of the United Nations acting through it appropriate organs. In all other matters, the Adminis trator shall consult and be guided by the advice of hi Council.

5. The legislative authority of the Trust Territory sha normally be exercised by the Administrator with th consent of his Council enlarged by such additional repr sentatives of the people as the Administrator may summo for the purpose. In exceptional circumstances, the A ministrator may, subject to the control of the Unite Nations acting through its appropriate organs, make an promulgate such ordinances as, in his opinion, the circun stances demand.

6. The judicial authority of the Trust Territory sha be exercised by a Supreme Court and courts subordinat thereto. The judges of the Supreme Court shall be a pointed by the Administrator but shall hold office durin good behaviour and shall not be removable except wit the consent of the United Nations acting through i appropriate organs.

7. All the authorities of the Trust Territory shall, the exercise of their respective functions, respect huma rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distin tion as to race, sex, language or religion.

8. The United Nations, acting through its appropria organs may:

(a) Make rules to supplement this constitution;

(b) Review the administration periodically and amer this constitution so as to establish the Trust Territo as an independent State within a period not exceedi five years.

B.

The General Assembly, to assist it in making the a pointment of the United Nations Commissioner in Liby

Decides that a Committee composed of:

the President of the General Assembly, two of the Vic Presidents of the General Assembly (Brazil and Pa istan), the Chairman of the

First Committee, and the Chairman of the *Ad H* Political Committee shall nominate a candidate or, no agreement can be reached, three candidates.

C.

The General Assembly,

CONSIDERING its recommendations regarding the d posal of the former Italian colonies,

Calls upon the Interim Committee of the General A sembly to study the procedure to be adopted to delin the boundaries of the former Italian colonies in so f as they are not already fixed by international agreeme and report with conclusions to the fifth regular sessi of the General Assembly.

First Interim Report of U.N. Survey Mission for Middle East

U.N. doc. A/1106
Dated Nov. 17, 1949

THE PROBLEM

The Arab refugees—nearly three-quarters of a million men, women and children—are the symbol of the paramount political issue in the Near East. Their plight is the aftermath of an armed struggle between Arabs and Israelis, a struggle marked by a truce that was broken and an armistice from which a peace settlement has not emerged.

Before the hostilities in Palestine these families lived in that section of Palestine on the Israeli side of the present armistice lines. Abandoning their homes and villages, their fields and orange groves, their shops and benches, they fled to nearby Arab lands. Tens of thousands are in temporary camps; some are in caves; the majority have found shelter in Arab towns and villages, in mosques, churches, monasteries, schools and abandoned buildings. Some seventeen thousand Jewish refugees, too, fled from their homes in and around Jerusalem and territories on the Arab side of the armistice lines. They entered into Israel where most of them have now been absorbed.

The worsening plight of the refugees as an obstacle to peace in Palestine prompted the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1948 to appeal to the nations of the world for funds to provide food, clothing, and shelter for the refugees.[1] This emergency relief programme was established with great dispatch. Governments contributed in the hope that conciliation would produce peace and lay the basis for a permanent solution for the refugees.

On 11 December 1948 the General Assembly adopted a resolution stating:

". . . that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return . . ."

The same resolution established a Conciliation Commission for Palestine to negotiate a settlement of outstanding differences between Israel and the Arab States of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia, Syria, and the Yemen.

No settlement has been reached.

The Arab refugees have not been able to return to their homes because Israel will not admit them. Israel has to date offered to repatriate only 100,000, and only as a part of a general peace settlement of all other issues.

The Arab refugees have not been able to gain a livelihood in the Arab lands where they are because there is insufficient opportunity for them to do so.

The Arab refugees have not received compensation for the property they abandoned, nor have the Jewish refugees in their turn.

The refugees are still on relief.

United Nations funds so far subscribed for the feeding of refugees will not last through the winter.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Palestine Refugees

Their number.—No one knows exactly how many refugees there are. After considering all available information, the Economic Survey Mission estimates that the total number of refugees does

EDITOR'S NOTE: The report of the Survey Mission was signed at Beirut, Lebanon, on Nov. 6, 1949, by Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman; H. Cemil Gokçen, Deputy Chairman; Mirik Labonne, Deputy Chairman; and Desmond Morton, Deputy Chairman. The appendices of the report, not printed here, include the following: Cost of Programme; Analysis of refugees and relief recipients; Illustrative outline of works projects; and Terms of reference.

[1] Thirty-three Governments made voluntary contributions amounting to $32 million, and the United Nations established an emergency organization, the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, with Stanton Griffis, then American Ambassador to Egypt, as its director. The UNRPR purchased and scheduled materials and supplies, and through contracts with the International Red Cross Committee, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the American Friends Service Committee, supplied the refugees with food, shelter, and other services. Many other charitable, religious, and social agencies assisted in substantial ways.

not exceed 774,000, including 48,000 in Israel, of whom 17,000 are Jews. Of this 774,000 it is estimated that 147,000 are self-supporting or otherwise provided for. This leaves 627,000 refugees at present dependent upon United Nations relief. In addition, the Mission recommends the inclusion of some 25,000 Arabs who, though living in their original homes in Arab territory, are destitute through being separated from their lands by the Armistice Agreements. This would bring the total figure of persons who are eligible for relief from the United Nations to 652,000.

Their location.—Where did the refugees go when they left their homes? About 70,000 crossed the Jordan River to the east and are now in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. About 97,000 fled into Lebanon, just north of Galilee. Some 75,000 are clustered near the south and western boundaries of Syria, and in and around Damascus and other towns. About 200,000 are crowded into the tiny coastal desert area called the Gaza strip, at present held by Egypt. About 280,000 are in that part of Palestine not occupied by Israel—west of the Jordan—from Jenin in the north to Jericho and the Arab portion of Jerusalem and on beyond to Bethlehem in the south. About 4,000 crossed the desert to Baghdad in Iraq, far to the east. In addition, some 31,000 Arabs and 17,000 Jews, classed as refugees by the international relief agencies, are in Israel.

The influx of these destitute families into already crowded areas, notably Arab Palestine, the Gaza strip and the western part of the Kingdom of Jordan, has aggravated the already depressed standard of life in these regions. This may help to account for the 940,000 rations now issued daily, as against the 652,000 recommended in this report.

Their effect on local resources.—The effects of the influx of the refugees upon the resources of the Arab States can be suggested by comparing the numbers of refugees to the total population of the areas where they are now chiefly concentrated.

The population of the Gaza strip, before the Arab-Israeli hostilities, was about 70,000. Refugees have swelled the population to about 270,000 in an area of less than 150 square miles. Gaza is now cut off by the armistice lines from its normal trade area; most of the farmlands normally tilled by the villagers in the Gaza strip are now inaccessible to them, because the armistice line separates the farmer from his land. He can see his land across the line, but he enters upon it to tend his orange groves or harvest his crop at the peril of his life.

Arab Palestine, that portion of eastern Palestine not occupied by Israeli troops, had an estimated population of 460,000 before the outbreak of hostilities. To this has been added about 280,000 refugees, an increase of 60 per cent.

The refugees were able to bring few assets with them, and many of those who did have since used them up. They claimed and, in general, received the help of the countries to which they fled. For the first few months the Governments of the Arab States where the Palestine Arabs sought refuge provided relief as best they could. Nor have their efforts ceased since the United Nations relief programme started. Of the $32 million provided by contributions to the United Nations for relief, $6 million is credited to the Arab States.

An addition to the population, similar to that which has occurred in the Near East as a result of the influx of refugees, would imply, if occurring to the United Kingdom, an addition of 3½ million people, if occurring to the United States of America about 10 million, if to France nearly 3 million.

The refugees' dilemma.—Why don't the refugees return to their homes and solve their own problem? That is what the great majority of them want to do. They believe as a matter of right and justice they should be permitted to return to their homes, their farms and villages, and the coastal cities of Haifa and Jaffa whence many of them came.

They are encouraged to believe this remedy open to them because the General Assembly of the United Nations said so in its resolution of 11 December 1948. For purely psychological reasons easily understandable, the refugees set great store by the assurance contained in this resolution. Most men in their position, given a choice between working in a foreign land or returning to their homes and to conditions understood and experienced from youth, would strain towards their homes, even were they told that, in their absence, conditions had so changed that they would never be happy there again. They would be reluctant to believe it. They would suspect a trap to hold them in exile until it was too late for them to return. Even if they were told their houses had been destroyed they would still claim that the land remained. This seems a final argument to farm people.

But, the repatriation of Arab refugees requires political decisions outside the competence of the Economic Survey Mission.

Why don't the refugees go somewhere else? Why not resettle them in less congested lands?

There are several reasons. The refugees do not take kindly to moving again—unless it be a return to their homes, a prospect they cling to because of the General Assembly's resolution. Moreover the Arab Governments have made it clear to the Mission that they feel bound to respect the wishes of the refugees. Resettlement of the refugees outside of Palestine is a political issue poised against the issues of repatriation, compensation of the refugees and a final territorial settlement. Finally, less congested lands are not available for the settlement of additional population until much money has been spent and work done to make the land suitable for cultivation or for industrial development.

In these circumstances, the only immediate constructive step in sight is to give the refugees an opportunity to work where they now are.

Prospects for Employment

Direct consultations between the Economic Survey Mission and Near Eastern Governments established that Governments were ready to support the principle of trying to find gainful employment for the refugees in place of relief. The Governments of Iraq and Israel had already begun to develop this idea in practice. The Government of Syria had recently passed a decree granting refugees equal rights with Syrians to be employed in that country. The Government of Jordan already had plans under active consideration with the same objects in view and has already offered to grant a Jordan passport to any Palestine refugee applying for one.

All Governments gave their assent to a visit by the technical experts attached to the Mission for the purpose of examining, in collaboration with the experts of the Governments concerned, existing or additional projects of a local nature which might afford a further opportunity for employing refugee labour.

Conditions differ in each country. Egypt offers no opportunity for the employment of refugee labour, save in the Gaza strip. Ample labour for the great works already planned by the Egyptian Government for the development of the land of Egypt is immediately available from the ranks of Egyptian unemployed. On the other hand, certain works might usefully be undertaken in the Gaza strip. Unfortunately, this is the most congested area. Possible relief works in this small area can employ only a very small proportion of the refugees accumulated there, but soil and water conservation projects, important in their effects and value, can provide useful work for some. The Mission recognizes that the problem of the refugees in the Gaza area will not be solved, save by permitting the excess to farm their adjacent lands from which they are now cut off by the armistice lines, or to move to other regions where more work opportunities may be open to them.

In Jordan, relief works are envisaged which would soon absorb more than the breadwinners among the 70,000 refugees actually in Jordan territory. The Economic Survey Mission has learned with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has already made to the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan an interest-free loan of £1,000,000 sterling. This loan is to be expended by the Jordan Government on development projects considered by the Jordan Government to be of value to their country and for the benefit of Arab refugees from Palestine. The Economic Survey Mission expresses the hope that the two Governments concerned will find it possible to begin work at an early date.

The Governments of Iraq and Israel are both engaged in finding work for the relatively small number of refugees within their territories, and advised the Mission that they do not immediately need external assistance to this end.

In Syria and Lebanon work projects are available, if means can be found to finance them, which would contribute materially to the solution of the immediate problem of finding gainful employment in lieu of relief.

The execution of such works projects, leading to improvements in the productive capacity of the areas in which they are undertaken, is bound to have a dynamic and cumulatively beneficial effect on the whole situation. It will gain time during which it may be hoped substantial progress will be made towards a settlement of the outstanding political issues by the agencies entrusted with that task.

Many of the small works projects envisaged in the public works programme for the employment of refugees, as noted in Appendix C, can be the prelude to larger developments. For the immediate future, the refugees are viewed as a reservoir of idle manpower; of greater service to themselves and to the lands giving them asylum, if given work. The administration of the relief and public works programme for refugees, brought together under the initiative of one agency, can, in the considered judgment of the Economic Survey Mission, become a contributing factor for peace and economic stability in the Near East.

THE ECONOMIC SURVEY MISSION

In these circumstances the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine established the Economic Survey Mission on 23 August 1949:

". . . to examine the economic situation in the countries affected by the recent hostilities, and to make recommendations to the Commission for an integrated programme:

(a) to enable the Governments concerned to further such measures and development programmes as are required to overcome economic dislocations created by the hostilities;

(b) to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation pursuant to the provisions of paragraph eleven of the General Assembly's resolution of 11 December 1948, in order to reintegrate the refugees into the economic life of the area on a self-sustaining basis within a minimum period of time;

(c) to promote economic conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in the area."

The Economic Survey Mission assembled at Lausanne on 8 September 1949, where it received its terms of reference from the Conciliation Commission and met with each of the delegations representing the Governments of Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon. The Mission proceeded to Beirut, Lebanon, where it began its work in the Near East on 12 September 1949. The heads of the Mission have discussed the problems covered in its terms of reference with the members of the Governments in Alexandria, Egypt; Baghdad, Iraq; Tel-Aviv, Israel; Amman, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; Beirut, Lebanon; and Damascus, Syria. The experts attached to the Mission have studied in the field the problem of the refugees, the economy of the areas in which the refugees are now centered, and, in extensive discussions with technical committees established by most of the above Governments, have considered measures which might remedy the "economic dislocations created by the hostilities".

INTERIM FINDINGS

As a result of the Mission's studies, discussions with Governments and investigations in the field, the Mission finds that:

1. The refugees themselves are the most serious manifestation of "economic dislocation" created by the Arab-Israeli hostilities. The refugees represent about 7 per cent of the population in the countries in which they have sought refuge. About 65 per cent of the refugees fled to Arab Palestine and Gaza, almost doubling the population. Resolution of the demoralizing, unproductive and costly prolem of the refugees is the most immediate requirement "conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in the area".

2. The continuing political stalemate in the relations between the Arab countries and Israel precludes any early solution of the refugee problem by means of repatriation or large scale resettlement.

3. The relief supplied by the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (UNRPR), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the many local and foreign voluntary agencies of charity operating in the Near East has averted a worse calamity. Were all direct relief to be cut off now, many refugees would face a winter of disease and starvation. Were charity alone to be provided for another year, it would be more difficult and costly to take constructive measures later. Nevertheless, the extent of direct relief provided through United Nations funds should be stringently cut within the next two months. There is no doubt that, however commendable it may be to extend international charity to the needy, rations greatly in excess of the number justifiable within the original intentions of the General Assembly of the United Nations have been and are being issued.

4. Work in place of relief cannot be provided immediately for all. One thing, however, is clear. Rather than remain objects of charity, the refugees who are idle must have an opportunity to go to work where they are now; work which would increase the productive capacity of the countries in which they have found refuge. Until such work has been found, those refugees who are idle must remain a burden upon others, the United Nations charitable societies supported by voluntary contributions, or the countries in which the refugees now find themselves.

5. Useful, gainful employment can, however, be found for all the refugees able and willing to work. There are many potential opportunities for usefu and productive work to improve and reclaim the land, increase the supply and use of water strengthen and extend road systems and improv sanitation and shelter. Suitable employment fo the refugees can be provided in many places, espe cially in Jordan and Arab Palestine, where nearly half the refugees are located.

6. This and other similar work could begin a soon as funds can be found to finance it. But th resources of the Arab countries sheltering most o the refugees are inadequate to cope unaided wit the present cost of emergency relief alone, muc less to finance the cost of putting the refugees t work. Money for this purpose must be foun from outside sources.

7. The inability of the refugees rapidly to fin for themselves gainful employment in the Ara countries is but a symptom of the need for develop ment of the unused resources of the Near Eas where lack of available capital is responsible fo much idle manpower. This is a task for the Ne Eastern Governments to do in their own way, ar in due course, with the help of competent couns and substantial financial credits.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of these findings, the Economic Su vey Mission makes the following recommend tions.

1. The emergency relief for refugees ma possible by voluntary contributions from Memb Governments of the United Nations should be co tinued through the winter months, and until April 1950, under the present UNRPR syster the present minimum ration should not be r duced, but the number of rations issued should reduced by 1 January 1950 from the present rate 940,000 to 652,000. This would cost $5.5 millia for the three months beginning 1 January 19 Thereafter, further reductions should take pla as men become employed in gainful labour a thus become ineligible for direct relief.

2. A programme of public works, calculated to improve the productivity of the area, and such continuing relief as will be needed should be organized as an integrated operation, in co-operation with the Governments of the countries where the refugees are located. This programme should be planned and arrangements negotiated with the appropriate Near Eastern Governments to begin April 1950.

No more rations should be supplied by the United Nations after 31 December 1950, unless otherwise ordered by the United Nations at the fifth session of the General Assembly, at which Near Eastern Governments concerned would have an opportunity to present appropriate proposals.

Meanwhile, the agency handling direct relief on behalf of the United Nations should be empowered to negotiate with Near Eastern Governments for the latter to take over as soon as possible, and at latest by 31 December 1950, responsibility for the maintenance of such refugees as may remain within their territories.

This programme for the nine months from April through December 1950 would require $27 million, which sum would include such relief as might be needed.

The United Nations should be prepared to continue the works programme until 30 June 1951 (subject to review at the fifth session of the General Assembly).

The works programme for the six months of 1951 would require $21.2 million.

Of the total of $53.7 million for the cost of relief and works projects for the eighteen months' programme, the Mission estimates that approximately 25 per cent, or $13.3 million, represents the cost of the necessary work materials, tools and equipment. The Mission considers that a considerable proportion of this sum, perhaps up to one half in certain cases, might be supplied by Governments of the countries in which the refugees are now concentrated.

This would reduce the amount required from outside sources for eighteen months from 1 January 1950 for a programme of relief and public works to approximately $48 million, or an average of $2.7 million per month. This is the same as the present monthly rate of expenditure by the United Nations upon direct relief alone.[2]

[2] Should the United Nations decide to bring about a gradual reduction from 940,000 rations per day to 652,000 on 1 April 1950, through monthly reductions of 100,000, beginning on 1 February 1950, the cost of the alteration schedule would amount to $1.2 million. If the United Nations should prefer to maintain the present rate of 940,000 rations per day, except as affected by work relief, throughout the calendar year 1950 and thus provide charity to many thousands who are not refugees, the cost of this alteration in schedule would amount to $7 million.

3. An agency should be established to organize and, on or after 1 April 1950, direct the programmes of relief and public works herein recommended. As a minimum requirement to the successful implementation of the relief and works programmes, the Economic Survey Mission urges that:

(a) Subject to rendering such reports of its activities and accounting for its expenditure to the General Assembly of the United Nations as may be required of it and within the policies established in its terms of reference, the agency should have full autonomy and authority to make decisions within the sphere of activities entrusted to it, including the selection of its subordinate staff and the administration of funds made available to it.

(b) The agency should be located in the Near East.

(c) The personnel and assets of the UNRPR should be turned over to the new agency on 1 April 1950, or as soon thereafter as possible, in order that the functions of direct relief may be directed by the new agency in appropriate relation to the works programme.

(d) The agency should be authorized to counsel with such Near Eastern Governments as may so desire concerning measures to be taken by such Governments in preparation for the time when United Nations funds for relief and works projects shall no longer be available.

GUIDING POLICIES FOR ADMINISTRATION OF PROPOSED PROGRAMME

The purpose of the proposed programme of relief and public works is four-fold: It will halt the demoralizing process of pauperization, outcome of a dole prolonged; the opportunity to work will increase the practical alternatives available to refugees, and thereby encourage a more realistic view of the kind of future they want and the kind they can achieve; a works programme properly planned will add to the productive economy of the countries where the refugees are located; the chance to earn a living will reduce the need for relief and bring its cost within the ability of the Near Eastern countries to meet without United Nations assistance.

With these purposes in mind, the work-relief programme, to be successful, must be planned and carried out in the closest possible co-operation with Near Eastern Governments concerned. Specific works projects should be selected and planned through negotiation and agreement between the national Government and the agency charged with administering the programmes. The actual execution of the programmes should devolve upon the

national Government to the fullest degree possible, with agreement for audit, inspection and general supervision by the international agency. This arrangement will help to strengthen the administrations of the Near Eastern Governments concerned by the responsibility they thus accept and discharge. In this course lies the only possibility that the need for international relief will pass and that the refugees will ultimately be rehabilitated.

In pursuing this course it will be important to remember that no Government of the Near East, or any Government anywhere, can indefinitely provide special benefits to a particular group, transient in its domain, while there is substantial unemployment among its own nationals. Negotiations of works programmes will have to take this into account.

The opportunities for employment on works projects will vary in quantity and duration according to local circumstance. Where refugees are unusually congested, individuals may be employed on an alternating part-time basis so that more may work. An understanding of the value of work as a chance to earn and restore self-respect together with concern for the low morale and debilitated condition of men long idle and undernourished will suggest policy and practice.

The amount of relief and the amount of employment in each family or village group should have a direct relationship. The formula is more work and less relief. Humanitarian considerations should temper administrative decisions, but th success of the works relief programme will inevita bly be measured by the speed with which direc relief diminishes, as men and their families begi to earn a living.

The League of Red Cross Societies, the Interna tional Red Cross Committee and the America Friends Service Committee have, hitherto, b contract with the UNRPR, distributed relief sup plies provided by the UNRPR from funds or equiv alents supplied by voluntary contributions col lected by the Secretary-General of the United Na tions from Member countries. In addition, man unheralded charities have supplemented thi United Nations relief.

None of these organizations is qualified to ad minister a works relief programme or to negotiat thereon with Near Eastern Governments. Suc tasks require an agency of a different kin equipped to plan in the field works projects in en gineering and agriculture, and to visualize th relationship between these projects and the plan of each country for its own future developmen Moreover, since the results of the work entaile will have an immediate effect on the policy of th agency organizing the distribution of food an other forms of direct relief, the Economic Surve Mission considers it imperative that the two acti ities be under the same direction. Since the pr gramme of works relief must take precedence ov that for direct relief, the latter decreasing as th former grows, the Economic Mission proposes th supervision and control of direct relief be a fun tion of the agency undertaking the works reli programme.

Threats to the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of Greece

U.N. doc. A/1117
Resolution adopted Nov. 19, 1949

A

The General Assembly,

HAVING CONSIDERED the reports of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans established by General Assembly resolution 109 (II) and continued by General Assembly resolution 193 (III), including the additional facts and the recommendations in its supplementary report of 10 September 1949, and in particular its unanimous conclusions that:

(i) Albania and Bulgaria have continued to give moral and material assistance to the Greek guerrilla movement, Albania being the principal source of material assistance;

(ii) There has been an increase in the support afforded to the guerrillas from certain States not bordering up Greece, particularly Romania,

HAVING NOTED the report of the Conciliation Committ established by the First Committee of the General Asse bly in its resolution of 29 September 1949;

1. *Considers* that the active assistance given to t Greek guerrillas by Albania in particular, by Bulgaria a by certain other States, including Romania, in disrega of the Assembly's recommendations, is contrary to t purpose and principles of the United Nations Charter a endangers peace in the Balkans;

2. *Considers* that further foreign assistance to the Gre guerrillas resulting in the launching of new armed acti against Greece from adjacent territory would serious increase the gravity of the danger to the peace and wou

justify the Special Committee in recommending, pursuant to paragraph 8 of resolution 109 (II), the convocation, as a matter of urgency, of a special session of the General Assembly in order to give consideration to further steps necessary for the removal of this danger to the peace;

3. *Calls upon* Albania, Bulgaria and the other States concerned to cease forthwith rendering any assistance or support to the guerrillas in fighting against Greece, including the use of their territories as a base for the preparation or launching of armed actions;

4. *Recommends* to all Members of the United Nations and to all other States:

(a) To refrain from any action designed to assist directly or through any other Government any armed group fighting against Greece;

(b) To refrain from the direct or indirect provision of arms or other materials of war to Albania and Bulgaria until the Special Committee or another competent United Nations organ has determined that the unlawful assistance of these States to the Greek guerrillas has ceased;

(c) To take into account, in their relations with Albania and Bulgaria, the extent to which those two countries henceforth abide by the recommendations of the General Assembly in their relations with Greece;

5. *Again calls upon* Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with Greece in the settlement of their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 3 of the Charter, and to that end recommends:

(a) That, in view of the existence of diplomatic relations between the Governments of Greece and Yugoslavia, further efforts be made by those Governments through diplomatic channels to resolve the differences between them;

(b) That Albania and Bulgaria on the one hand, and Greece on the other, establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations, and endeavour through diplomatic channels to resolve differences;

(c) That they renew previously operative conventions or conclude new ones providing effective machinery for the regulation and control of their common frontiers and for the peaceful adjustment of frontier incidents;

6. *Calls upon* Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with the Special Committee in enabling it to carry out its functions, in particular the functions in accordance with paragraph 10 (c) of resolution 193 (III) and paragraphs 10, 11, and 13 of the present resolution, and upon Greece to continue to co-operate towards the same end;

7. *Approves* the reports of the Special Committee and continues it in being in accordance with all the terms of reference contained in the present resolution and in General Assembly resolutions 109 (II) and 193 (III), which are hereby continued in effect;

8. *Again instructs* the Special Committee to continue to be available to assist the four Governments concerned in the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions, in particular to promote the restoration of normal relations between Greece and her northern neighbours and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Balkans, and for this purpose continues the authorization to the Special Committee in its discretion, to appoint and utilize the services and good offices of one or more persons whether or not members of the Special Committee;

9. *Notes* the report of the Special Committee, which states that the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have publicly announced that Greek guerrillas who have entered their respective territories have been disarmed and interned, and calls upon all States harbouring Greek guerrillas to co-operate with the Special Committee or other appropriate international agency for verification of the disarming and disposition of the Greek guerrillas who have entered their respective territories;

10. *Calls upon* all States harbouring Greek nationals as a result of the Greek guerrillas' operations against Greece to facilitate the peaceful repatriation to Greece of all such individuals who desire to return and live in accordance with the law of the land;

11. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to arrange, through the Special Committee or other appropriate United Nations or international agency, the extension of any feasible assistance to the Governments concerned in making and carrying out arrangements for the repatriation to Greece or resettlement elsewhere of Greek guerrillas and other Greek nationals who have been involved in the guerrilla warfare.

B

The General Assembly,

NOTING the report submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies on the question of the repatriation of Greek children (A/1014), and expressing warm appreciation of the efforts made by the two international Red Cross organizations to facilitate the implementation of General Assembly resolution 193 (III) C,

NOTING that the Greek children have not as yet been returned to their homes in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly, and recognizing the necessity of further efforts for the full implementation of this resolution,

1. *Instructs* the Secretary-General to request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies to continue their efforts in this humanitarian cause to lend them all appropriate assistance in carrying out their task;

2. *Urges* all the Members of the United Nations and other States harbouring the Greek children to make all necessary arrangements, in consultation and co-operation with the international Red Cross organizations, for the early return to their homes of the children in accordance with the aforementioned resolution;

3. *Invites* the international Red Cross organizations to report to the Secretary-General for the information of the Members of the United Nations, on the progress being made in the implementation of the present resolution.

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Reestablishment of the Interim Committee

U.N. doc. A/1125
Resolution adopted Nov. 21, 1949

The General Assembly,

HAVING TAKEN NOTE of the report submitted to it by the Interim Committee on the changes in the Committee's constitution, its duration or its terms of reference which are considered desirable in the light of experience,

AFFIRMING, that for the effective performance of the duties specifically conferred upon the General Assembly by the Charter in relation to matters concerning the maintenance of international peace and security (Articles 11 and 35), the promotion of international co-operation in the political field (Article 13), and the peaceful adjustment of any situation likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations (Article 14), it is necessary to continue the Interim Committee for the purpose of considering such matters and reporting with conclusions to the General Assembly,

RECOGNIZING fully the primary responsibility of the Security Council for prompt and effective action for the maintenance of international peace and security (Article 24),

Resolves that:

1. There shall be re-established an Interim Committee of the General Assembly, to meet when the General Assembly is not actually in regular session, on which each Member of the General Assembly shall have the right to appoint one representative;

2. the Interim Committee, as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly established in accordance with Article 22 of the Charter, shall assist the General Assembly in the performance of its functions by discharging the following duties:

(a) To consider and report with conclusions to the General Assembly on such matters as may be referred to the Committee by or under the authority of the General Assembly;

(b) To consider and report with conclusions to the General Assembly on any dispute or any situation which, in virtue of Articles 11 (paragraph 2), 14 or 35 of the Charter, has been proposed for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly by any Member of the United Nations, or by any non-member State under Articles 11 (paragraph 2) or 35, or has been brought before the General Assembly by the Security Council, provided the Committee previously determines the matter to be both important and requiring preliminary study. Such determination shall be made by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting, unless the matter is one referred to the General Assembly by the Security Council, in which case a simple majority will suffice;

(c) To consider systematically, using the recommendations and studies of the Interim Committee contained in documents A/605 and A/AC.18/91, the further implementation of that part of Article 11 (paragraph 1) relating to the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, and of that part of Article 13 (paragraph 1a) which deals with the promotion of international co-operation in the political field, and to report with conclusions to the General Assembly;

(d) To consider, in connexion with any matter under discussion by the Interim Committee, whether occasion may require the summoning of a special session of the General Assembly and, if the Committee deems that a session is required, so to advise the Secretary-General in order that he may obtain the views of the Members of the United Nations thereon;

(e) To conduct investigations and appoint commissions of inquiry within the scope of the Committee's duties, as it may deem useful and necessary, provided that decisions to conduct such investigations or inquiries shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. An investigation or inquiry elsewhere than at the Headquarters of the United Nations shall not be conducted without the consent of the State or States in whose territory it is to take place;

(f) To report to the General Assembly, should the occasion arise, on any changes in the Committee's constitution or its terms of reference which may be considered desirable in the light of experience;

3. The Interim Committee is authorized to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice on legal questions arising within the scope of the Committee's activities;

4. In discharging its duties, the Interim Committee shall at all times take into account the responsibilities of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security as well as the duties assigned by the Charter or by the General Assembly or by the Security Council to other Councils or to any committee or commission. The Interim Committee shall not consider any matter of which the Security Council is seized and which the latter has not submitted to the General Assembly;

5. The rules of procedure governing the proceedings of the Interim Committee and such sub-committees and commissions as it may set up shall by those adopted by the Interim Committee on 9 January 1948 as amended by the Interim Committee on 31 March 1949, with such changes and additions as the Interim Committee may deem necessary, provided that they are not inconsistent with any provisions of this resolution. The Interim Committee shall hold the first meeting of its annual session at the Headquarters of the United Nations within six weeks from the date of the conclusion or adjournment of any regular session of the General Assembly. The date of the first meeting of each session of the Interim Committee shall be determined by the Chairman elected during the previous session, or by the head of his delegation, in consultation with the Secretary-General, who shall notify the members of the Committee accordingly. At the opening meeting, the Chairman elected during the previous session of the Committee or the head of his delegation shall preside until the Interim Committee has elected a Chairman. The Interim Committee shall meet as and when it deems necessary for the conduct of its business. No new credentials shall be required for representatives who were duly accredited to the Interim Committee during its previous session;

6. The Secretary-General shall provide the necessary facilities and assign appropriate staff as required for the work of the Interim Committee, its sub-committees and commissions.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

[November 26–December 2]

General Assembly

The overwhelming approval given the Essentials-of-Peace resolution by the General Assembly in its plenary session on December 1, and the beginning of debate in the Political and Security Committee (Committee I) on the Chinese charges against the Soviet Union were the highlights in the eleventh week of the fourth session of the General Assembly.

Essentials of Peace.—By a final vote identical with that in Committee I the previous week, the General Assembly adopted the resolution originally introduced by the United States and the United Kingdom [1] as their counterproposal to the Soviet resolution condemning "preparations for a new war" and calling for "a five-power pact for the strengthening of peace."

As described by United States Ambassador Austin, the courses of action recommended in the Committee-approved resolution "are those which every nation who assumed the obligations of the United Nations ought to follow" and "embody the practical steps which should be taken at the points of friction in the world today if we are to make the United Nations a living instrument for maintaining peace." Only five nations—the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland—voted against this resolution, and only one nation, Yugoslavia, abstained. The original Soviet resolution was then decisively defeated.

The Assembly action occurred on the third day of a debate in which 21 nations had spoken. In this debate Soviet delegate, Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, reiterated his charges of United States–United Kingdom preparations for war and the Soviet Union's support of peace. Other speeches, however, emphasized the contrast between Soviet words and Soviet deeds.

Full Employment.—In a 4-hour meeting on November 25, the Assembly adopted by a substantial majority the Economic and Financial Committee resolution on full employment. It recommends consideration by each government, as a matter of urgency, of its international responsibility under articles 55 and 56 of the Charter to take appropriate action to "promote and maintain full and profitable employment." The resolution asks the Economic and Social Council "to give attention to unemployment and under-employment, especially in under-developed countries and particularly in such critical fields as agriculture," and it also decides that the world economic situation should again be reviewed in the light of articles 55 and 56 at the next regular session of the General Assembly.

The Assembly then rejected a Czechoslovak proposal recommending to member states suffering from unemployment the immediate adoption of a wide variety of detailed measures, such as reduction in working hours, price control, and increased taxes on profits, to be applied with the "effective participation of the truly representative trade unions." The resolution also required reports by member states to the Economic and Social Council on the implementation of this recommendation and on the obstacles to full employment encountered.

In the debate United States delegate, Wilson Compton, supporting the Committee resolution, said that although the United States was in sympathy with some aspects of the Czechoslovak pro-

[1] BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1949, p. 801.

posal, it believed these came more properly within the field of expert bodies. He also said that the background of this proposal and the interpretation placed upon it by its own sponsors showed that it "lacks constructive purpose."

Other Plenary Action.—The General Assembly on December 1 adopted a series of Legal Committee resolutions concerning the registration of treaties, reparation for injuries incurred in the service of the United Nations, and the conditions under which Liechtenstein may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. It also began its consideration of 10 resolutions received from the Trusteeship Committee regarding information from non-self-governing territories.

Political Committee

Situation in China.—Debate on the Chinese charges against the Soviet Union opened on November 25 with a statement by Ambassador T. F. Tsiang, chairman of China's delegation to the Assembly, setting forth in detail his government's case against the Soviet Union. He later introduced a resolution in which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is found to have violated the United Nations Charter and the August 14, 1945, treaty of friendship and alliance between China and the Soviet Union. The resolution urges all member states to refrain from giving military or economic aid to the Chinese Communists; recommends to all member states that they not accord diplomatic recognition to any Chinese Communist regime; and calls upon all member states to refrain from taking advantage of the present situation in China for any purpose incompatible with the political independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China. In a subsequent statement, Ambassador Tsiang said that nonrecognition of the Chinese Communists was the most important of these recommendations.

At the opening of the meeting, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia declared that they would not participate in consideration of this matter or take account of any decisions reached. Mr. Vyshinsky termed the charges a "slander" introduced by the "Kuomintang clique," which was now without power in China.

On November 28 United States Ambassador Philip C. Jessup stressed the seriousness of the charges against the Soviet Union and deplored its "selective participation" in the work of the United Nations. Emphasizing the "continuing concern" of this government for the independence of China he presented a resolution sponsored jointly by the United States, Australia, Mexico, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

Progress in Other Committees

A revised draft resolution on prostitution and the traffic in persons, recommended by the Social Commission of Ecosoc was adopted by the Social Committee on November 28. Explaining his abstention in the vote, United States delegate, Benjamin V. Cohen, stated that in its present form the convention could not secure United States ratification since it made the Federal Government responsible for enforcing what are traditionally local laws in the United States. Mr. Cohen further said, however, that the United States would continue to cooperate in the effort to abolish the evils toward which this draft convention is directed.

The Legal Committee concluded its work by taking note of the Secretary-General's report on privileges and immunities of the United Nations, accepting a resolution designed to encourage the establishment of permanent missions at the seat of the United Nations, and deferring consideration of the question of inviting nonmember states to accede to the revised general act for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Earlier in the week, the Committee had approved a resolution inviting states not members of the United Nations who are or become active members of one or more specialized agencies or parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice to sign and ratify the genocide convention.

Ad Hoc Political Committee

Palestine.—The Committee completed its general debate on the question of the future status of Jerusalem and began its consideration of assistance to Palestine refugees on the basic of the interim report of the Economic Survey Mission. A joint resolution has been submitted by the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Turkey calling for direct relief and public work expenditures over an 18-month period equivalent to $54,900,000. In supporting this resolution, the United States deputy representative, John C. Ross, said that the executive branch of this government "would seek from our Congress the authority and funds necessary to implement our fair share" of this program.

CORRECTION: In the BULLETIN of November 28, page 817, third paragraph, line 11, the phrase "unless at the end of that period the General Assembly decides otherwise" should not have appeared.

World Abundance Through the Food and Agriculture Organization

Address by President Truman[1]

The Food and Agriculture Organization has an inspiring task, for you are working to increase the food supply of the people of the world. That task is central to the whole broad effort to raise living standards and achieve greater freedom for all mankind. All the work of the United Nations and its many associated organizations is important in building a peaceful world, but none is of more significance than yours. If by working together in this organization, we can create an abundance of food for all countries, we shall bring better health, longer lives, and greater happiness to mankind everywhere.

For this reason, it was most appropriate that the Nobel peace prize this year should have been awarded to your former Director-General Lord Boyd Orr, that great pioneer in international cooperation in food and agriculture. You delegates to this organization can properly share in this recognition of the importance of your work to world peace.

We have all learned in recent years that if we are to achieve peace we must have a positive, forward-looking program to satisfy the physical needs and spiritual aspirations of mankind. Your organization is primarily concerned with meeting the need of hundreds of millions of people for more and better food. To achieve this, your work centers around two major problems. The first is to increase the production of food stuffs and other agricultural commodities. The second is to see that those commodities reach the peoples and countries which need them.

We all know there are immense possibilities of increasing agricultural production throughout the world. The United States, for example, had a high agricultural production before the war—and yet during the war we were able to increase the production of many commodities tremendously by using new and better techniques. New hybrid varieties of field crops, better livestock, better fertilizers, amazing new weed and insect killers—these and many more advances in agricultural techniques are opening up new horizons of production. It is no exaggeration to say that, as a result, an agricultural revolution has been taking place in the United States.

If this can be done in our country, think of what can be done to increase production in those parts of the world where modern methods and modern machinery are relatively unknown. This is one of the great opportunities toward which I pointed in my inaugural address last January, when I spoke of the need for a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.

In the beginning, the greatest advance will probably result from the most elementary improvements. The control of animal diseases and the improvement of simple tools, such as plows and threshing equipment, would greatly increase production and better the lot of millions of small farmers in many parts of the world.

I know that the FAO understands these great possibilities. I am glad that your organization has worked out a specific program as your part of the United Nations' effort along these lines. The United States will continue to look to the FAO for leadership in the international cooperative effort to increase food and agricultural production

[1] Address made before the Food and Agriculture Organization on Nov. 22, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

throughout the world. Our experience, our knowledge, our technical experts are all available to you, and I hope that you will continue to call upon them as needed.

Because your organization is concerned with raising the living standards of people throughout the world, you are properly concerned not only with production but also with the distribution of food and agricultural commodities. You understand the imperative necessity that the nations work together toward a system of international trade which will contribute to an expanding world economy.

The nations of the world have taken a number of progressive steps in this direction. The European Recovery Program is essentially an international effort to restore Western Europe as a vital force in a progressive world economy. The International Wheat Agreement is a practical means for achieving better distribution of world wheat supplies. Most of the trading nations have joined in agreements to reduce barriers to world trade.

As the nations regain the productive capacity destroyed during the war and as new productive capacity is added by the growth of underdeveloped areas, we should find it easier to develop lasting patterns for the international exchange of goods and services. I hope that the International Trade Organization will soon be established to help expand world trade by carrying on a continuous and systematic attack on trade barriers.

At the present time, there is still need for resourcefulness in meeting certain immediate problems. I know that, at this session, the FAO will be considering ways and means of moving temporary surpluses of certain commodities from countries where they are not needed to countries where they are badly needed. The United States welcomes the initiative of this organization in seeking a solution to this problem. We pledge ourselves to work wholeheartedly with the other members in attempting to devise practical and effective methods for solving it.

As our Thanksgiving season again approaches we should all be reminded that the harvest has a twofold significance. It is one mark of civilization to be able to produce abundantly, but it is a more important mark to be able to use abundance for the welfare of mankind. The United States is glad to work with the Food and Agriculture Organization toward the goal of increasing the production of food and improving its distribution. We regard this as a major cooperative endeavor toward our common objective of a stable and peaceful world.

Statute of the Council of Europe[1]

[*London, May 5, 1949*]

The Governments of the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, the French Republic, the Irish Republic, the Italian Republic, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Norway, the Kingdom of Sweden and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Convinced that the pursuit of peace based upon justice and international co-operation is vital for the preservation of human society and civilisation;

Reaffirming their devotion to the spiritual and moral values which are the common heritage of their peoples and the true source of individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all genuine democracy;

Believing that, for the maintenance and further realisation of these ideals and in the interests of economic and social progress, there is need of a closer unity between all like-minded countries of Europe;

Considering that, to respond to this need and to the expressed aspirations of their peoples in this regard, it is necessary forthwith to create an organisation which will bring European States into closer association;

Have in consequence decided to set up a Council of Europe consisting of a Committee of representatives of Governments and of a Consultative Assembly, and have for this purpose adopted the following Statute:

Chapter I. Aim of the Council of Europe

Article 1

(a) The aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress.

(b) This aim shall be pursued through the organs of the Council by discussion of questions of common concern and by agreements and common action in economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative matters and in the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(c) Participation in the Council of Europe shall not affect the collaboration of its Members in the work of the United Nations and of other international organisations or unions to which they are parties.

(d) Matters relating to National Defence do not fall within the scope of the Council of Europe.

[1] Reprinted from the *Congressional Record* of Oct. 13, 1949, pp. 14755–14759.

Chapter II. Membership

Article 2

The Members of the Council of Europe are the Parties to this Statute.

Article 3

Every Member of the Council of Europe must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons within its jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and collaborate sincerely and effectively in the realisation of the aim of the Council as specified in Chapter I.

Article 4

Any European State, which is deemed to be able and willing to fulfil the provisions of Article 3, may be invited to become a Member of the Council of Europe by the Committee of Ministers. Any State so invited shall become a Member on the deposit on its behalf with the Secretary-General of an instrument of accession to the present Statute.

Article 5

(a) In special circumstances, a European country, which is deemed to be able and willing to fulfil the provisions of Article 3, may be invited by the Committee of Ministers to become an Associate Member of the Council of Europe. Any country so invited shall become an Associate Member on the deposit on its behalf with the Secretary-General of an instrument accepting the present Statute. An Associate Member shall be entitled to be represented in the Consultative Assembly only.

(b) The expression "Member" in this Statute includes an Associate Member except when used in connexion with representation on the Committee of Ministers.

Article 6

Before issuing invitations under Articles 4 or 5 above, the Committee of Ministers shall determine the number of representatives on the Consultative Assembly to which the proposed Member shall be entitled and its proportionate financial contribution.

Article 7

Any Member of the Council of Europe may withdraw by formally notifying the Secretary-General of its intention to do so. Such withdrawal shall take effect at the end of the financial year in which it is notified, if the notification is given during the first nine months of that financial year. If the notification is given in the last three months of the financial year, it shall take effect at the end of the next financial year.

Article 8

Any Member of the Council of Europe, which has seriously violated Article 3, may be suspended from its rights of representation and requested by the Committee of Ministers to withdraw under Article 7. If such Member does not comply with this request, the Committee may decide that it has ceased to be a Member of the Council as from such date as the Committee may determine.

Article 9

The Committee of Ministers may suspend the right of representation on the Committee and on the Consultative Assembly of a Member, which has failed to fulfil its financial obligation, during such period as the obligation remains unfulfilled.

Chapter III. General

Article 10

The organs of the Council of Europe are:

(i) the Committee of Ministers;
(ii) the Consultative Assembly.

Both these organs shall be served by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe.

Article 11

The seat of the Council of Europe is at Strasbourg.

Article 12

The official languages of the Council of Europe are English and French. The rules of procedure of the Committee of Ministers and of the Consultative Assembly shall determine in what circumstances and under what conditions other languages may be used.

Chapter IV. Committee of Ministers

Article 13

The Committee of Ministers is the organ which acts on behalf of the Council of Europe in accordance with Articles 15 and 16.

Article 14

Each Member shall be entitled to one representative on the Committee of Ministers and each representative shall be entitled to one vote. Representatives on the Committee shall be the Ministers for Foreign Affairs. When a Minister for Foreign Affairs is unable to be present or in other circumstances where it may be desirable, an alternate may be nominated to act for him, who shall, whenever possible, be a member of his Government.

Article 15

(a) On the recommendation of the Consultative Assembly or on its own initiative, the Committee of Ministers shall consider the action required to further the aim of the Council of Europe, including the conclusion of conventions or agreements and the adoption by Governments of a common policy with regard to particular matters. Its conclusions shall be communicated to Members by the Secretary-General.

(b) In appropriate cases, the conclusions of the Committee may take the form of recommendations to the Governments of Members, and the Committee may request the Governments of Members to inform it of the action taken by them with regard to such recommendations.

Article 16

The Committee of Ministers shall, subject to the provisions of Articles 24, 28, 30, 32, 33 and 35, relating to the powers of the Consultative Assembly, decide with binding effect all matters relating to the internal organisation and arrangements of the Council of Europe. For this purpose the Committee of Ministers shall adopt such financial and administrative regulations as may be necessary.

Article 17

The Committee of Ministers may set up advisory and technical committees or commissions for such specific purposes as it may deem desirable.

Article 18

The Committee of Ministers shall adopt its rules of procedure which shall determine amongst other things:

(i) the quorum;

(ii) the method of appointment and term of office of its President;

(iii) the procedure for the admission of items to its agenda, including the giving of notice of proposals for resolutions; and

(iv) the notifications required for the nomination of alternates under Article 14.

Article 19

At each session of the Consultative Assembly the Committee of Ministers shall furnish the Assembly with statements of its activities, accompanied by appropriate documentation.

Article 20

(a) Resolutions of the Committee of Ministers relating to the following important matters, namely:

(i) recommendations under article 15 (b);

(ii) questions under article 19;

(iii) questions under article 21 (a) (i) and (b);

(iv) questions under article 33;

(v) recommendations for the amendment of articles 1 (d), 7, 15, 20, and 22; and

(vi) any other question which the committee may, by a resolution passed under (d) below, decide should be subject to a unanimous vote on account of its importance

require the unanimous vote of the representatives casting a vote, and of a majority of the representatives entitled to sit on the committee.

(b) Questions arising under the rules of procedure or under the financial and administrative regulations may be decided by a simple majority vote of the representatives entitled to sit on the committee.

(c) Resolutions of the committee under Articles 4 and 5 require a two-thirds majority of all the representatives entitled to sit on the committee.

(d) All other resolutions of the committee, including the adoption of the Budget, of rules of procedure and of financial and administrative regulations, recommendations for the amendment of articles of this statute, other than those mentioned in paragraph (a) (v) above, and deciding in case of doubt which paragraph of this article applies, require a two-thirds majority of the representatives casting a vote and of a majority of the representatives entitled to sit on the committee.

Article 21

(a) Unless the committee decides otherwise, meetings of the Committee of Ministers shall be held—

(i) in private, and

(ii) at the seat of the council.

(b) The committee shall determine what information shall be published regarding the conclusions and discussions of a meeting held in private.

(c) The committee shall meet before and during the beginning of every session of the Consultative Assembly and at such other times as it may decide.

Chapter V. The Consultative Assembly

Article 22

The Consultative Assembly is the deliberative organ of the Council of Europe. It shall debate matters within its competence under this statute and present its conclusions, in the form of recommendations, to the Committee of Ministers.

Article 23

(a) The Consultative Assembly shall discuss, and may make recommendations upon, any matter within the aim and scope of the Council of Europe as defined in Chapter I, which (i) is referred to it by the Committee of Ministers with a request for its opinion, or (ii) has been approved by the Committee for inclusion in the Agenda of the Assembly on the proposal of the latter.

(b) In taking decisions under (a), the Committee shall have regard to the work of other European inter-governmental organizations to which some or all of the Members of the Council are parties.

(c) The President of the Assembly shall decide, in case of doubt, whether any question raised in the course of the Session is within the Agenda of the Assembly approved under (a) above.

Article 24

The Consultative Assembly may, with due regard to the provisions of Article 38 (d) establish committees or commissions to consider and report to it on any matter which falls within its competence under Article 23, to examine and prepare questions on its agenda and to advise on all matters of procedure.

Article 25

(a) The Consultative Assembly shall consist of representatives of each Member appointed in such a manner as the Government of that Member shall decide. Each representative must be a national of the Member whom he represents, but shall not at the same time be a member of the Committee of Ministers.

(b) No representative shall be deprived of his position as such during a session of the Assembly without the agreement of the Assembly.

(c) Each representative may have a substitute who may, in the absence of the representative, sit, speak and vote in his place. The provisions of paragraph (a) above apply to the appointment of substitutes.

Article 26

The following States, on becoming Members, shall be entitled to the number of representatives given below

Belgium	6
Denmark	4
France	18
Irish Republic	4
Italy	18
Luxembourg	3
Netherlands	6
Norway	4
Sweden	6
United Kingdom	18

Article 27

The conditions under which the Committee of Ministers collectively may be represented in the debates of the Consultative Assembly, or individual representatives on the Committee may address the Assembly, shall be determined by such rules of procedure on this subject as may be drawn up by the Committee after consultation with the Assembly

Article 28

(a) The Consultative Assembly shall adopt its rules of procedure and shall elect from its members its President who shall remain in office until the next ordinary session

(b) The President shall control the proceedings but shall not take part in the debate or vote. The substitute of the representative who is President may sit, speak and vote in his place.

(c) The rules of procedure shall determine inter alia:

(i) the quorum;

(ii) the manner of the election and terms of office of the President and other officers;

(iii) the manner in which the agenda shall be drawn up and be communicated to representatives; and

(iv) the time and manner in which the names of repre-
entatives and their substitutes shall be notified.

Article 29

Subject to the provisions of Article 30, all resolutions
f the Consultative Assembly, including resolutions:

(i) embodying recommendations to the Committee of
Ministers;
(ii) proposing to the Committee mattters for discussion
n the Assembly;
(iii) establishing committees or commissions;
(iv) determining the date of commencement of its
essions;
(v) determining what majority is required for resolu-
ions in cases not covered by (i) to (iv) above or deter-
nining cases of doubt as to what majority is required.

hall require a two-thirds majority of the representatives
asting a vote.

Article 30

On matters relating to its internal procedure, which
ncludes the election of officers, the nomination of persons
o serve on committees and commissions and the adoption
f rules of procedure, resolutions of the Consultative
Assembly shall be carried by such majorities as the
Assembly may determine in accordance with Article 29
(v).

Article 31

Debates on proposals to be made to the Committee of
Ministers that a matter should be placed on the Agenda
f the Consultative Assembly shall be confined to an indi-
ation of the proposed subject-matter and the reasons for
nd against its inclusion in the Agenda.

Article 32

The Consultative Assembly shall meet in ordinary ses-
ion once a year, the date and duration of which shall
e determined by the Assembly so as to avoid as far as
ossible overlapping with parliamentary sessions of Mem-
ers and with sessions of the General Assembly of the
Jnited Nations. In no circumstances shall the duration
f an ordinary session exceed one month unless both the
Assembly and the Committee of Ministers concur.

Article 33

Ordinary sessions of the Consultative Assembly shall
e held at the seat of the Council unless both the Assembly
nd the Committee of Ministers concur that it should be
eld elsewhere.

Article 34

The Committee of Ministers may convoke an extraor-
linary session of the Consultative Assembly at such time
nd place as the Committee with the concurrence of the
President of the Assembly shall decide.

Article 35

Unless the Consultative Assembly decides otherwise, its
ebates shall be conducted in public.

Chapter VI. The Secretariat

Article 36

(a) The Secretariat shall consist of a Secretary-General,
Deputy Secretary-General and such other staff as may
e required.
(b) The Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-Gen-
ral shall be appointed by the Consultative Assembly on
he recommendation of the Committee of Ministers.
(c) The remaining staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General, in accordance with the administrative regulations.
(d) No member of the Secretariat shall hold any salaried office from any Government or be a member of the Consultative Assembly or of any national legislature or engage in any occupation incompatible with his duties.
(e) Every member of the staff of the Secretariat shall make a solemn declaration affirming that his duty is to the Council of Europe and that he will perform his duties conscientiously, uninfluenced by any national considerations, and that he will not seek or receive instructions in connection with the performance of his duties from any Government or any authority external to the Council and will refrain from any action which might reflect on his position as an international official responsible only to the Council. In the case of the Secretary-General and the Deputy Secretary-General this declaration shall be made before the Committee, and in the case of all other members of the staff, before the Secretary-General.
(f) Every Member shall respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff of the Secretariat and not seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 37

(a) The Secretariat shall be located at the seat of the Council.
(b) The Secretary-General is responsible to the Committee of Ministers for the work of the Secretariat. Amongst other things, he shall, subject to Article 38 (d), provide such secretarial and other assistance as the Consultative Assembly may require.

Chapter VII. Finance

Article 38

(a) Each Member shall bear the expenses of its own representation in the Committee of Ministers and in the Consultative Assembly.
(b) The expenses of the Secretariat and all other common expenses shall be shared between all Members in such proportions as shall be determined by the Committee on the basis of the population of Members.
The contributions of an Associate Member shall be determined by the Committee.
(c) In accordance with the financial regulations, the budget of the Council shall be submitted annually by the Secretary-General for adoption by the Committee.
(d) The Secretary-General shall refer to the Committee requests from the Assembly which involve expenditure exceeding the amount already allocated in the Budget for the Assembly and its activities.

Article 39

The Secretary-General shall each year notify the Government of each Member of the amount of its contribution and each member shall pay to the Secretary-General the amount of its contribution, which shall be deemed to be due on the date of its notification, not later than 6 months after that date.

Chapter VIII. Privileges and Immunities

Article 40

(a) The Council of Europe, representatives of Members and the Secretariat shall enjoy in the territories of its Members such privileges and immunities as are reasonably necessary for the fulfilment of their functions. These immunities shall include immunity for all representatives in the Consultative Assembly from arrest and all legal proceedings in the territories of all Members, in respect of words spoken and votes cast in the debates of the Assembly or its committees or commissions.

(b) The Members undertake as soon as possible to enter into an agreement for the purpose of fulfilling the provisions of paragraph (a) above. For this purpose the Committee of Ministers shall recommend to the Governments of Members the acceptance of an Agreement defining the privileges and immunities to be granted in the territories of all Members. In addition a special Agreement shall be concluded with the Government of the French Republic defining the privileges and immunities which the Council shall enjoy at its seat.

Chapter IX. Amendments

Article 41

(a) Proposals for the amendment of this Statute may be made in the Committee of Ministers or, in the conditions provided for in Article 23, in the Consultative Assembly.

(b) The Committee shall recommend and cause to be embodied in a Protocol those amendments which it considers to be desirable.

(c) An amending Protocol shall come into force when it has been signed and ratified on behalf of two-thirds of the Members.

(d) Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article, amendments to Articles 23–35, 38 and 39 which have been approved by the Committee and by the Assembly, shall come into force on the date of the certificate of the Secretary-General, transmitted to the Governments of Members, certifying that they have been so approved. This paragraph shall not operate until the conclusion of the second ordinary session of the Assembly.

Chapter X. Final Provisions

Article 42

(a) This Statute shall be ratified. Ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

(b) The present Statute shall come into force as soon as seven instruments of ratification have been deposited. The Government of the United Kingdom shall transmit to all signatory Governments a certificate declaring that the Statute has entered into force, and giving the names of the Members of the Council of Europe on that date.

(c) Thereafter each other signatory shall become a party to this Statute as from the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto, have signed the present Statute.

DONE at London, this 5th day of May, 1949, in English and French, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom which shall transmit certified copies to the other signatory Governments.

For the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium:
P. H. SPAAK.
OBERT DE THIEUSIES.
For the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark:
GUSTAV RASMUSSEN.
REVENTLOW.
For the Government of the French Republic:
ROBERT SCHUMAN.
R. MASSIGLI.
For the Government of the Irish Republic:
SEAN MACBRIDE.
JOHN W. DULANTY.
For the Government of the Italian Republic:
SFORZA.
GALLARATI SCOTTI.
For the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg:
JOS. BECH.
A. J. CLASEN.
For the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands:
D. U. STIKKER.
E. MICHIELS VAN VERDUYNEN.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Publications of the Department of State, July 1, 1949. Pub. 3615. 35 pp. Free.

A semiannual list cumulative from January 1, 1948.

Protocol: What It Is and What It Does. Foreign Service Series 7. Pub. 3636. 3 pp. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Free.

Article by Stanley Woodward, Chief of Protocol, Department of State.

U. S. National Commission UNESCO News, October 1949. Pub. 3644. 12 pp. $1 per year, domestic; $1.35 per year foreign; single copy, 10¢.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

International Control of Atomic Energy and the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons. International Organization and Conference Series III, 41. Pub. 3646. 90 pp. 25¢.

Recommendations of the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission as Approved at the third session of the General Assembly as constituting the necessary basis for establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy to insure its use only for peaceful purposes and for elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons.

Waging Peace in the Americas. Inter-American Series 38. Pub. 3647. 6 pp. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Free.

Address by Secretary Acheson and remarks by Assistant Secretary Miller before the Pan American Society of the United States, September 19, 1949.

Diplomatic List, October 1949. Pub. 3652. 158 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

A New Era in World Affairs. General Foreign Policy Series 18. Pub. 3653. 59 pp. 20¢.

Selected speeches and statements of President Truman from January 20, to August 29, 1949.

Dismantling in Germany Modified

TEXT OF PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENTS

[*Released to the press November 24*]

Following upon the meeting of the three Foreign Minisers in Paris on November 9 and 10 the United Kingdom, French, and United States High Commissioners were auhorized to discuss with the Federal Chancellor the letters which he had addressed to them on the subject of dismantling with a view to a final settlement of this problem. The instructions to the High Commissioners also covered a wider field and required them to examine with the Chancellor other points to be included in a general settlement. Discussions took place accordingly on November 15, 17 and 22 on the Petersberg.

The discussions were animated throughout by the desire and the determination of both parties that their relations should develop progressively upon a basis of mutual confidence. Meanwhile, their primary objective is the incorporation of the Federal Republic as a peaceful member of the European community and to this end German association with the countries of Western Europe in all fields should be diligently pursued by means of her entry into the appropriate international bodies and the exchange of commercial and consular representation with other countries. Both the High Commissioners and the Chancellor appreciate that progress toward this objective must depend upon the establishment of a true sense of security in Western Europe, and they have addressed themselves particularly to this end. In all these matters they have been encouraged to find a wide community of ideas and intention and they have in particular agreed upon the following:

I. The High Commission and the Federal Government are agreed to promote the participation of Germany in all these international organizations through which German experience and support can contribute to the general welfare. They record their satisfaction at the various steps already achieved in this direction citing German participation in OEEC, the desire expressed on both sides that the Federal Republic should be promptly admitted to the Council of Europe as an associate member and the proposed signature of a bilateral agreement with the Government of the United States of America covering ECA assistance.

II. The Federal Government, appreciating the desirability of the closest possible cooperation by Germany in the rehabilitation of Western European economy, declares its intention of applying for membership in the International Authority for the Ruhr in which, at present, the Federal Government is only represented by an observer, it being understood between both parties that German accession will not be subject to any special conditions under article 31 of the agreement for the establishment of the Authority.

III. The Federal Government further declares its earnest determination to maintain the demilitarization of the Federal territory and to endeavor by all means in its power to prevent the re-creation of Armed Forces of any kind. To this end the Federal Government will cooperate fully with the High Commission in the work of the Military Security Board.

IV. It is further agreed between them that the Federal Government shall now initiate the gradual reestablishment of consular and commercial relations with those countries where such relations appear advantageous.

V. The Federal Government affirms its resolve as a freely elected democratic body to pursue unreservedly the principles of freedom, tolerance, and humanity which unite the nations of Western Europe and to conduct its affairs according to those principles. The Federal Government is firmly determined to eradicate all traces of Nazism from German life and institutions and to prevent the revival of totalitarianism in this or any form. It will seek to liberalize the structure of government and to exclude authoritarianism.

VI. In the field of decartelization and monopolistic practices the Federal Government will take legislative action corresponding to decisions taken by the High Commission in accordance with article 2 (B) of the Occupation Statute.

VII. The High Commission has communicated to the Chancellor the terms of an agreement reached by the three powers for the relaxation of the present restrictions on German shipbuilding.

The main provisions now agreed are as follows:

The construction of ocean-going ships excluding those primarily designed for passengers, and tankers up to 7,200 tons, fishing vessels up to 650 tons and coastal vessels up to 2,700 tons not exceeding 12 knots service speed may begin forthwith. The number of such ships to be constructed shall not be limited.

The Federal Government may, with the approval of the High Commission, acquire or construct before December 31, 1950, six special ships exceeding these limitations of size and speed. Further particulars on this point were communicated to the Chancellor.

The Federal Chancellor raised the question of the construction and repair of ships in German shipyards for export. The High Commissioners informed him that this matter was not discussed by the Committee of Experts and that they were not in a position to give him a final decision on it. However, they will meanwhile authorize German shipyards to construct for export ships of the types and within such limits of numbers as are applicable to construction for the German economy; they will authorize repair of foreign ships without restriction.

VIII. On the question of dismantling, the High Commission has reviewed the present position in the light of the assurances given by the Federal Government and has agreed to the following modification of the programme. The following plants will be removed from the reparations list and dismantling of their equipment will cease forthwith.

A. *Synthetic Oil and Rubber Plants*

Farbenfabriken Bayer, Leverkusen
Chemische Werke Huels (except for certain research equipment)
Gelsenberg Benzin, A.G.
Hydrierwerke Scholven, A.G.
Ruhroel G.M.B.H., Bottrop
Ruhrchemie, A.G.
Gewerkschaft Victor
Krupp Treibstoff G.M.B.H.
Stenikohlenbergwerke
Dortmunder parafin
Essener Steinkohle A.G.

B. *Steel Plants*

August Thyssen Hute, Duisburg, Hamborn
Huttenwerke Siegerland, Charlottenhutte
Deutsche Edelstahlwerke, Krefeld
August Thyssen Hutte, Niederreinische Hutte
Klockner Werke, Duesseldorf
Ruhrstahl A.G. Heinrichschutte, Hattingen
Bochumer Verein Gusstahlwerke, Bochum

Except that electric furnaces not essential to the functioning of the works will continue to be dismantled or destroyed.

[1] These plants involving an important security element. (Telegraphic reference garbled.)

C. Further dismantling at the I. G. Farben plant at Ludwigshafen will not take place except for the removal of the equipment for the production of synthetic ammonia and methanol to the extent provided for in the reparations programme.

D. All dismantling in Berlin will cease and work on the affected plants will be again rendered possible.

It is understood that equipment already dismantled will be made available to IARA except in the case of Berlin. The present modification of the reparations list will not affect the existing prohibitions and restrictions upon the production of certain materials. Dismantled plants may be reconstructed or re-equipped only as permitted by the Military Security Board and those plants at which dismantling has been stopped will be subject to suitable control to ensure that the limitation on the production of steel (11.1 million tons per annum) is not exceeded.

IX. The question of the termination of the state of war was discussed. Although such termination may be as consistent with the spirit of this protocol, it presents considerable legal and practical difficulties which need to be examined.

X. The High Commissioners and the Federal Chancellor have signed this protocol with the joint determination to carry into effect the purposes stated in the preamble hereof and with the hope that their understandings will constitute a notable contribution to the incorporation of Germany into a peaceful and stable European community of nations.

Initialled:

B. H. Robertson — J. J. McCloy
A. Francois-Poncet — K. Adenauer

Announcement on U.S. and Swiss Capital in Belgium

Due to the steady improvement of Belgium's financial position, both external and internal, the Belgian Government, on November 10, 1949, authorizes the free transfer of capital accounts of United States and Swiss nationals who are permanent residents of their countries. As of this date, capital owned by United States and Swiss residents is permitted to enter and depart freely from the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union provided it moves through authorized channels and is in accordance with the exchange regulations of the Union. It is understood that it will not be necessary to prove that the original investment was in United States dollars or Swiss francs. It appears probable that the only proof required will be evidence of ownership of real estate, securities, bank accounts, or other capital on the date of entry into force of these provisions. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that these new regulations will not permit the realization of the 6 percent portion of assets blocked as a result of the monetary reform of 1944–45, since such blocked assets are not readily available in Belgian francs

Deadline Fixed for Registration of Yugoslav War Damage Claims

[*Released to the press November 22*]

The Department of State has been informed by the American Embassy at Belgrade that the Yugoslav Government has recognized the right of American citizens to register their claims for war damages suffered in Yugoslavia and has fixed April 17, 1950, as the deadline for such registrations. The Department urges that separate and distinct claims for war damage in Yugoslavia suffered by American citizens between April 6, 1941, and the end of World War II be filed with the Department in time for transmittal to the appropriate Yugoslav officials before the deadline date.

Claims for war damages are to be distinguished from claims arising out of the nationalization or other taking of American property interests by Yugoslavia between September 1, 1939, and July 9, 1948, which are not included in the present registration. As to the latter, the Yugoslav Government has made a lump-sum payment of 17 million dollars to the United States under an agreement signed July 19, 1948.

Distribution of the 17 million dollars to American claimants awaits establishment of a domestic adjudicating agency under pending legislation.

Article 7 of the agreement provided that Yugoslavia would extend equality of treatment to American nationals in the administration of Yugoslav war damage legislation.

Point 4 Program Studied for Puerto Rico

[*Released to the press November 25*]

At the invitation of Governor Munoz-Marin, a small group of government officials, headed by Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, is visiting Puerto Rico for 4 days beginning Tuesday, November 29, in connection with the development of the Point 4 program. The group will study Puerto Rico's recent experience in promoting its own economic development and the various kinds of technical assistance which Puerto Rico can furnish to other countries in connection with the Point 4 program. Under consideration are projects for technical and professional education in the University of Puerto Rico, and other educational institutions, and in-service training in the various government departments and agencies active in economic development. The similarity of Puerto Rican development problems to those likely to be faced in many other areas is expected to give rise to valuable suggestions in the development of detailed plans for Point 4.

The other government officials in the party will be Arthur Goldschmidt, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior; Samuel P. Hayes, Jr., Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, of the Department of State; Louis J. Halle, Jr., Member of Staff of Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, Department of State; Stephen P. Dorsey, Executive Secretary, Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Department of State.

Proclamation Terminating Trade Agreement With Colombia

In carrying out the exchange of notes terminating on December 1, 1949 the trade agreement with Colombia signed September 13, 1935[1] the President on November 5, 1949 issued a proclamation terminating the proclamation of April 20, 1936 which proclaimed the trade agreement.

PROCLAMATION 2863[2]

WHEREAS, under the authority vested in him by section 350 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended by the act of June 12, 1934, entitled "An Act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930" (48 Stat. 943), the President of the United States of America entered into a trade agreement with the President of the Republic of Colombia on September 13, 1935 (49 Stat. 3876), and proclaimed such trade agreement by proclamation dated April 20, 1936 (49 Stat. 3875); and

WHEREAS the Government of the United States of America has agreed with the Government of the Republic of Colombia that the said trade agreement shall cease to be in force on and after December 1, 1949; and

WHEREAS the said section 350 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930 authorizes the President to terminate in whole or in part any proclamation carrying out a trade agreement entered into under such section:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the said section 350 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, do hereby proclaim that the said proclamation dated April 20, 1936, shall terminate and cease to have effect at the close of November 30, 1949.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this fifth day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-fourth. [SEAL]

HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the President:

DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State.

[1] *Bulletin* of Nov. 7, 1949, p. 711. [2] 14 *Fed. Reg.* 6765.

Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Economic Development with Uruguay

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SIGNING

[*Released to the press November 23*]

A treaty of friendship, commerce, and economic development between the United States and Uruguay was signed today in Montevideo. Ambassador Ravndal signed for this government and Cesar Charlone, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for Uruguay. The treaty will shortly be presented to the United States Senate for approval. The Congress of Uruguay also must ratify the treaty before it will become effective.

This treaty is similar in most respects to the treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation recently concluded by this government with China and Italy. It is the first comprehensive commercial treaty which the United States has entered into with any of the other American Republics since 1927. No treaty of this type has ever been in force between the United States and Uruguay, although in 1942 the two countries concluded a reciprocal trade agreement providing for mutual tariff concessions and nondiscriminatory treatment for imports and exports, and Uruguay participated in the recent conference at Annecy with a view to becoming a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in the near future.

The treaty, which is based upon the principle of mutuality, establishes standards to govern relations between the two countries in many fields of activity. It includes articles relating to the status and activities of persons and corporations, protection of persons and property, landholding, freedom of information, the treatment of imports and exports, the treatment of vessels, and a variety of other matters.

The treaty, however, is appreciably broader in scope than existing United States commercial treaties in matters relating to the encouragement of economic and industrial development. It contains provisions designed to encourage the flow of capital, skills, and technological assistance, and thus contribute to an increase in trade between the two countries and to the further development and strengthening of their national economies. In this regard, the treaty is in accord with the general policy of this Government for the encouragement of the economic and industrial development of other countries.

The formal negotiations were commenced in Montevideo last March, and were carried on in an atmosphere of complete accord and understanding expressive of the close and friendly relations which exist between the two countries and of their common faith in liberal principles of economic and commercial intercourse.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The treaty of friendship, commerce and economic development just signed by Uruguay and the United States is the first such agreement to be negotiated in recent years with one of the other American Republics. It is a modernized version of similar agreements of earlier years, among them the following: Colombia, 1846; Costa Rica, 1851; Argentina, 1853; El Salvador, 1927; and Honduras, 1927.

Treaties of commerce and navigation with many other countries are in force, but most of them were negotiated under far different economic, social, and political conditions than exist today and could be improved by revision. For example the oldest with Great Britain, has been in operation since 1815. These agreements dealt almost exclusively with the exchange of goods and shipping and took no cognizance of recent economic and cultural trends, such as for example the problems arising from nationalization and from government regulation and operation of enterprises. The Department of State is now engaged in a broad program bringing up to date its entire treaty system and it is hoped that the Uruguay treaty will be followed by many others as modernized and adapted to present-day conditions.

Uruguay and the United States have carried on friendly and cooperative trade relations for many years. Their systems of government, commerce and economics have been built along the same lines; the agreement just concluded merely crystallizes principles already in effect, and puts those principles on paper as recognized by both governments. Its purposes, as stated in the preamble, are "strengthening the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them . . . and encouraging closer cultural, economic and com

nercial relations between their peoples . . . by arrangements which facilitate and encourage, on bases mutually advantageous, cultural exchange, ndustrial and economic development, financial and technical cooperation, the investment of capital, and commercial intercourse." The treaty is based in general upon the principles of national and of most-favored-nation treatment unconditionally accorded".

In it also are adequate provisions to avoid contradictions with the laws of either country, any preferential treatment of nationals as a result of the treaty and any interference with essential security interests, public morals, safety, and health.

The Uruguay-United States treaty contains several provisions which are entirely new, and some which appeared for the first time in the Italian agreement.

For example, article III contains a provision—first used in the treaty with Italy—which accords "national treatment" for nationals of one country while in the other's territory in the matter of certain social security benefits. Included are pecuniary compensation for disease, injury, or death arising out of employment, also for loss of earnings due to old age, unemployment, sickness, or disability.

Article XV, paragraph 5, a treaty innovation, includes a provision which aims at an equitable distribution of "hard money" currency in the case of a country which is short of that commodity; and another provision endeavors to maintain a competitive basis for publicly owned or publicly controlled enterprises. This last provision, which made its first appearance in the Italian treaty, is elaborated in the protocol appended to the Uruguay document.

Another innovation is found in article XXIII, which states: "Any dispute between the Parties as to the interpretation or application of the present Treaty, not satisfactorily adjusted by diplomacy, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice, unless the Parties agree to settlement by some other pacific means." The United States here, as in the recent Chinese and Italian treaties, agrees to accept jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in all disputes arising from the interpretation and application of the treaty.

To explain further, this article amplifies the bilateral arbitration treaty of 1909 (effective in 1913) with regard to matters in the current treaty. Interpretation only was included in the former; interpretation and application in the latter. Both treaties consecrate the principle of noninterference with "the vital interests, the independence or the honor" of the two countries, as presented specifically in the 1909 agreement.

These can be considered innovations. As to other provisions, the first three articles define the ordinary rights of United States nationals in Uruguay, and of Uruguayans in this country. Subject to immigration laws, either may travel freely, live where they choose, enjoy liberty of conscience and religion, and "transmit material for dissemination to the public abroad," that is, enjoy press freedom. They are entitled to legal protection and if arrested, must be brought to trial promptly and have proper defense.

The sections following article IV carry out the theme of smoothing the way for increased commercial and industrial activity, first stating that "nationals and companies of either Party shall be accorded, within the territories of the other Party, national treatment and also most-favored-nation treatment" and then detailing the applications of these provisions.

"National treatment" is defined in article XIX as that "accorded within the territories of a Party upon terms no less favorable than the treatment accorded therein, in like situations, to nationals, companies, products, vessels, or other objects, as the case may be, of such Party." The "most-favored-nation treatment" extends the same provisions to nationals, companies, etc. of "any third country." The treaty thus safeguards national sovereignties; nationals of one country are granted "no less favorable" treatment than that accorded nationals of the other country, thus assuring nondiscrimination.

These provisions guarantee impartial treatment in business operations, including leasing or owning real property, patents and trade marks, access to courts, exploring for and exploiting mineral deposits, control and management of firms, etc.

Other articles further assure fair treatment in protection against unlawful searches, seizure of property without prompt and effective compensation, and discriminating taxation. Commercial travelers, their samples and products are also accorded fair treatment. The use of import quotas is regulated so that there will be no discrimination against either party, and government enterprises and monopolies must buy, sell, and do business generally in accordance with commercial, not political, considerations. Prompt publication is required of laws and administrative procedures which might affect the trade of either party.

It is to tremain in force for 10 years, after which it may be terminated on 1 year's notice by either party.

A new slant has been added to the basic treaty provisions by President Truman's Point 4 design to aid friendly nations with their economic development. The treaty itself contains no assistance provisions and does not envisage any supplementary agreements for this purpose. The treaty provisions contain the "rules of the game" or a broad framework within which private Uruguayan and United States technical know-how and capital can work together.

Communist Newspapers Announce Time Extension for Registering Real Property

[*Released to the press November 23*]

The Department of State announced today that it has been informed that the Tientsin Communist newspaper, *Tien Chin Jih Pao*, of November 15, 1949, published a "notification of the Tientsin People's Government Ming Ti 4483" extending the period of time for registration of real property to November 30. The following is an unofficial translation of the notification:

> Reference is made to notification Ming Mi Kung Tzu 3806 of this government setting that period for registration of foreign real property in the municipal area of Tientsin at November 1 to November 15. In as much as some foreign residents have not been able to apply for registration at the time stipulated due to the absence in Tientsin of the required title deeds or other reasons, this government, for the protection of the legitimate rights of foreign residents and in consideration of the foregoing conditions, extends the period of registration by one-half a month (from November 16 to November 30). Those foreign residents who have not yet undertaken real property registration shall thus apply at the land administration bureau of this government for registration before the time limit. Failure to apply for registration during said period shall lead to disposal of real property by this government in the light of the conditions involved. Compliance with this order is requested.

The Department's announcement of November 7, 1949, contained an unofficial translation of notification "Ming Mi Kung Tzu 3806."[1]

Diplomatic Corps Activity During Panama Coup d'État

[*Released to the press November 21*]

Action by the Diplomatic Corps which went to the police barracks on the night of November 19 forestalled a police ultimatum that the Presidencia, already surrounded, would be attacked at 2 a.m., November 20, unless the President and Cabinet resigned. The Corps stressed their desire to see bloodshed avoided through Panama's observation of constitutional and diplomatic procedures.

The Diplomatic Corps has emphasized that its position was neither to condone nor to facilitate the coup d'état. The Corps met at 11 a.m., Sunday, at the residence of the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the Hon. Emilio Ortiz de Zevallos, the Ambassador of Peru, and agreed to issue a press statement that the Corps did not intervene in the internal affairs of Panama. The Corps wished to emphasize that the sole purpose of the visit to the police barracks by its representatives was to express the hope that constitutional procedures would be observed and violence avoided.

It is believed that the Diplomatic Corps has acted appropriately under the circumstances. The Department of State supports Ambassador Monnett Davis in the correctness of his conduct in this situation and particularly in emphasizing our traditional policy of nonintervention and our hope for the observance of constitutional and democratic procedures.

[1] BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1949, p. 800.

U.S.–Mexico Establish Commission on Cultural Cooperation

[*Released to the press November 23*]

The Department of State announced today the signing of an agreement between Mexico and the United States, establishing a United States–Mexican Commission on Cultural Cooperation.

The Commission will be officially installed at 1 p.m. today at a ceremony in the Ministry of Education in Mexico City. The Minister, Manuel Gual Vidal, will head the Mexican representation on the Commission. The ranking member for the United States will be the American Ambassador to Mexico, Walter Thurston.

Other members of the Commission are: For Mexico, Hector Guillermo Rodriguez, Director General of Higher Education and Scientific Investigation, and Miguel Alessio Robles, journalist and publisher; and for the United States, Philip Raine, cultural attaché at the American Embassy and William Richardson, resident vice president of the National City Bank of New York.

The Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Edward G. Miller, Jr., hailed the establishment of this Commission as a fitting culmination of the many years of close cultural ties between the United States and her closest Latin American neighbor. The Commission will coordinate, expand, and develop the already existing cooperation, both governmental and private. Although the United States is signatory to several multilateral agreements on cultural interchange with the American Republics, this is the first bilateral agreement to be signed.

Mr. Miller recalled that the suggestion for this Commission was originally made 5 years ago by the then Mexican Minister of Education, who has since gone on to the guidance of cultural cooperation on a world-wide scale as Director General of UNESCO, Jaime Torres Bodet.

VOA Airs Bradley Talk to North Atlantic Nations

[*Released to the press November 25*]

The following excerpt from a Voice of Amer-ca program incorporates a statement by Gen.)mar Bradley, chairman of the United States oint Chiefs of Staff. General Bradley was intro-luced by Edward Montgomery, Washington ob-erver of the Voice of America.

EDWARD MONTGOMERY: On October 5 of this ear, the Defense Ministers of the 12 North Atlan-ic pact nations held their first meeting in Wash-ngton as the Defense Committee of the pact. At hat meeting they appointed General Omar Brad-ey, chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of taff, to be chairman of the Military Committee of ne pact. This body, consisting of military rep-esentatives of each of the member nations, is harged with the over-all direction and coordina-on of the military defensive preparations of the 2 North Atlantic allies. For the past 2 months, ne various military planning bodies, established nder the defense organization of the pact, have een at work under direction of the Military Com-ittee in Washington and elsewhere, concerning ne strategic plans for the defense of the North tlantic area.

During the coming week, further meetings of ne Military Committee and the Defense Commit-e will be held in Paris to review the work so far ccomplished and to carry the plans forward into ne future. General Bradley is leaving the United tates on Sunday to attend those meetings. Be-ore his departure, General Bradley has kindly nsented to make to the peoples of the North At-ntic nations, through the Voice of America, a ersonal report on the progress that has been made date in developing the plans and preparations r their common defense. General Bradley will eak to you in his capacity as Chairman of the ilitary Committee and as chief military repre-ntative of the armed forces of the 12 allied na-ons.

GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY: The people of Europe e listening to this Voice of America program as e stage is being set for two important meetings xt week in Paris. Under this organization for e collective security of Western free nations—the North Atlantic Treaty—the Military Commit-tee and the Committee of Defense Ministers will give their careful consideration to the plans for collective defense that have been drawn up by the member nations.

As you know, the North Atlantic Treaty was formed to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. The 12 nations are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security. The na-tions joined in this pact are Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Iceland, Portugal, Italy, Canada, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

The Defense Ministers of these nations form one of the important committees under the North At-lantic Treaty, meeting in Paris next week. United States Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson is our representative, and the chairman of the Defense Ministers Committee.

One military representative from each country has been appointed to the Military Committee. I have been asked to speak on this program because I am the chairman of the Military Committee, as well as the United States representative on the Committee, and the standing group of that Committee.

In order to carry on continuously the work of the Military Committee, a standing group has been formed which is composed of the military repre-sentatives from France, Great Britain, and the United States.

These 2 meetings in Paris next week are sig-nificant because when they are concluded the 12 member nations of the North Atlantic pact will have launched a new era of collective security.

We have combined our strength for protection but not for aggression. As a matter of fact, the military forces of these 12 nations could not possi-bly be construed as a combination for aggression. Relatively, in comparison to the Armed Forces involved in World War II, they are small.

However, their size is not the important factor. Under the North Atlantic Treaty, 12 nations have made the following pledge, which I quote from article 3 of the Treaty.

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Under the North Atlantic Treaty, we have formed an organization which can effectively plan for collective defense and for the maximum use of all of our resources.

I can honestly and sincerely state that Americans have entered this agreement, after careful consideration by the Congress and the people, with full intention to carry out these pledges now, and in the future.

From a military point of view, we can all point with pride to the fact that in the past 2 months, since the first meetings of the Military Committee and the Committee of Defense Ministers in Washington in October, we have made great progress. In these 2 months following our initial meetings, the Military Committee, with the aid of its standing group, has developed a common basis of agreement for collective security and will submit their plan to the Defense Ministers Committee for acceptance and approval.

The planning organization, which operates under the Military Committee, is divided into five Regional Planning Groups. The standing group of the Military Committee, consisting of Great Britain, France, and the United States, has been meeting regularly and acting as a steering committee for these five Regional Planning Groups to speed up their work.

This accomplishment in two short months does not mean that our plans have been made in haste.

The United States and Canada Regional Planning Group has based its contribution on more than 2 years of careful planning which had already been going on.

The Western European Regional Planning Group has based its plan on those of Western Union. This organization has developed most competent defense plans which fit into the over-all picture very neatly and satisfactorily.

The North Atlantic Ocean Planning Group has had the benefit of Canada, Britain, and United States agreements already made.

And the other two groups, the Northern European Group and the Southern European-Western Mediterranean Group, have also studied their problems for some time.

As long as the people of all of the 12 nations realize the significance of the pledges they have made, our collective defense is stronger than it has ever been.

There have been many statements made about the atomic bomb and the fact that it has served as a deterrent to aggression.

Without minimizing, or underestimating, the tremendous force for peace that this atomic weapon has been, it is certainly fair to say that th North Atlantic Treaty organization of 12 nation shows promise of being an even greater deterrent t future aggression. For now, in addition t weapons, we have an organization for collectiv defense backed by the will of free men in fre nations, all working for peace.

The forces of freedom have finally banded to gether in common cause for the common good o all. We are trying a great experiment to se whether or not people who hate war can, by collec tive action, forever eliminate the specter of wa from their horizon.

It is my hope that our meetings with men o other nations for collective security will become basis of broad understanding between our peopl and their people and that it will lead to eve greater accomplishments. We have proved in th past our readiness to defend liberty. If we a work together, we shall prove in the future ou fitness to be the repository of freedom in the worl

EDWARD MONTGOMERY: Thank you, Gener Bradley.

Australia Signs Fulbright Agreement

[*Released to the press November 25*]

Australia and the United States today signed a agreement under the Fulbright Act, putting in operation the program of educational exchang authorized by Public Law 584, 79th Congress.

The signing took place in Canberra, with H. Evatt, Ministry for External Affairs, representin the Government of Australia and Ambassad Pete Jarman representing the United States.

This agreement was the fourteenth signed und the act, previous agreements having been sign with the Governments of China, Burma, the Phi ippines, Greece, New Zealand, the United Kin dom, Belgium and Luxembourg, France, Italy, t Netherlands, Norway, Iran, and Egypt.

The agreement provides for a United Stat Educational Foundation in Australia to assist the administration of the educational progra financed from certain funds resulting from the sa of surplus property to that country. It provid for a long-range program utilizing the equivale of 5 million dollars in Australian pounds for ce tain educational purposes. These purposes inclu the financing of "studies, research, instruction, a other educational activities of/or for citizens of t United States of America in schools and instit tions of higher learning located in Australia or nationals of Australia in United States schools a institutions of higher learning located outside t continental United States . . . including payme for transportation, tuition, maintenance, and oth expenses incident to scholastic activities; or f

ishing transportation for nationals of Australia who desire to attend United States schools and nstitutions of higher learning in the continental United States . . . whose attendance will not deprive citizens of the United States of America of n opportunity to attend such schools and institutions."

During the war, the United States furnished Australia lend-lease supplies valued at over 1 billion dollars and Australia provided goods and services for United States forces equivalent to almost the same amount. The relatively small balance resulting from this gigantic exchange was settled by the payment in 1946 of 20 million dollars the United States and the establishment of a fund in Australian currency equivalent to 7 million f which 2 million dollars was to be applied to he construction and acquisition of United States Embassy and other buildings while 5 million dollars was to be used for educational and cultural xchange.

The Foundation in Australia will consist of even members, the honorary chairman of which ill be the United States Ambassador. In addition, the members of the Foundation will include hree citizens of Australia and three citizens of the United States.

After the members of the Foundation in Australia have been appointed, information about specific pportunities for American citizens to pursue udy, teaching, or research in that country will be ade public. At that time, applications will be eceived by:

or university teaching, or advanced research

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils
2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington 25, D. C.

or teaching in Australian secondary schools

The United States Office of Education
Federal Security Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

or teaching in American secondary schools abroad

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils
2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington 25, D. C.

or graduate study

The Institute of International Education
2 West Forty-fifth Street
New York 19, New York

The Fulbright Program Advisers on the campuses of American colleges and universities.

THE DEPARTMENT

Passport Agency Opened in Boston

[*Released to the press November 23*]

The Department of State announced today that a Passport Agency will be opened at Boston on November 28, 1949, with offices located in the United States Post Office and Court House Building.

A Passport Agency was maintained at Boston by the Department of State from July 1, 1925 until July 15, 1942, when conditions brought about by the war made it necessary to centralize the granting of passport facilities at Washington, D.C. At that ime, it was stated that the Boston Passport Agency would remain closed until travel conditions became more normal and the public interests in the New England area warranted its reopening.

The Passport Agency will accept applications for passports and have discretionary authority to issue and renew such documents in cases of urgency.

S. M. Jeppson has been designated as Passport Agent.

Lt. Col. C. H. Bonesteel III Appointed as Mutual Defense Official

[*Released to the press November 25*]

The Acting Secretary of State announced today the designation of Lt. Col. C. H. Bonesteel, III, of Plattsburg, New York, to be the Executive Director for Mutual Defense Assistance Overseas, with headquarters in London.

The Executive Director will act as agent for the European Coordinating Committee in carrying out its functions relating to the implementation of mutual defense assistance in Europe, under the supervision of the Committee. The Committee has the responsibility of coordinating American participation in the Mutual Defense Assistance Program in Europe. The Committee also advises the Foreign Military Assistance Steering Committee, of which the Secretary of State is Chairman, on matters relating to the program.

The European Coordinating Committee will also have a small staff, headed by the Executive Director, to perform the necessary coordination and direction of United States activities in Europe as required by the Mutual Defense Assistance Act recently passed by the Congress.

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Vol. XXI, No. 545
December 12, 1949

The Department of State bulletin

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December 12, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ROAD AND MOTOR TRANSPORT

A Report on the Preparation, Formulation, and Signature of a World Convention on Road Traffic

by H. H. Kelly

A new world convention for the facilitation of international traffic by highway was formulated at a United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport held in Geneva, Switzerland, from August 23–September 19, 1949. Representatives of 20 nations including the United States signed it.

The agreement, entitled "Convention on Road Traffic,"[1] establishes a basis for world-wide uniformity in the reciprocal recognition of motor vehicle registration certificates, drivers' permits, and customs bond; the identification of vehicles in international traffic; rules for safe driving; equipment requirements, including brakes, lights, and other technical characteristics; permissible maximum dimensions and weights of motor vehicles; and definitions.

The net effect of the new convention, which in many respects reflects United States practices and recommendations, will be to simplify and promote international motoring into and through all nations which become parties thereto and to contribute to the convenience and safety of motorists operating under its provisions. It is expected also to bring about eventual reduction in documentation fees which, with the considerably more important item of high-ocean-transport costs have been among the deterrents to expansion of international travel by automobile.

[1] U.N. doc. E/CONF.8/47. Printed copies of the convention will be available early in 1950 from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

The next step to be taken is the submittal of the convention to the United States Senate for its advice and consent to ratification by the President, and this action will probably take place early in 1950. If Senate approval is given promptly, and if during the coming winter at least four other countries ratify or accede to it, the new treaty could become effective in the United States before the motoring season of 1950 and American motorists next spring and summer could take their automobiles to Europe for the first time with recognition of their home-state documents and with identification as "USA" travelers.

It is not anticipated that United States acceptance of the convention will require any changes in motor vehicle laws in this country, nor will it entail any additional expense to public authorities.

BACKGROUND[2]

United States motorists, who today operate a total of more than 35 million private automobiles, have always shown an interest in traveling beyond their own frontiers. The largest volume of travel has been into Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, but automobilists from this country have also made the longer and more expensive journey to Europe in considerable numbers. In 1949, about 3,000 United States cars have been taken to Europe for tour-

[2] For additional material on American interest in international motor travel, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1947, p. 1063; and present issue, p. 889.

ing purposes. The necessary documentation for these cars, however, has been provided largely by virtue of courtesy arrangements between American motoring associations and the corresponding organizations in foreign countries; Americans have had to become, in effect, foreign motorists (so far as identification of both drivers and cars was concerned) before they could drive in Europe. This condition resulted from the fact that the United States had never been able to adhere to two international conventions on the subject adopted at Paris in 1926. The deficiency was remedied, at least on a regional basis, by a Convention of 1943 on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, but this treaty relates only to motoring in the Western Hemisphere.

In Europe itself, of course, the volume of international motoring among the various countries has been large, comparable to that between the United States and Canada and Mexico. On the other continents, where motor vehicles are less numerous, the number making extensive trips abroad has naturally been smaller, but this number has not reduced the need of most countries for participation in international agreements as an essential convenience for their citizens.

Ever since the end of World War II, need for broad revision of the Paris conventions and for certain improvements in the more recent Inter-American convention, has been generally recognized. One of the earliest pronouncements on the subject in this country came from the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, which at its annual meeting in 1947 adopted a resolution recommending "that a new international automotive convention capable of application in all countries of the world, and designed to meet present-day conditions and standards, be established."

The Transport and Communications Commission of the United Nations, at its second session at Geneva in April 1948, recommended that a conference be convened to conclude a new worldwide convention, which was declared to be "urgently required." The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (Ecosoc), on August 28, 1948, therefore, instructed the Secretary-General to convene a conference of governments for this purpose, "not later than August 1949." [3]

In the autumn of 1948, the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (Ece), under instructions from Ecosoc, began intensive work on the preparation of a draft convention. Representatives of the United States participated in this task, which was completed early in 1949. The working papers for the conference were then distributed to the 59 member states of the United Nations and to 11 other states which had been invited to participate in the United Nations Maritime Conference of February and March 1948: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, Switzerland, and Jordan.

The working papers, which included the Ece draft text and the 1943 Inter-American convention, together with a number of useful supplementary reports prepared by the United Nations Secretariat, formed the basis for discussion at the Conference this year.

UNITED STATES POSITION

The care with which the official position was prepared for the United States delegation accounted in large measure for the success of American efforts at the Geneva conference.[4] On September 20, 1948, the Department of State announced that discussions would be held with interested groups regarding the United Nations plans for a new international convention. On September 21, representatives of motoring and trade associations and other private agencies met at Washington to give their preliminary views to

[3] Ecosoc resolution 147 B (VII).

[4] Bulletin of Aug. 22, 1949, p. 262. The members of the U. S. delegation were as follows: *Chairman*, H. H. Kelly, Office of Transport and Communications Policy, Department of State; *Vice Chairman*, H. S. Fairbank, Deputy Commissioner of Public Roads, Department of Commerce. *Members*—M. C. Connors, President, American Associations of Motor Vehicle Administrators; J. H. Hunt, Consultant, Automobile Manufacturers Association; C. A. Horan, Legal Assistant to Commissioner of Customs, Department of the Treasury; Serge Koushnareff, Acting Chief, Transportation and Communications Branch, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce; Edward G. Sparrow, European Representative, American Automobile Association and the American Automobile Touring Alliance. *Advisers*—J. W. Foley, Jr., Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State; J. M. Cates, Jr., Foreign Affairs Specialist, Department of State; Mrs. Doris Whitnack, Chief, Transportation Branch, Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State; Douglas M. Clarke, Road Transport Adviser, United States Delegation to the Economic Commission for Europe; E. B. Sutton, Office of Military Government, United States, Frankfurt, Germany; C. F. Rogers, Highway Engineer, Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Commerce; Miss A. O'Rourke, Secretary to Chairman, Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State.

the Department of State; and on October 11, a similar meeting was held with Federal Government representatives. These sessions were confirmed by minutes and correspondence with the participating interests, and a tentative position was prepared for a working party of the ECE Inland Transport Committee, which met at Geneva, November 18–December 1 with United States representatives in attendance.

From that session, came a working document, Draft Provisions for Insertion in a Convention on Road and Motor Transport,[5] which the United Nations distributed to all governments in March 1949. Again, the Department of State corresponded with the interested agencies, in April, and requested comments on this document.[6] The large volume of replies was analyzed and tabulated, and the final United States position was drawn up in the Department of State during June and July.

Major Items

The major items in the United States position set forth proposals [7] on the title of the convention (changing the word "Transport" to "Traffic"), elimination of "for hire" operations, inclusion of annexes as integral parts of the convention, permissibility of requiring an international driver's permit, transfer of specifications on road signs and signals from an annex to a protocol, specifications for maximum permissible dimensions and weights of motor vehicles, and final provisions. Additional suggestions were offered in committee sessions.

By these means, the United States delegation, representing the nation which operates more than 70 percent of all the motor vehicles in the world, was able to lay before the Conference a convincing array of sound recommendations supported by effective verbal explanations.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

The basic assumption upon which the convention is predicated is set forth in article 1, which provides that each contracting state retains jurisdiction over the use of its own roads but agrees to their use for international traffic in accordance with the terms of the convention. Although such an article appears self-evident and a prerequisite to a convention on international traffic, the Conference had considerable difficulty in reaching an agreed text. The difficulty arose in connection with the relation of article 1 to chapter II on Rules of the Road. Some of the delegations apparently desired to overlook the international character of the convention and to emphasize as its primary purpose the regulation of internal, domestic traffic.

The problem was further complicated by a United Kingdom proposal that a distinction should be drawn between provisions in chapter II and those in chapters IV and V, relating to motor vehicles and drivers in international traffic, by providing in article 1 that each contracting state would take all practicable measures, by legislation or otherwise, in accordance with its constitution or system of law, to insure the observance in its territory of the principles and rules embodied in chapter II. The British contended that if such a distinction were not made, each party to the convention, by undertaking to apply the provisions of article 1 and chapter II, would be assuming an obligation to insure that such rules of the road would never be violated.

The United States took the position that the text of article 1 of the draft ECE convention was satisfactory and urged its adoption. It was pointed out that if the main purpose of the convention were kept in mind, namely, the promotion and facilitation of the safe and efficient movement of motor vehicles in international traffic, the ECE text adequately dealt with the problem and that the United Kingdom proposal was unnecessarily involved and complicated. The United States insisted that the convention applied primarily to international traffic and considered the purpose

[5] UN doc. E/CONF.8/3, Mar. 3, 1949.

[6] The list of those with whom the Department of State has made contact on this subject is as follows: the Governors of all the States, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; the Departments of the Treasury, Interior, Commerce, and Justice, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Bureau of Public Roads; the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, American Association of State Highway Officials, and National Committee on Uniform Traffic Laws and Ordinances; American Trucking Associations, Inc.; American Road Builders' Association; Automobile Manufacturers Association; United States Chamber of Commerce (Transportation Department); Committee on Highway Transport, United States Associates, International Chamber of Commerce, Inc.; International Road Federation; American Automobile Association; American Automobile Touring Alliance; Automotive Safety Foundation; National Highway Users Conference; Highway Department, National Safety Council; National Association of Motor Bus Operators; and National Council of Private Motor Truck Owners, Inc.

[7] U.N. doc. E/CONF.8/26, Aug. 18, 1949, and E/CONF.8/29, Aug. 24, 1949.

of chapter II was to establish, in effect, an international code of minimum safety requirements. By indirection, the rules of the road set forth in the convention would apply to the pattern of domestic as well as to international traffic, but they were of such a general nature and were so widely accepted that it was not considered any difficulty would result in having them applicable to all traffic.

The United States position seemed to conform to the views of the majority of the states represented since it was the one that the conference finally accepted. It adopted article 1, with a few minor drafting modifications.

The preamble clearly specifies that the purpose of the convention is the development and safety of international road traffic. At the same time, it was agreed that "international traffic" should be defined as meaning "any traffic which crosses at least one frontier." In order to remove the difficulties encountered by the United Kingdom with respect to article 1 and chapter II, the Conference agreed to insert as the initial article of chapter II a provision for each contracting state to take appropriate measures to insure the observance of the rules set out in that chapter.

The determination of the status and character of the annexes in relation to the convention, as provided for in article 2, was one of the fundamental questions with which the Conference dealt. The United States proposed that since the annexes to any convention normally form an integral part of the convention, article 2 should be redrafted in order that each contracting state would declare the annexes which it did not intend to apply, rather than those which it wished to accept. This proposal was strongly supported as legally correct and was adopted as preferable to the ECE text.

Adoption of the United States text, however, did not solve the all-important question of which of the annexes could a state exclude from its application of the convention. In light of the ECE draft and of the explanatory memorandum prepared by the ECE Subcommittee on Road Transport of the Inland Transport Committee, many of the delegations had come to Geneva taking it for granted that all the annexes would be permissive. Other governments, however, after a critical study of the ECE draft, were of the opinion that a majority of the annexes were essential to the successful application of the convention and that if these annexes were not made compulsory for all the contracting states, the convention in practice would be meaningless.

The United States delegation favored making mandatory all annexes vital to the operation of the convention. This division with respect to the handling of the annexes gradually disappeared as the annexes began to emerge in final form from the technical committees. As a consequence, the Conference designated only two permissive annexes namely: annex 1, concerning definition of a cycle with a small auxiliary engine and annex 2 regarding priority of passage.

Measures Simplifying Requirements

The Conference readily agreed on the provisions regarding customs requirements and formalities. Article 3 encourages states to put into effect measures simplifying customs, police, health, or other requirements. It also recognizes the right of a contracting state to require a bond guaranteeing import duties and import taxes but provides that states shall accept the guarantee of an organization established in its territory affiliated with an international association which has issued a valid international customs pass for the motor vehicle (*carnet de passages en douane*).

In place of a provision proposed by the ECE draft stating that the hours and routes for crossing of frontiers by vehicles shall be fixed by agreement between adjacent states, the Conference agreed to the United States proposal that states would endeavor to keep open during the same hours as adjacent customs offices and posts on the same international road. The ECE draft had included a provision that contracting states would refrain from discrimination against national goods or road vehicles of any other contracting state with respect to customs, police, health, or other requirements. The United States deleg

Committee Chairmen

Legal and Documents . . . . . J. Mikaoui (Lebanon)
Technical Conditions to be Fulfilled by Vehicles
Ing. R. Feifer (Czechoslovakia)
Signs and Signals, and Rules of the Road
Enrico Mellini (Italy)
Drafting Committee . . . . Pierre Forthomme (Belgium)

Officers

Chairman . . . . . J. J. Oyevaar (Netherlands)
First Vice-Chairman . . . Andre Rumpler (France)
Second Vice-Chairman . Sir Raghavan Pillai (India)

tion supported the general intent of this provision but, realizing the natural tendency of states to grant special favors to adjacent countries (as in its own practices with respect to Canada, Cuba, and Mexico), proposed that an exception be made for such practices. This proposal was not accepted, but the Conference decided to excise the original ECE provision.

The provisions of article 5 regarding the non-applicability of the convention to "for hire" commercial transport operations are important. This article was prepared originally as a protocol to the ECE draft. The United States proposed, however, that since the provisions of the protocol constituted a basic concept, clearly limiting the applicability of the convention, it should be placed in the body of the convention. Certain other delegations wanted articles to state specifically that the convention also did not affect rules on labor conditions, fixed charges, or insurance against third party risks. In order to meet the desires of those delegations but at the same time, to avoid a long enumeration, the words, "all other matters not provided for in this Convention" were inserted in the text.

Participation

Official Delegations

Austria
Belgium
Bulgaria
Chile
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Egypt
France
Guatemala
India
Iran
Israel
Italy
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Norway
Philippines
Poland
Sweden
Switzerland
Thailand
Union of South Africa
United States of America
United Kingdom
Yugoslavia

State Observers

Australia
Brazil
Canada
Ecuador
Mexico
Turkey

Organization Observers

A. Intergovernmental organizations
- International Labour Organization
- Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization
- International Institute for the Unification of Private Law

B. Nongovernmental organizations
- International Chamber of Commerce
- International Transport Workers' Federation
- International Organization for Standardization
- International Road Transport Union
- Permanent International Bureau of Motor Manufacturers
- Comite general de l'Alliance Internationale de Tourisme et de la Federation internationale de l'automobile
- League of Red Cross Societies
- Inter-American Federation of Automobile Clubs

TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

The technical and administrative provisions of the convention are stated in somewhat broad terms, yet with sufficient precision to indicate basic requirements for drivers, vehicles, and traffic. If need develops for amplification of some of these requirements—performance specifications for vehicle brakes and lights are cases in point—it can be met through the amendment procedure established in the convention.

Discussion of the articles relating to Rules of the Road disclosed a desire for a few general requirements of universal application, designed to promote the safety and convenience of all traffic, including animal-drawn vehicles and animal convoys which present large problems in many areas of the world. Some are necessarily of an "admonitory" nature and undoubtedly present difficulties in enforcement. However, they constitute useful guides to highway users, and many of them do achieve a real measure of uniformity in traffic control. As a matter of fact, these brief rules are only a selection of the basic requirements found in the elaborate traffic laws and regulations of many countries, all of which have certain fundamentals in common. They will doubtless be reproduced and circulated in large numbers by motoring clubs and other organizations.

The United States delegation submitted clarifications of text on rules for overtaking and passing, keeping to the side of the road, and right of way, which were accepted. On this last point—which gives the legal priority of movement to the vehicle approaching from the right (or from the left in countries where traffic moves to the left)—there was opposition from certain countries whose representatives said that a fixed priority rule tends to make motorists incautious and causes accidents. Accordingly, this rule was made Annex 2 so that it could be accepted or rejected by the signatory powers—and the annex was rejected ultimately by India, Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom, with Switzerland reserving the right to reject it later if deemed necessary.

Trolley busses, which figure in international traffic in some parts of Europe, were also made subject to all of these road rules. Special regulations were set up for bicyclists, which number in the millions in many foreign lands.

The question of establishing a uniform drive-to-the-right rule for all countries of the world did not

arise officially in the Conference, although it was the subject of informal discussion with the British and other delegations. The great majority of nations, including all those of the Western Hemisphere, now follow the practice of driving to the right, but important exceptions include the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth countries, Sweden, India, Japan, the Dutch East Indies, and a few others. How important it might be to effect a change-over in these countries and what the cost would be in altering street-car installations and road signs would require thorough study on a large scale.

Road Signs and Signals

In regard to the general topic of road signs and signals, the United States aim was to see that all reference to the European pictorial system was deleted from the convention and its annexes and made the subject of a separate protocol so that each participating country could adopt or reject that system without impairing the convention. Some of the European participants had wished for universal acceptance of their system. Because of the wide variation in the signs and signals actually employed even in the countries that presumably followed the European system, a uniform adoption of any proposed revisions of the existing system would be difficult. Also, countries in addition to those of the Western Hemisphere might prefer the American system with minor modifications. On the other hand, Argentina and perhaps other American States, generally preferring the American system, might use some of the signs of the European system, notably the triangular sign indicating extreme danger.

When it became clear that the United States and other participants, which have adopted in general the American system, would not change all of their numerous sign installations, the solution of the separate protocol was agreed to and consideration was given to a proposal to draft two protocols, one prescribing a European, and the other, an American system. The Conference finally decided that immediate formulation of the alternative protocol would be impracticable and that further effort should be directed to the formulation of a protocol prescribing the European system.

The discussions at this Conference justify the conclusion that any hope of early world-wide adoption of a single system of signs and signals must be abandoned. However, there was substantial encouragement that all countries may adopt one or the other of two uniform systems, each having in common certain inscriptions and possibly certain shapes of identical connotation, particularly with reference to the more serious road hazards and the significant traffic directions. It is to this more probable eventuality that the recommendation of the Conference for further consideration of the possibility of world-wide agreement on a single uniform system may be expected to lead. (See Final Act below.)

In five brief paragraphs, constituting a single article of the convention, general principles regarding the uniformity, number, and placement of signs within each country were set forth. These were acceptable to all signatories.

Motor Vehicles and Trailers In International Traffic

Articles 18–23 encompass provisions applicable to motor vehicles and trailers in international traffic. In article 18, appears for the first time one of the basic concepts of the convention—a concept which makes allowance for the Federal-state relationship which exists in the United States, as well as in certain other countries. The absence of this concept from the 1926 Paris conventions was the principal reason for United States inability to adhere to them. In the new convention, the problem is solved by use of the phrase "a Contracting State or subdivision thereof" with respect to matters which usually fall within the competence of the subdivisions of a Federal state, such as registration and licensing.

An important liberalization of international requirements on registration, which have existed under the Paris convention of 1926, was agreed to at the Geneva conference. The new convention eliminates the need for an international registration certificate and recognizes the domestic certificate as sufficient to admit a vehicle to foreign countries. This single item will result in definite savings for international motorists. A United States suggestion, that a document such as a customs certificate (given without charge to all persons bringing their personal motor vehicles into this country) might be used as a means of vehicle identification, was discarded on the grounds that it might encourage some countries to institute a new form of control and impose a fee. These articles of the convention make reference to numerous other technical matters which are simplified in the annexes.

Requirements for Drivers

Requirements for drivers of motor vehicles in international traffic are indicated in articles 24–25 and are elaborated by annex 8 which fixes 18 years as the basic minimum age for driving in international traffic; by annex 9 which specifies the format and composition of a model domestic driving permit; and by annex 10 which performs the same function for the model international permit.

Many of the states expressed a willingness to grant reciprocal recognition to domestic driving permits, just as they had done with regard to the vehicle registration certificate. Thus the opening clause of this section of the convention grants recognition to any driver who holds a "valid driving permit" issued by his home country "after he has given proof of his competence." This latter phrase was the nearest approach the Conference made to the still controversial subject of compulsory driver licensing; although many countries, like all states of the United States except one, now require each driver to hold a permit, the practice is by no means universal, and in addition, the tests by which a driver's competence is determined are frequently deficient in many respects. Here is a point on which further work remains to be done.

The United States delegation asked for and obtained a provision that any contracting state may require foreign drivers to carry an international permit. The provision is permissive, not obligatory. Its motivation is primarily the recognized administrative difficulty of making the state law enforcement officers of a country like the United States acquainted with many different foreign permits, issued in unfamiliar languages. From the standpoint of the United States motorist traveling in a foreign country, the advantage of having his own state driving permit recognized is manifest; it is conceivable that foreign countries will grant this recognition unilaterally because of their desire to encourage touring by Americans. On the other hand, the carrying of a standard international permit by foreign motorists coming to this country—a uniform type which could be readily communicated to state highway patrols and others for purposes of instruction—is equally evident.

The problem will be laid before the appropriate state authorities in this country by the Department of State when the convention is ratified to determine whether the permissive clause in the convention relative to an international permit should be utilized, or whether, for at least an experimental period, the reciprocal recognition of all domestic permits might be tried.

The convention permits withdrawal from a driver of the right to use either the domestic or international permit if the driver has committed a driving offense of such a nature as would entail the forfeiture of his driving permit under the legislation and regulations of the state in which he is driving. The contracting states also undertake to communicate to each other necessary information for identification of persons holding either type of permit when they are liable to proceedings for a driving offense.

During a 5-year period from the entry into force of the convention, provision is also made to accept documents issued under the Paris convention of 1926 or the Inter-American convention of 1943.

In recognition of the precedent established in most countries, and as a convenience for persons enjoying the privileges of the convention, there are several references to "associations duly empowered" by the competent authorities to issue the various documents required for international traffic. In the United States, these would be such organizations as the American Automobile Association and the American Automobile Touring Alliance.

Article 26 requires that every bicycle shall be equipped with a brake, an audible warning device, a white or yellow light in front, and a red light or red reflex reflector in the rear. This apparently innocuous provision gave rise to brisk discussions because of recently enacted legislation in the United Kingdom, which permits only a white light on the front of a bicycle while requiring a white patch (reflecting surface) on the rear, and led eventually to a reservation by the United Kingdom on this single aspect of the convention.

FINAL PROVISIONS

Two major problems confronted the Conference on the final provisions of the convention: (1) the status of the International Convention relative to Motor Traffic and the International Convention relative to Road Traffic signed at Paris on April 24, 1926, and the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Traffic opened for signature at Washington on December 15, 1943, in relation to the new convention (article 30), and (2) the pro-

cedure established in article 31 by which both the convention and its annexes can be amended by postal voting, that is, by permitting contracting states to pass upon proposed amendments by correspondence with the Secretary-General of the United Nations without a diplomatic conference.

The Conference was sharply, and at first almost evenly, divided on the question of the relation of the earlier conventions on motor and road traffic to the new convention. The United States position was that a formula should be devised which would permit states that became parties to the new convention to continue in force the earlier conventions with respect to those states which were not yet parties to the 1949 convention. This position was determined by the United States desire to have the Inter-American convention continue in force until its replacement between each of the parties by the 1949 convention. Another consideration on the part of the United States was its feeling of obligation toward the other American Republics in view of its association with a resolution, relative to preserving the effectiveness of the Inter-American convention until ratification of the new world convention, made at the Third Inter-American Travel Congress, Bariloche, Argentina, February 1949. Accordingly, the United States delegation submitted a draft text reading: "This Convention shall terminate and replace, in relations between the Contracting States, the International Convention relative to Motor Traffic and the International Convention relative to Road Traffic signed at Paris on April 24, 1926, and the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic opened for signature at Washington on December 15, 1943."

The suggested text received support from many delegations, particularly those representing certain European countries which were anxious to continue the privileges and obligations of the 1926 conventions with respect to those countries which did not become party immediately to the new world convention. Other delegations felt, however, that provision should be made in the new convention requiring that a state denounce any of the earlier conventions to which it is a party as soon as it deposited its instrument of ratification or accession for the new convention. Their view was that a state could not be a party to any of the old conventions, and at the same time to the new, without undertaking conflicting obligations. The question was therefore referred to the Legal Committee with instructions to compare the earlier conventions with the new convention. It was reported there would not be any basic conflict or legal complications in such dual or parallel obligations and that it was feasible for a state to be simultaneously a party to any of the earlier conventions and to the 1949 convention. The United States proposal was then adopted.

The Conference had considerable difficulty on the procedure to be established for amendment of the annexes of the convention. The initial assumption was that all annexes would be optional and that amendment would be a more simple procedure than indicated for the main body of the convention. In this way it was believed that the convention would be more susceptible to necessary periodic amendments for keeping abreast of new technological developments and improvements. Once the Conference had decided, however, on the principle that the majority of the annexes should be obligatory, many of the delegations, including the United States, felt that this basic concept had to be dropped. They were of the opinion that the procedure for dealing with amendments to the mandatory annexes should be the same as that for dealing with amendments to the main body of the convention. A number of the delegations were not willing to divorce themselves from the original premise and argued that it should not be forgotten that it had been decided to place certain provisions in annexes with the precise aim of making it easier to amend those provisions as technical developments might demand.

As a result of the divergency of views, there was evolved a compromise formula for a similar amendment procedure for both the body of the convention and the annexes.

Signature, Ratification, and Accession

The other final provisions of the convention relate to signature, ratification, and accession (article 27); territorial application (article 28); entry into force (article 29); denunciation (article 32); and settlement of disputes (article 33) and were agreed to by the Conference without much difficulty.

DISCUSSION OF ANNEXES

Annex 1 is designed to meet European needs. It provides that cycles fitted with an auxiliary engine of small size (not more than 50 cc. or 3.05

cu. in.) shall not be considered as motor vehicles if their construction retains the normal characteristics of cycles. This provision was necessary because of the varying attitudes of foreign countries toward these small two-wheel units, some desiring to classify them as motor vehicles. For this reason, reservation against this annex was made by Denmark, India, Norway, Philippines, Sweden, Union of South Africa, and United Kingdom, and its provisions accordingly will not be valid in those countries.

Annex 2, relating to priority of passage, has already been explained in the discussion on rules of the road.

Annex 3 relates to the registration number of vehicles in international traffic and provides that the registration number of every vehicle shall consist of Arabic numerals and/or Latin characters, and shall be legible in daylight at a distance of 65 feet. The number may be painted on the vehicle, or displayed on a plate.

Annex 4 relates to the distinguishing sign of vehicles in international traffic and requires this sign to be composed of one to three capital Latin letters with a minimum height of 3.1 inches and width of 0.4 inch, in black on a white ground of elliptical form. Distinctive letters were fixed in the convention for 69 different states and territories, including all of the countries represented at the Geneva conference. The letters for the United States were established as "USA" as requested by the United States delegation. Any state not included in the list contained in the convention may, on accession to the convention, notify the United Nations of the distinctive letters selected by that state.

Annex 5 provides that the identification marks of vehicles in international traffic shall include, in the case of a motor vehicle, the name or trade mark of the manufacturer, the chassis or body identification or serial number, and the engine number if such number is available. In the case of the trailer, an identification mark issued for the trailer by the competent authority is adequate.

Annex 6 covers technical conditions concerning the equipment of motor vehicles and trailers in international traffic. These requirements are in general conformity with United States practice. As a result, United States motor vehicles with equipment complying with United States regulations may tour in foreign countries without changing equipment, and foreign vehicles meeting the requirements of the convention will not find any important differences from current United States regulations.

The sections on braking provide in general terms for "efficient, safe and rapid" braking under any conditions of loading and on any gradient on which the vehicle or combination of vehicles is operated. Both service and parking brakes are required, but no braking or stopping distance is specified. Trailers exceeding 1,650 pounds gross weight with load must have at least one braking device, and trailers having less than this weight must have a brake if the weight exceeds one-half of the unladen weight of the towing vehicle. Trailers equipped with brakes must have a breakaway device capable of stopping the trailer if it becomes detached while in motion.

The sections on lighting, although they impose no requirements objectionable from the American viewpoint, are rather vague in some particulars. The broad requirements are that every motor vehicle must have at least two white or yellow driving lights, two passing lights, and two clearance lights; at least one red rear light; two red reflex reflectors which may be incorporated with the rear lights; and a red or amber stop light actuated by the service brake. Special provisions are made for trailers and motorcycles. Direction indicators are made permissive, not obligatory, but the use of flashing or blinking lights is specifically confined to such indicators.

The indefinite character of certain lighting requirements was generally recognized, but a majority of the delegations was unwilling to agree to more specific provisions before the International Organization for Standardization which was studying the problems made its recommendations.

A proposal of the United States to insert in this annex a provision designed to permit the use of a white or yellow "back-up" or reversing light was met by the inclusion of a satisfactory provision in article 15 of the convention.

The sections prescribing other conditions concerning technical equipment such as steering apparatus, driving mirror, windshield wiper, safety glass in windshields, and mufflers, follow, in general, United States practices.

Sizes and Weights of Vehicles

The primary purpose of the convention is to facilitate the international movement of private passenger automobiles, and it accomplishes this pur-

pose very satisfactorily. A supplemental objective which, from the viewpoint of future development of highways and traffic in all parts of the world, may equal in importance the primary objective. This is embodied in annex 7, which establishes dimensions and weights of vehicles in international traffic. In this respect, the convention breaks new ground and sets up norms for large vehicles (busses, trucks, and combinations of vehicles) which have a bearing upon the construction and maintenance of highway pavements and structures, involving large expenditures. That the maximum figures stated are in accord with practice in the United States, where they have been developed to meet the most intensive traffic in existence, may be regarded as one of the chief accomplishments of the United States delegation at Geneva.

The problem occupied a large part of the deliberations, particularly in committee sessions, for it contained many elements of controversy. Chief among the controversial elements was the proposal of certain European countries that the maximum axle load, which is the key element in heavy motor vehicle design, should be 13 metric tons, or 28,660 pounds. This figure was based upon certain foreign national laws which took into account the excellent foundation characteristics of many of the principal highways of western Europe, compacted and deepened under centuries of traffic.

In the opinion of the American delegation, however, the European nations ignored the need for widening roads which must inevitably come as traffic volume increases and the establishment of new locations to improve the highway network for future needs. Furthermore, few vehicles actually appeared in operation which would require the high load-limits proposed, and the use of these vehicles could be covered by special permits.

The European proposal of more than 28,000 pounds axle load was in sharp contrast to the United States proposal of 18,000 pounds. Had the European proposal been accepted as the universal criterion for vehicle weights, it would have complicated and confused the highway development program in many countries. If the proposal were adopted in the United States, for example, it would increase the cost of highway construction and maintenance by at least 25 percent and, almost inevitably, this increase would be charged to the relatively small percentage of heavy vehicles which would make it necessary.

The issue in the Conference was clearly drawn. The United States delegation presented its facts convincingly and supported them by an interesting demonstration of models recently built by the Bureau of Public Roads to show the effect of various magnitudes and spacings of axle loads upon highway pavements and bridges. The final result was the adoption in annex 7 of a table of maximum dimensions and weights which are in close conformity to the recommendations of the American Association of State Highway Officials and the Bureau of Public Roads.

The annex applies to "roads designated by states parties to regional agreements" or to those designated by a contracting state itself, and is not necessarily applicable to the entire road-network of any country. It is not anticipated that any such international roads will be designated in the United States. Furthermore, provision is made that "no vehicle shall carry a maximum load in excess of that declared permissible by the competent authority of the country in which it is registered." Notwithstanding these exceptions, the fact that, for the first time, specific maximum limits for heavy vehicles and combinations have been stated in an agreement of world scope, is noteworthy. These limits are set forth in annex 7 to the following effect:

	Meters	*Feet*
(a) Over-all width	2.50	8.20
(b) Over-all height	3.80	12.50
(c) Over-all length:		
Goods vehicles with two axles	10.00	33.00
Passenger vehicles with two axles	11.00	36.00
Vehicles with three or more axles	11.00	36.00
Articulated vehicles	14.00	46.00
Combination of vehicles with one trailer [1]	18.00	59.00
Combination of vehicles with two trailers [1]	22.00	72.00
	Metric tons	*Pounds*
(d) Permissible maximum weight:		
(i) Per most heavily loaded axle [2]	8.00	17,600
(ii) Per most heavily loaded tandem axle group (the two axles of the group being at least 40 inches (1.00 meter) and less than 7 feet (2.00 meters) apart)	14.50	32,000

[1] Any contracting state may indicate that it will only permit that one trailer be drawn by a vehicle and that it will not permit an articulated vehicle to draw a trailer. It may also indicate that it will not permit articulated vehicles for the transport of passengers.

[2] An axle weight is defined as the total weight transmitted to the road by all wheels the centers of which can be included between two parallel transverse vertical planes 1.00 m (40 inches) apart extending across the full width of the vehicle.

For the limitation of gross vehicle weight, there is included a table prescribing the permissible maximum weight of a vehicle, articulated vehicle, or other combination, expressed in both metric tons and pounds, corresponding to the distance, expressed in meters and feet, between the extreme axles of the vehicle, articulated vehicle, or other combination.

The portion of the table expressed in English units of length and weight prescribes the permissible maximum vehicle weights in pounds corresponding to distances between extreme axles in feet. For distances from 3 to less than 7 feet, it prescribes a permissible maximum weight of 32,000 pounds. For distances from 7 feet to 64 feet, inclusive, it prescribes for each foot of distance corresponding permissible maximum weights, ranging from 32,480 pounds for 7 feet to 80,360 pounds for 64 feet.

As a partial compromise to meet the position of the countries which had advocated heavier axle limits, provision was made that contracting states may conclude regional agreements increasing the permissible maxima beyond those in the above tabulation but with the suggestion that the permissible axle load in any case should not exceed 13 metric tons.

Additional provisions were included to cover limitations on dimensions or weights at such places of restriction as tunnels or bridges and to meet unfavorable climatic or seasonal conditions; and special permits were authorized for vehicles or combinations larger or heavier than those permitted in the tabulation.

Annex 8, relating to conditions to be fulfilled by drivers of motor vehicles in international traffic, is brief, being confined to establishing 18 years as the minimum age for driving, except for drivers of motor vehicles or invalid carriages if any contracting state or subdivision makes special provision. It is to be regarded as an annex "in embryo." Under this heading may be expected to come, at some future time, international regulations determining and testing the fitness of drivers. The provisions elsewhere facilitating future amendments will provide a ready means for further attention to the important subject of driver qualifications, if and when the international community is able to undertake this task.

Annex 9 contains the specifications of a domestic model driving permit. This permit is not obligatory under the convention but some encouragement for its use is provided by article 24 which indicates that the international driving permit may be required for motorists coming from countries which do not use the model. It is not anticipated that this will have any effect upon current United States practices.

Annex 10 relates to the model international driving permit and specifies in effect, that it shall be a small booklet with pages containing the necessary identification of the driver, a list of the contracting states in which it is valid, photograph and signature of the holder, and indication of the type of vehicle which he is authorized to drive. Provision is made for printing this document in the language of the issuing state, the five official languages of the United Nations, and up to six other languages if the issuing state desires.

OTHER SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION

One of the items of the agenda, Other Problems in the Field of Road Transport Which May Require International Action, on which some of the European representatives had hoped for considerable discussion, was given little attention because of a general feeling that it was somewhat outside the immediate scope of the Conference and called for further study. Under this heading were grouped such subjects as customs conventions on touring, commercial road vehicles, and transport of goods by road; civil liability and compulsory insurance, fiscal charges and national taxation, freedom of movement of commercial road transport and road transport contract (bill of lading). A statement was presented by the United States delegation to the effect that all of these subjects are instrumental in facilitating the interchange of goods and persons internationally and are therefore desirable, but that they must be studied and considered with the greatest possible attention. It was recognized that they were primarily of regional interest. A brief discussion concluded with a decision to request the Secretary-General to notify governments of the existence of an agreement providing for the provisional application of three draft international customs conventions adopted on June 16, 1949, by the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (on touring, commercial road vehicles, and international transport of goods by road, respectively). This agreement, which at present is of

interest primarily to European countries, has been signed by representatives of the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union, France, Norway, Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Italy. In addition, the Conference recommended that Ecosoc and its Transport and Communications Commission give advice on what further international action is desirable in this field.

Special consideration was given by the Conference to the Spanish-speaking nations of the Western Hemisphere and the 1943 Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic. The United States delegation proposed a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, requesting that an authoritative Spanish translation of the new convention on road traffic be added to the English and French texts when the certified copies are transmitted to governments. Arrangements to this end are now being made by the United Nations Secretariat. Inclusion of Spanish will greatly facilitate consideration of the new convention throughout Latin America, and may be hoped to lead to its recognition as a notable improvement over the 1943 agreement.

CONCLUSIONS

In the final week of the Conference—including a plenary session on Sunday afternoon, September 18, which required special authorization by the Secretary-General of the United Nations—reports of the committees were crystallized into four documents. These documents were laid before the delegates for signature at the closing session of the Conference on September 19.

Signatories

The states which have signed one or more of the four documents emanating from the conference are as follows:

Convention on Road Traffic—20 signatories: Austria, Belgium, Denmark (reservation excluding annex 1), Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, India (reservation excluding annexes 1 and 2), Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway (reservation excluding annex 1), Philippines (reservation excluding annex 1), Sweden (reservation excluding annex 1), Switzerland, Union of South Africa (reservation excluding annexes 1 and 2), United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (reservation in respect of article 26 and excluding annexes 1 and 2), United States of America, and Yugoslavia.

Protocol Concerning Countries or Territories at Present Occupied—17 signatories: Belgium, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, India, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and United States of America.

Protocol on Road Signs and Signals—14 signatories: Austria (reservation), Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, France, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway (reservation), Sweden (reservation), Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

Final Act of the Conference—31 signatories, including observers: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, Guatemala, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, and Yugoslavia. Observers: Australia, Canada, Ecuador, Mexico.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS

Convention on Road Traffic

Chapter I, Articles 1–5, General Provisions: Preserving the authority of the individual state to control all traffic but agreeing to international traffic under the provisions of the Convention; indicating 1 year as the maximum continuous period for an individual vehicle or driver to enjoy the benefits of the Convention in any one country; making all technical annexes integral parts of the Convention; encouraging simplification of customs, police, health or other requirements; recognizing the right of any country to require a customs bond, and permitting use of a document such as the "carnet de passages en douane" issued by motoring associations to meet this requirement; defining twelve of the terms used in the Convention; and stipulating that the Convention does not apply to "for hire" operations.

Chapter II, Articles 6–16, Rules of the Road: Basic regulations for the safety of all forms of traffic, including responsibility of every road user to avoid endangering or obstructing traffic and to have the speed of his vehicle under control at all times; requiring special precautions at intersections, and in overtaking and passing; requiring

adequate lighting of vehicles at night; and setting forth three special rules for cyclists.

Chapter III, Article 17, Signs and Signals: Five basic provisions, assuring uniformity of road signs within each country, limiting the number and location of signs to those that are strictly necessary, and prohibiting boards or notices which might be confused with the approved signs.

Chapter IV, Articles 18–23, Provisions Applicable to Motor Vehicles and Trailers in International Traffic: Requiring a domestic registration certificate for each vehicle which shall be recognized by all Contracting States (thus obviating the necessity for an international registration certificate); requiring each vehicle to carry at least one registration plate, and a separate sign indicating the country of registration (United States vehicles will carry the sign "USA"); requiring every vehicle to be in safe mechanical condition, conforming to the provisions of annex 6; and, while recognizing the authority of each Contracting State or subdivision thereof to control the size and weight of all vehicles using its roads, specifying that on roads specifically designated by the Contracting States the permissible maximum dimensions and weights shall be those set out in annex 7.

Chapter V, Articles 24–25, Drivers of Motor Vehicles in International Traffic: Granting reciprocal recognition to valid domestic driving permits, but permitting any Contracting State to require use of an international permit if it so desires (models of the permits are set forth in annexes 9 and 10); permitting withdrawal of a driver's right to use either of the above permits if the driver has committed a driving offense of such a nature as would entail forfeiture of the permit in his home state; recognizing validity of documents issued under the Paris Convention of 1926 or the Inter-American Convention of 1943 for a period of 5 years; and agreeing to exchange of information by the Contracting States relative to identity of drivers liable to proceedings for a driving offense.

Chapter VI, Article 26: Requiring a brake, warning device, and lights or reflectors on cycles.

Chapter VII, Articles 27–35, Final Provisions: Relating to signature and ratification of the Convention, and deposit of instruments with the Secretary-General of the United Nations; specifying that the Convention shall enter into force thirty days after deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification or accession; specifying that the Convention terminates and replaces the Paris and Inter-American Conventions "in relations between the Contracting States" (this phrase assures continuance in force of the prior conventions between states until they have become party to the new convention); establishing a procedure for amendment of the Convention by exchange of communications through the Secretary-General of the United Nations or by technical conferences if necessary (thus obviating frequent diplomatic conferences on subjects of a technical nature); providing for reference of disputes to the International Court of Justice; and permitting any Contracting State to take action necessary for its external or internal security.

Annex 1, Additional Provision Concerning Definitions of Motor Vehicle and Cycle: A special technical provision that cycles fitted with a small auxiliary engine (not over 3.05 cu. in. cylinder capacity) are not considered as motor vehicles, provided they retain the normal construction characteristics of cycles.

Annex 2, Priority of Passage: A provision which gives the right of way at non-priority intersections to vehicles approaching from the right (or from the left in countries where traffic moves on the left-hand side of the road).

(Annexes 1 and 2, alone among the ten annexes to the Convention, may be excluded from application by any Contracting State.)

Annex 3, Registration Number of Vehicles in International Traffic: General specifications for registration plates.

Annex 4, Distinguishing Sign of Vehicles in International Traffic: Exact specifications as to size of signs and letter symbols showing country of registration, with symbols (one to three letters) for various states and territories. Examples: United States of America, "USA"; France, "F"; India, "IND"; Philippines, "PI"; United Kingdom, "GB"; Yugoslavia, "YU"; etc. (69 symbols in all, with provision for designation of symbols by other states as required).

Annex 5, Identification Marks of Vehicles in International Traffic: Specifications of identification marks on motor vehicles and trailers, by name of manufacturer, chassis or body number, and engine number if available.

Annex 6, Technical Conditions Concerning the Equipment of Motor Vehicles and Trailers in International Traffic: General specifications for braking performance, lighting of motor vehicles, steering apparatus, driving mirror, windshield wiper, safety glass in windshields, etc. (In order to prevent immediate barring from international traffic of many existing vehicles, this annex also contains "transitional provisions" which in effect mean that every new vehicle registered beginning 2 years after the entry into force of the Convention must meet all of its technical requirements, while vehicles registered before that date must meet somewhat less rigorous requirements, which are enumerated. In any case, the grace period will expire five years after the entry into force of the Convention, and every vehicle in international traffic thereafter must meet all of the technical provisions of this annex.)

Annex 7, Dimensions and Weights of Vehicles in International Traffic: Sets forth in tabular form the permissible maximum width, height, length and weight of various classes of vehicles, as applicable to highways "designated by states parties to regional agreements or, in the absence of such agreements, by a Contracting State"; provides that Contracting States may conclude regional agreements for higher weights; authorizes special limitations made necessary by ferries, tunnels, or bridges, and by seasonal conditions.

Annex 8, Conditions to be Fulfilled by Drivers of Motor Vehicles in International Traffic: Fixes 18 years as minimum age for driving.

Annex 9, Model Driving Permit: Exact specifications for domestic driving permit recommended, but not prescribed, for adoption by Contracting States.

Annex 10, Model International Driving Permit: Exact specifications prescribed for international permit, if any country requires its use.

Protocol on Occupied Countries

The "Protocol Concerning Countries or Territories at Present Occupied" recognizes the fact that certain countries (notably Germany and Japan) were not able to participate in the United Nations conference and were unable to sign the resulting instruments. Nevertheless, they are of future importance in international traffic, and the conference made explicit provision for eventual adherence of such countries. Action on this point was left to the Economic and Social Council. The Protocol reads as follows:

It is agreed that nothing in Chapter VII of the Convention on Road Traffic shall be deemed to prevent the Economic and Social Council from addressing invitations to any country or territory at present occupied to accede to the Convention, or to prevent accession to the Convention by or on behalf of such country or territory.

Protocol on Road Signs and Signals

The "Protocol on Road Signs and Signals" was not signed by the representatives of the United States.

The protocol contains general provisions; establishes three main classes of signs—danger, instructional, and informative; fixes specifications as to shape, dimensions, symbols, colors, and location of signs; makes special provision for grade crossing protection, traffic police signals, traffic lights, and road markings; and appends drawings of 64 illustrative signs.

Final Act

The "Final Act" of the conference is a document which summarizes the results of the entire Geneva meeting. After quoting the resolution of the Economic and Social Council on which the conference was based, it lists the governments and organizations represented, and cites the convention and two protocols which were prepared and opened for signature. Finally, it places on record certain other decisions reached by the conference, among which are the following:

Recommendations that the United Nations take the necessary measures to enable the International Organization for Standardization and the International Commission on Illumination to carry out a series of comparative tests on motor car passing lights.

Request that the Secretary-General of the United Nations notify the Contracting States of adoption or rejection of amendments to the Convention and its annexes, so that all states can be kept accurately and currently informed of the obligations of each state.

Recommendation that the Transport and Communications Commission of the United Nations review periodically the progress of developments concerning international road transport, and advise the Economic and Social Council on what further international action is desirable, whether by conference or otherwise.

Acceptance of a United Kingdom reservation to a provision on bicycle lights and reflectors in the Convention; and of minor reservations by Sweden, Norway and Austria to the protocol on road signs and signals.

Request that the Secretary-General of the United Nations establish an authoritative Spanish translation of the Convention and transmit it to governments with the certified English and French texts.

Recommendation that the Economic and Social Council entrust to the Transport and Communications Commission the task of reviewing the possibility of a single worldwide system of road signs and signals, with the assistance of experts, and of advising the Council on subsequent steps to be taken to reach agreement on such a system.

TRAVELING IN THE AMERICAS

by Ambassador George P. Shaw

Twenty of the American Republics and the Dominion of Canada sent delegations to the Third Inter-American Travel Congress which, at the invitation of Argentina, was held near San Carlos de Bariloche at the Hotel Llao-Llao, Nahuel Huapí National Park in the Argentine Andes from February 15 to 24, 1949. The United States sent a delegation of eight persons. There were also in attendance some 63 representatives of 41 private organizations in the Western Hemisphere having an interest in tourism and travel problems in general. These representatives, who participated actively in the work of the Congress, represented the Intercontinental Hotels Corporation, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the National Federation of American Shipping, automobile clubs, hotel clubs, chambers of commerce, tourist associations, land, sea, and air transportation companies, and various others.

Continuation of Travel Discussions

This Congress was the third in a series which grew out of the recommendation of the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima, Peru, in 1938. That Conference recommended that the nations of America be represented at a First Inter-American Travel Congress at San Francisco in 1939.

The date for the Third Inter-American Travel Congress had been set several times but had been postponed because of the desire of the Argentine Government to make extensive arrangements which would assure the success of the Congress. Between the Second Inter-American Travel Congress, which was held in Mexico City, and this, the third one, a separate but similar meeting was held in Panamá in August 1947, known as the First Inter-American Congress of Directors of Tourism and Immigration.[1] The resolutions of the Panamá Congress were carefully considered at the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogotá in 1948, and a resolution was passed directing the Third Inter-American Travel Congress to review all previous recommendations, including those of the Congress in Panamá, with a view to putting them into a form that could be implemented in a practical manner. Therefore, a good portion of the work of the Third Travel Congress was based upon the work of previous Congresses.

Opening of the Conference

It was evident from the first working session of the Congress that all of the delegates had come to Argentina with a realization that world conditions had changed since the Second Travel Congress in Mexico City in 1941, that the tourist industry had become increasingly important, and that the question of simplifying procedures and removing barriers to the flow of bona fide nonimmigrant travel was paramount. Evidence of mutual understanding and friendly cooperation among the official and unofficial delegates persisted throughout the entire Congress.

The Argentine Government had planned that the inaugural session of the Congress should be held in Buenos Aires, and that the Congress would be opened by President Perón. The delegates gathered for a preliminary meeting on February 11 at the College of Buenos Aires. The delegates

[1] For an article on the Conference by Ambassador Shaw, see BULLETIN of Dec. 28, 1947, p. 1250.

in the first plenary session, recognizing the preliminary work done, and the enthusiasm of the President of the Executive Committee, Director of the National Parks of Argentina, Lt. Col. Napoleon R. Irusta, unanimously elected him President of the Congress. In this same meeting the precedence of delegations from the various countries and order of voting was decided by lot. This was a departure from earlier procedure, which held to the practice of voting in alphabetical order.

Unfortunately, President Perón was unable to attend the meeting and to make the inaugural address. He sent as his personal representative the Minister of Public Works, Gen. Juan Pistarini. The formal opening of the Congress was also held at the College of Buenos Aires the same evening. General Pistarini welcomed the delegates, extended the courtesies of the Republic and the various cities to be visited, and wished the Congress success in its labors. He called attention to the work done in previous Congresses to enhance the value of the tourist industry, and hoped that this could be materially advanced in the sessions to be held in Argentina.

The opening session was attended also by Dr. Juan Atilio Bramuglia, Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship; Dr. Oscar Ivanissevich, Argentine Minister of Education and until recently Argentine Ambassador to Washington; the Primate Cardinal of Argentina, Dr. Santiago Capello; Lt. Col. Napoleon R. Irusta, President of the Congress and Director of the National Parks of Argentina; and other high officials of the Argentine Government. Francisco J. Hernández, Chief of the Travel Division of the Pan American Union, was given a place of honor on the dais in this opening session.

Speeches also were made by D. Leo Dolan, the delegate from Canada, and by the Mexican delegate, Ambassador Juan Alvarez del Castillo. The speakers were selected in view of the fact that Mr. Dolan had been the President of the First American Travel Congress in San Francisco in 1939, and because the Second Congress was held in Mexico City in 1941.

The Congress, having been opened formally in Buenos Aires, all delegates and unofficial observers, as well as the secretariat provided by the Argentine Government, proceeded in two special trains and by several airplanes to the famous Llao-Llao Hotel near San Carlos de Bariloche in Southern Argentina. The Congress took over the entire hotel and was able to work uninterruptedly under almost ideal conditions for the full 10 days of the Congress.

The Congress did not name committees on credentials or regulations since the secretariat provided by the Argentine Government performed those functions itself.

The agenda of the Congress had been carefully formulated under eight chapter headings. In the first plenary session the work of the Congress was organized by the naming of eight committees to consider the subject matter of each chapter. Each country was given an opportunity to name delegates as members of the committees in which it was most interested. The eight committees, which were commonly referred to by number, covered the following topics:

Committee 1: Governmental Action
Committee 2: Joint Action (Governmental and Private)
Committee 3: Private Action
Committee 4: Publicity, Propaganda, and Development of Tourism
Committee 5: Marketing of Travel
Committee 6: The Automobile and Tourism
Committee 7: Cultural Aspects in the Development of Tourism
Committee 8: Development of Sports

Discussion on Tourist Card

The subject on the agenda that was of first interest to all of the delegations and which occasioned the most prolonged study and debate was Topic 1 concerning the simplification of regulations affecting passports and visas for tourists (nonimmigrants). The resolution in the final act of the First Inter-American Congress of Directors of Tourism and Immigration which was held in Panamá in August 1947, served as a basis for the discussions. The idea prevailed among a majority of the delegates that a tourist card should be authorized which would be a simplified passport easier to issue and providing for facilities not to be had through the possession of a formal passport. It must be stated frankly that, although the resolution to this general effect was passed over a number of dissenting votes, the tourist card, as recommended, did not provide any guaranties of facilities not to be had at the present time or in the foreseeable future by bearers of passports. The resolution which presents a number of technical difficulties in connection with its possible implementation is, in effect, a recommendation

for the substitution of one travel document for another.

A major accomplishment of the Third Inter-American Travel Congress was the establishment of a clear distinction between the function of the tourist card as a passport and as, or in lieu of, a visa. This matter was not so plainly stated in the phraseology of the Panamá Congress of 1947 or in the First or Second Inter-American Travel Congresses. It is now clearly established that the contemplated tourist card in itself would be a travel document, having the essentials of a passport, which is a guaranty as to the identity of the traveler by his own government. The visa is a thing apart which may or may not be placed upon the tourist card or passport, depending upon the laws and regulations of the government concerned. The visa when used is an implied permission of a second government for a traveler to enter and reside temporarily in its territory. The final act of the Third Inter-American Travel Congress taken as a whole indicates agreement of the various delegations as to the general principles of simplifying documents and facilitating travel as much as possible. The position of the United States Government as regards the use of passports and the requirements for visas has not materially changed since the Panamá Congress of 1947.

Paragraph 1 of chapter I in the final act of the Third Travel Congress states that the proposed tourist card is designed to replace a passport for tourists. The liberal point of view of this latest Congress is demonstrated by the inclusion in this section of a definition of "tourist" to mean persons who are, in effect, temporary visitors to another country specifically traveling for the purpose of cultural motives, recreation, health, family, study, business, sports, et cetera. The inclusion of commercial travelers in this definition is considered by many delegates to be a significant change in the point of view of many of the nations and a long step in the direction of liberalizing travel regulations.

The resolution indicates from the beginning that the tourist card will replace passports for all travelers classified as temporary visitors, and no exceptions are stated. It is obvious that the nations concerned will not completely give up the right to issue passports to such travelers as they deem appropriate, such as for persons traveling through the Americas en route to Europe or other areas where passports may continue to be needed, and other special cases. These technical defects were apparent to several of the delegations, who might have found it necessary to sign the final act with reservations had it not been for the debate which brought out the necessity of those nations reserving the right for their citizens to continue to travel on regular passports and to enjoy all of the rights and privileges contemplated for travelers bearing the proposed tourist card. These debates culminated in the adoption of a resolution which appears under chapter I, resolution XI of the final act to the effect that all nations have the right, and in fact agree, to expedite the issuance and use of passports and also visas until such time as the tourist card may be adopted by those nations that desire it. This arrangement leaves the matter open until a convention can be drawn which will include a formal commitment to authorize the use of the tourist card and at which time the technical difficulties mentioned above may be resolved. Several delegations including the United States, agreed that this resolution made it unnecessary for them to sign with a reservation that had been contemplated, to the effect that their countries intended to continue the use of the passport instead of the tourist card for an indefinite period. It was brought out in debate that the passport has all of the advantages contemplated for the card and none of its defects. The only argument in favor of the card is a more facile and convenient method of issuance.

For the first time since the tourist card idea was seriously considered in the Tourist Passport Convention in Buenos Aires in June 1935, a notable tendency has developed to veer away from the tourist card idea in favor of the standard international type of passport as the ideal travel document.

Visa Conditions for Use of Tourist Card

The next most interesting resolution was that under chapter I, resolution I (3), which clarified the provision that the tourist card makes visas unnecessary, only when the laws and regulations of the country visited so permit. It is obvious that due to present-day conditions, a number of the countries represented are not in a position to waive the requirements for visas in the foreseeable future. Previous Congresses have been unwilling to provide any exception to the clause recommending the elimination of visas, but again the Third Congress demonstrated its reasonable and progressive

attitude and included the modifying clause for what may be an extended interim period. The hope was expressed by all delegations that political, economic, and social conditions throughout the world would soon return to a state that would permit the waiver of visa requirements, and possibly of travel documents themselves in many instances. None of the delegates indicated that they expected these conditions would prevail in their respective countries in the immediate future.

The principle of uniformity among Western Hemisphere nations in the issuance of travel documents, the card and by implication passports, was approved.

International Travel Organizations

Perhaps the most important concrete result of the Third Inter-American Travel Congress was the resolution VIII that appears in the final act under chapter II. The Congress recognized the desirability of avoiding the multiplication of regional organizations and the advisability of using available existing governmental machinery. It was generally accepted that an organization was needed which would provide a common meeting ground for governmental and private travel organizations, and which would provide a means for implementing the resolutions of this Congress, as well as aiding in the drafting of future legislation, including the conventions contemplated in the final act of this Congress. This was reiteration of resolutions in earlier Congresses. Therefore, after extended debate and much serious hard work, the Congress voted to recommend to the various governments concerned that the nations represented adhere to the International Union of Official Travel Organizations with headquarters in London, which has been granted consultative status as a nongovernmental organization by the United Nations. Under this Union there are already set up a number of regional commissions, and provision is made for an Inter-American Commission at the present time. Argentina, Peru, and the United States are already members of the Union, and those countries may form a nucleus for the Inter-American Commission. The recommendation was adopted that the Western Hemisphere countries which adhere to the Union would automatically constitute the Inter-American Commission, and that it should have its Secretariat General in the Travel Division of the Pan American Union. The matter of the organization of the Inter-American Travel Commission and the approval of a statute on the basis of a draft adopted by the Congress have been referred to the Organization of American States for action.

The Congress, through the expenditure of considerable time and effort, included with the above recommendation a draft statute for the Inter-American Travel Commission. It is believed that this statute may be adopted by the Commission without major change and that it will provide a satisfactory working basis until experience may dictate certain modifications.

Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Automobile traffic in the Western Hemisphere with its attendant problems of entry and departure, proof of ownership, customs regulations, bonds, insurance, and so forth, were discussed at great length. The Congress was successful in passing a resolution which appears in the final act under chapter I, no. III, urging all governments that have not already done so to adhere to the Convention on the regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic (Washington 1943). It provided for recognition of both the Carnet de Passages en Douane issued by the International Automobile Federation and International Automobile Touring Alliance, and the Libreta de Pasos por Aduana issued by the Inter-American Federation of Automobile Clubs. The language of the resolution concerning automobile traffic in general approved liberalization and simplification of customs regulations and other restrictions on automobile traffic. The present numerous difficulties encountered by automobile travelers in going from one country to another were discussed in detail. It was manifestly impossible to pass resolutions to correct each and every obstacle to travel, but the principle was well-established that red tape should be cut and that travel by automobile should be facilitated.

The recommendations included provisions for increased uniformity in road signs as regards shape, color, and symbol; incorporation in the new world convention proposed by the United Nations of certain provisions of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic and the holding of an inter-American conference of directors of traffic to establish uniform traffic safety rules.

The support of the facilitation program of the International Civil Aviation Organization was

approved, as well as the adoption of the FAL standard clearance forms.

Aspects of Tourist Industry

Financing the tourist industry was discussed in its several aspects and the resolutions of the Congress recommended extensive financing of the tourist industry by private capital, and with government assistance where necessary. Matters of exchange were covered and the time-consuming requirements of various countries for obtaining both local and foreign exchange by tourists were recommended to be eliminated. It was brought out that in some instances tourists passing considerable time in a country find themselves in need of additional funds. These funds often are transmitted by telegram, but unfortunately these remittances are usually considered in the class of commercial transactions with the usual difficulties arising out of exchange control and restrictions. It was recommended that a means be found whereby temporary visitors in a country would not be subject to undue delay and possible loss simply because it was necessary to receive additional funds during their stay in such territory.

Taxes, Customs, Tourist Information

A resolution was adopted calling for the elimination, or reduction to a minimum, of taxes imposed on travelers from abroad; of the double or otherwise burdensome taxation levied on international transport companies; and of taxes levied on international travel and tourist services.

There was extensive debate concerning the removal of customs duties from the baggage of travelers and specifically exempting from those regutions such items as cameras, strictly personal effects, and especially sporting goods in general. Under this same heading it was specifically recommended that tourist propaganda from one nation to another falling within certain classes (not to contain over 20 percent of advertising) be exempt from duties. Also in this same connection, the matter of accurate tourist propaganda was considered, and it was resolved that a uniform seal should be provided which could be impressed upon all descriptive propaganda to indicate that it had been checked and that the data were accurate and not exaggerated. This seal would simply be a warranty of quality, and although not required on all propaganda, it would be a guaranty of the government as to that material on which it did appear.

The Congress passed the usual series of resolutions advocating the development of cultural aspects of travel, the conservation of national monuments, the completion of the Pan American Highway and other road systems, the development of national parks, and the development of travel in connection with sports events, including such attractions as well-known hunting and fishing grounds.

It should be observed that this Congress was held on a technical level and that its results were a series of resolutions which expressed the views of the various nations represented but which were not binding upon those nations, except in a general or moral sense. With this thought in mind, the Congress definitely recommended that certain provisions be reduced to formal and binding conventions. One of these was the tourist card, and it was recommended that a convention to implement the resolutions be drawn up by the Organization of American States. Another was the reference of certain financial and economic matters to the next Inter-American Economic and Social Council for consideration. There also was a request that the Organization of American States make an investigation of and submit its findings in a comparative study on the immigration laws and regulations of the nations of the Western Hemisphere as applying to nonimmigrant travel.

A recommendation was made for the development of uniform travel statistics.

A proposal was made by the delegation from Cuba, and promptly seconded by the delegation from the United States, that the Fourth Inter-American Travel Congress should be held in Peru in 1951. The chairman of the Peruvian delegation accepted this proposal on behalf of his government stating at the same time that the next Congress would be held in Lima. This motion carried with unanimous approval.

The final act was signed at the last plenary session on February 24, all nations signing without reservations except Argentina and Peru, who included reservations on minor points which affected local conditions in their respective countries. The final act was the only formal document issued by the Congress. It contained 84 regular resolutions, 1 miscellaneous resolution, 7 votes, and 3 tributes, which represents the work done in the 10 days of the sessions.

THE SEAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

by Richard S. Patterson

Dating from the year the Constitution went into effect, the seal of the Department of State is among the oldest seals of the Federal Government. An act of Congress approved September 15, 1789, provided that the Secretary of State "shall cause a seal of office to be made . . . of such device as the President of the United States shall approve." Although no record has been found of the design or choice of a device for this seal, the persons concerned in the matter were President Washington, whose approval was required; Thomas Jefferson, who took office as Secretary of State on March 22, 1790; Roger Alden, who was appointed Chief Clerk of the Department on January 1, 1790; and the engraver of the seal, whose identity is unknown. The seal was first used on May 28, 1790, when, at the request of a New York lawyer, it was affixed to the certificate of authentication of a copy of an act of Congress. Presumably the seal die was engraved in New York City, where the Federal Government was then located; and apparently Roger Alden personally attended to the purchase of it, for he paid for it out of his own pocket. An old account book in the archives of the Department records under date of July 1, 1790, "cash repaid" Alden for "the seal for the secretary's office," which had cost £2 3s. 4d. "New York Currency."

Although in its basic design the seal of the Department of State has always, through its various recuttings, followed more or less closely that of the Great Seal of the United States, impressions from the seal die of 1790 appear oddly different from those of today. Circular and measuring 1 7/16 inches in diameter, the seal of 1790 has the legend "Secretary of State's Office" in capitals just inside the outer border, with an ornament at the bottom between the first word and the last. The device within the circle formed by the legend and the ornament is that of the Great Seal with one heraldic difference: the eagle's wing tips point downward instead of upward. The form of the crest and the contraction of the motto to "E pls unum" are distinctive details. This seal was used without a counterdie, the impression being brought out in relief by means of adhesive matter placed between the paper wafer and the page of the document.

The die of 1790 continued in use until 1833 or 1834. On October 26, 1833, the Department paid Benjamin Chambers, Washington engraver, diesinker, and copperplate printer, the sum of $350 for a seal die, together with counterdie, press, and stand, but whether this was the Department seal is not recorded. On October 8, 1834, the Department paid Chambers $120 for "Making Seal of Cast steel & moveable Matrix," and this seal is identified as that of the Department. Impressions from the die of 1834 are circular and 1 1/2 inches in diameter. The legend "Department of State," in capitals, runs just inside the upper three-quarters of the circumference, an ornament filling the space at the bottom between the first word and the last. An inner three-quarter circle separates the legend from the device, which is that of the Great Seal with two heraldic differences: the eagle's wing tips point downward instead of upward, and the arrows are of an indistinguishable number. The points of the arrows are downward; the motto is spelled in full; and the cloud of the crest forms an arc under the stars rather than a

circle surrounding them. All impressions from this die that have been examined were made in the same manner as those from the 1790 die, on a paper wafer over a disk of red adhesive matter; the matrix or counterdie that had been purchased with the die was not used, and presumably it had proved unusable, for in 1844 the Department bought a new seal and press particularly to overcome this defect. The die of 1834 remained in service, however, at least as late as June 1865.

A new die was cut in 1844, not to replace the die of 1834, but for concurrent use. Edward Stabler, postmaster, seal engraver, and manufacturer, of Sandy Spring, Maryland, supplied this die, together with counterdie, press, and mahogany stand and case, for which he received payment of $252 on December 30, 1844. The Department's instructions to Stabler specified a seal that would "make a good impression on paper only" and authorized him to "make the execution of the seal as much better than the sample as you please, but the device must be adhered to." The seal of 1844 follows closely the design of the seal of 1834, although it differs slightly in its diameter of 1 9/16 inches, in its sheaf of only four arrows, with points upward, and in the generally superior execution of the engraving. The counterdie permitted impression of the seal directly on the page of a document, without the use of adhesive or paper wafer, and it was usually affixed in this manner.

About March 1881, the die of 1844 was superseded by another die. This die was perhaps furnished by William F. Lutz, of Washington, to whom on July 10, 1880, the Department paid $37 for a "Seal and Press for Passport Bureau." Impressions from the die of 1881 measure 2 5/16 inches in diameter and show a somewhat modified design. Inside an ornamental border is a circular legend, in capitals, the upper half reading "Department of State" and the lower half "United States of America," the two parts being separated from each other at either side by a five-pointed star and the whole being set off from the device by a circle about 1 1/2 inches in diameter. On three points of heraldry the device differs from that of the Great Seal: the eagle, although otherwise "displayed," has its head turned to its left; there are only 3 arrows, instead of 13; and in lieu of the crest there are 14 stars, seven in a horizontal line above the scroll and 7 irregularly distributed below the scroll. Both eagle and shield are of distinctive form, the wing tips of the former pointing almost straight upward. This die was sometimes impressed directly on the document and sometimes on a glossy red wafer.

In 1911, the die of 1881 was replaced by a die of a design that has continued in use ever since. On April 20, 1911, the Department paid J. Baumgarten Sons Company, of Washington, the sum of $250 for a "Seal Press with Steel Die for Bureau of Citizenship," the office of the Department that then handled both passport matters and authentications. Measuring 2 1/4 inches in diameter, the 1911 die retained the legend of the 1881 die, but substituted for the device thereof an artistically and heraldically exact reproduction, in reduced size, of the device of the Great Seal as recut in 1903 and as currently in use.

In 1917 authentication duties were transferred out of the Bureau of Citizenship. Apparently at this time—record of the exact date has not been found—a new seal die was obtained for use on authentications. This die, of the same size as the 1911 die and a close copy of it, was cut by the Washington firm of Lamb & Tilden. Fixed in a heavy iron hand press of lever-action type, it is one of two dies in current use by the Protocol Staff of the Secretary's Office. The other die, cut by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and almost identical with the hand-press die, is fixed in an

electrically operated press which the Department purchased on June 28, 1934. This power press has largely superseded the hand press except for emergency use.

In January 1918, when the Department adopted a revised and more convenient passport form, it put into use for the sealing of passports a new seal die, of the same pattern as the 1911 die but only 1 3/4 inches in diameter. This was the first of a series of passport-seal dies, all cut by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and all so nearly identical that their impressions cannot be distinguished from one another with the naked eye. Becoming worn from constant use, passport-seal dies require replacement from time to time. The Passport Division possesses four seal presses, two of them hand-operated and two electrically operated, each fitted with a die like that of 1918. The smaller hand press is of simple lever-action type; the larger, a huge old cast-steel affair of screw-action type, is perhaps the press purchased from Edward Stabler in 1844. In 1929 the Passport Division acquired a power press, which has seen hard service since. A new and improved power press, purchased in 1949, relegates the other three presses to idleness except in emergencies.

The two chief uses of the seal today, both of which date from the 1790's, are on passports issued at the Department of State and on certificates of authentication. The act of Congress of September 15, 1789, which provided for the making of the seal, specified its use for authenticating "copies of records and papers." Besides this use on certificates of authentication of copies from the Department's files and records, the seal is employed on certificates of authentication of certain seals, namely, those of the executive departments and independent agencies of the Federal Government, those of the State and Territories, and those of the Secretaries of State of the States; and it is employed also on certificates of authentication of the names and official positions of American diplomatic and consular officers and of foreign diplomatic officers accredited to the United States. Still other types of papers that pass under the Department seal are certificates of request and warrants of surrender in extradition procedure; certificates as to the going into force of Constitutional amendments; commissions of Foreign Service Staff officers assigned as vice consuls; certificates of designation; certificates of recognition of certain foreign consular officers in the United States; and orders and regulations emanating from the Department and filed for publication in the *Federal Register*.

Theoretically today, as actually in earlier times, the signature of the Secretary or Acting Secretary of State accompanies each impression of the Department seal. At present the last-mentioned types of papers that pass under the seal are signed by the Secretary or the Acting Secretary; but all authentications are now signed for the Secretary by the Authentication Officer of the Department, and passports bear a printed facsimile of the Secretary's signature.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Foreign Service List, October 1, 1949. Pub. 3634. 117 pp. 30¢ a copy; $1.50 a year domestic, $2 a year foreign.

Lists officers in the American Foreign Service, their posts of assignment, the index of persons, and the geographic index.

Human Rights and Genocide. International Organization and Conference Series III, 39. Pub. 3643. 71 pp. 20¢.

Selected statements, United Nations resolutions, declaration, and conventions on the subject.

Visa Work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. Department and Foreign Service Series 3. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3649. 18 pp. Free.

Informative article with tables by Eliot B. Coulter, Assistant Chief of the Visa Division, Department of State.

U. S. National Commission UNESCO News, November 1949. Pub. 3662. 12 pp. 10¢ a copy; $1 a year domestic, $1.35 a year foreign.

The monthly publication of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

The Protection of Foreign Interests in Germany. European and British Commonwealth Series 11. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3667. 12 pp. Free.

Includes U.S. memorandum, report, and recommendations of the Intergovernmental Group for the Safeguarding of Foreign Interests in Germany.

Our Educational and Ideological Task in Today's World. International Information and Cultural Series 10. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3669. 3 pp. Free.

This article is based on an address delivered by Margaret Hicks Williams at the U.S. Office of Education Indoctrination Sessions, Washington, D.C. for the British exchange teachers of 1949–50.

The Chinese Situation in the United Nations

Statement by Ambassador Philip C. Jessup[1]

A charge by one member of the United Nations that another member is violating both a treaty and the Charter of the United Nations is a matter of serious concern to us all. This is particularly true in the present case because the alleged violation includes the charge of assisting in attempting the violent overthrow of a recognized government; and, most of all, because both China and the Soviet Union, as permanent members of the Security Council, are pledged to fulfill special responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security.

Soviet Charges

A due regard for the normal deliberative processes of the United Nations as well as for the opinion of the world community would have dictated that the member against which the charges have been leveled should make some response to them and should place its side of the case before this Committee. We regret that it has not seen fit to do so and that the Soviet delegation and also the delegations of other Eastern European states have refused to participate in the consideration of this case.

Equally serious, although not equally well-documented, charges were made in this Assembly by the U.S.S.R. against the United States and United Kingdom in the discussion of the resolution on the essentials of peace just concluded in this Committee. Both my delegation and that of the United Kingdom not only voted in favor of placing that item on the agenda for discussion and hearing but also took their full part in the debate in answering the charges of the Soviet Union. In this we were fulfilling our duty to the United Nations in helping to make the Assembly, as Secretary of State Acheson in his opening speech in the Assembly urged that it should be—"a forum in which the international public interest can be fully expressed" through the participation of all members. Had we not done so—had we adopted the Soviet tactics and refused to participate—it is not difficult to imagine the inferences which the Soviet delegation would have drawn as to the truth of those charges made against us.

Unfortunately, the members of the United Nations must recall previous instances in which the Soviet Union adopted the same procedure of refusing to participate when an item which it regarded as unpleasant or disagreeable to it was brought up for consideration.

The United States cannot but deplore this selective participation in the work of the United Nations. Such an attitude seems the more regrettable when viewed in the light of the overwhelming judgment of this Committee given only last Friday that one of "the essentials of peace" is full participation in this Organization—a judgment expressed by the terms of the resolution in a specific call upon "every member to participate fully in the work of the United Nations." The Soviet delegation, it will be recalled, explained its vote of abstention on this provision on the ground that it was already binding upon all members by the terms of the Charter.

For its part, as a member of the United Nations and of the Security Council, the United States is compelled to regard with serious concern the charges made by the Chinese delegation and feels that the General Assembly in fulfilling its respon-

[1] Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Nov. 28, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

sibilities under the Charter must take cognizance of them and of the situation in the Far East. It is one of the basic tenets of United States policy regarding the Far East as reaffirmed by Secretary of State Acheson only last August, "to encourage and support the efforts of the United Nations to achieve" the objectives of encouraging the development of an independent China free from foreign control and "particularly to maintain peace and security in the Far East."

Essentials of Peace

During the past few weeks, this Committee has been engaged in a sobering discussion of what constitutes the essentials of peace. Although the debate was initiated by the Soviet Union through an attack upon the Western powers, the discussion soon became focused, as every consideration of the requirements of peace necessarily must, on the foreign policies and measures of the Soviet Union itself. In that debate, the representatives of countries from all areas of the world, including one courageous example from Eastern Europe itself, voiced the same basic concern and urged the same basic solution—the concern arising from what the distinguished delegate of Brazil termed the "unbridled imperialistic encroachments" of the Soviet Union and the solution to be found in the fulfillment in good faith of the pledges and principles of the Charter.

The general charges made against the policies and activities of the U.S.S.R. in that debate find a further specific application in the complaint which the Chinese delegation has now laid before us. Although these charges focus upon one geographic area, the fundamental problem is the same. It is a problem of maintaining an independent, unified, and free country against what are charged to be aggressive encroachments of a foreign power.

Throughout its modern history, China has been struggling to establish and maintain its independence, its integrity, and its freedom. The struggle has been waged not only against potent internal pressures but also against forces brought to bear directly upon China by her neighbors.

U.S.-Chinese Relations

The United States has never had any territorial ambitions to be satisfied at the expense of China. Indeed, from the time when it first entered upon relations with the Chinese Government, it has been a major tenet in the policy of the United States to aid China in preserving her integrity against China's two imperialist neighbors, Russia and Japan.

At the time of the Russian occupation of Manchuria at the turn of the present century, the United States, in a note sent to the Russians and to other interested governments, exerted its influence to maintain "China's territorial and administrative entity." Shortly thereafter, Russian pressure for a privileged position in Manchuria brought a similar response from my government. In the succeeding years in the clashes between competing Russian and Japanese imperialisms in north China, the United States sought repeatedly to establish respect for China's integrity as the standard of conduct in the relations of these and all other countries with China.

Following the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 Japanese imperialism loomed as a major threat to China's integrity. The Root-Takahira agreement of 1908, the proposal to remove Manchurian railways from competing Japanese and Russian efforts, the United States reaction to Japan's 21 demands, the United States role in the Washington conference of 1922, at which the nine-power treaty was signed, all attest to United States policy of upholding China's integrity. In the period when the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, it cooperated with the League in its effort to deal with the Japanese aggression against China.

United States aid to China during the last war and United States efforts in the postwar period, to bring about internal peace and to end the civil war, are well-known. So, too, is United States insistence over Soviet objection that China be included as one of the great powers in the prosecution of the war and the organization of peace—leading to her role as one of the sponsoring powers of the United Nations at San Francisco and as one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

The continuing concern of my government for the independence of China was recently reflected in an official statement issued on August 5, calling attention to dangers of Soviet Russian imperialism in the Far East, reaffirming the basic principles which have traditionally guided United States policy and emphasizing the opposition of the United States to the "subjection of China to any foreign power" and to its "dismemberment by any foreign power, whether by open or clandestine means."

It is in this setting of consistent support for China's efforts to maintain her independence and integrity that my government views with special concern the charges brought in this Assembly by the representative of China, which indicate a continuation in the postwar period of previous Russian attempts against the integrity of that country.

In approaching this complaint which the representatives of China has laid before this Committee, we should inquire what it is that the Assembly is being asked to do and what the Assembly ought to do under the circumstances. In the first place, it may be asked whether the Assembly by considering this case would be interfering in the domestic affairs of a member state. The answer is "no." What the representative of China set forth clearly

in his statement was his view that the General Assembly should employ its great fund of moral power to give guidance to the nations of the world in the conduct of their international relations with China.

The Charter sets forth in article 2 the principles upon which the Organization of the United Nations is based. These principles constitute the foundation of action for states in the conduct of their international relations. What is needed is the observance in good faith of these principles by all nations. It is the role of the General Assembly, in any given case, to point out the particular application of the principles set forth in the Charter. Let us examine now the points made by the representative of China, and consider what constructive steps the Assembly can take in the present case.

Chinese Charges

In the view of my delegation, the problem that now confronts the General Assembly with respect to China is quite different from the problem which confronts individual governments in formulating their policies toward China and determining how their relationships with China will be arranged. The problem of the Assembly is to set standards for the guidance of states in the application of the principles of the Charter to their relations with China. Regardless of how governments individually may propose to meet the problems created by the civil strife in China, it is clearly to the interest of all of us that the principles of the Charter and of the resolution on essentials of peace which we adopted a few days ago be applied and maintained in China as elsewhere.

The setting of standards for the conduct of our relations with China, giving expression to the judgment of the international community, is a process which requires the cooperative effort of all of us. It is not a process which can be successfully carried forward through the uncoordinated and perhaps conflicting prosecution of national policies by states acting without due regard for the rights of other states or of the people of China. The process of setting and maintaining international standards is hindered by noncooperation or nonparticipation on the part of any member of the United Nations.

The representative of China alleged that the Soviet Union has violated the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship and alliance concluded in 1945 and the exchanges of notes accompanying that treaty. In support of this charge, the representative of China cited a number of instances in which the Soviet Union has refused to cooperate in the carrying out of the provisions of the treaty, particularly with respect to restoration of Chinese control over Manchuria and with respect to the administration of the port of Dairen.

It is evident that the expectations of at least one party to the treaty have been disappointed in the last 4 years. We believe that the only effective disposition which could be made of this part of the case presented by the representative of China would be through adjudication in a contentious proceeding, on a reference by the parties to a tribunal such as the International Court of Justice, of questions concerning compliance with the obligations of the Sino-Soviet treaty. Such disposition would require the willing cooperation of both parties to submit these issues to legal arbitrament. We are, of course, aware of the fact that the Soviet Union has not hitherto given any indication of its readiness to submit legal controversies to the International Court of Justice. We cannot, however, fail to hope that the Soviet Union may alter its attitude and cooperate more fully in giving reality to chapter XIV of the Charter and to the statute of the International Court, which forms an integral part of the Charter.

Another charge made in the statement of the representative of China is that the Soviet Union, in violation of the United Nations Charter, has jeopardized the independence of China through interference in Chinese internal affairs and assistance in violent overthrow of the recognized government. The complaint is of an attempt at foreign domination of China, made through the Soviet-controlled world Communist movement and masked behind the facade of a national crusade to improve the life of China and its people.

It will be for the people of China to make a final judgment as to the correctness of this interpretation of the Communist movement in China over the last 30 years. Indeed, it will be for the people of China in deciding their future institutions and policy, to determine whether this or some other interpretation of their recent and current history shall come true for China. We believe, however, that it is the duty of the General Assembly to work for the reestablishment of those international conditions which will make it possible for the people of China to be able freely to determine these matters for themselves and to determine without outside interference the type of government and the type of economic and social institutions which they desire in the future.

The statement of the representative of China also alleges that the Soviet Union, contrary to the Charter, has infringed the integrity of China through the establishment of special regimes under Soviet Russian control in the Manchurian, inner-Mongolian, and northwestern provinces of China. This allegation, which cannot fail to be a matter of deep concern to the members of the international community, is of special concern to the United States since it imports a violation of the Yalta agreement on the basis of which the Sino-Soviet treaty was later concluded. The United

States, although not a party to that treaty, is a party to the Yalta agreement, and I should like, therefore, to set forth briefly the views of my government concerning that agreement.

U.S. Views on Yalta Agreement

It was the view of the United States that certain limited rights for the U.S.S.R. at Dairen and on the Chinese eastern and south Manchurian railways should be granted to facilitate economic outlets for the Soviet Far East, which has been handicapped by the lack of warm-water ports. These limited rights would not have impaired the sovereignty of China. It was never our thought that the Soviet Union would so expand these rights as to seek to obtain complete control of the Dairen area and the railways, or to establish puppet regimes in the northern provinces of China.

The evidence presented by the representative of China and other reports that have come to the attention of my government raise most serious questions as to whether certain provisions of the Yalta agreement have in fact been carried out properly and in good faith by the Soviet Union during the last 4 years. Three months ago my government officially called attention to the fact that Soviet Russian demands upon the Chinese Government in connection with the negotiation of the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1945 exceeded the provisions of the Yalta agreement. Some of the evidence and of the reports create grave cause for concern that groundwork is in fact once again being laid for a further Russian attempt to dismember China.

With respect to the allegations and evidence of threats to the administrative and territorial integrity of China, the United States believes that it would be proper for the Assembly, in support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to reaffirm the standards for the guidance of all nations in their relations with China. In his statement on Friday, the representative of China emphasized that the nine-power treaty of 1922, in an era of imperialistic encroachments upon China, gave that country an opportunity for constructive development. Conditions have changed greatly since that time 25 years ago. The nine-power treaty was cast in terms of banning encroachments upon Chinese sovereignty which would injure the rights of other foreign states. The world has now progressed beyond the stage of the original "open-door" policy, when it was thought that multilateral concern with an international question must be based upon bilateral rights and legal interests of particular states. Today the Charter of the United Nations has established clearly the general international concern with any disputes or situations likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace or to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations; we now recog nize that the maintenance of international peac everywhere is the business of every member of th world community. Nevertheless, the nine-powe treaty, as Secretary of State Stimson pointed ou 10 years later, was "a covenant of self-denial . . in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggres sion" against China.

It is still true in 1949 as it was in 1922 and o other historic occasions before and since, that th conscience of the world can find expression in multipartite declaration. As in the past, the Gov ernment of the United States is not only ready t sponsor such an expression but also to act in ac cordance with it. One may scoff at such interna tional declarations, but their enunciation and thei subsequent support are not futile gestures. De spite numerous attempted encroachments, Chin began her postwar period of reconstruction with a least the titular recovery of her most prized an most coveted area—Manchuria, which Japan ha absorbed. Even Soviet Russia, speaking throug Mr. Molotov in his note of August 14, 1945, rela tive to the Sino-Soviet treaty, declared that it "re garded the Three Eastern Provinces as part o China and again affirmed its respect for the com plete sovereignty of China over the Three Easter Provinces." In the long historic struggle for tha area, international interest, expressed in interna tional declarations, has played its part eve though flouted at the moment.

Draft Resolution

It is our hope and intention that the Genera Assembly, by appropriate action at this session will continue this historic course and thus len additional assistance to China in her further con structive development. With this end in min the United States delegation, jointly with the dele gations of Australia, Mexico, Pakistan, and th Philippines, is submitting a draft resolutio which will be distributed to the members of th Committee.

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have e pressed in the Charter of the United Nations the determination to practice tolerance and to live togethe in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unit their strength to maintain international peace and securit and to that end the Members of the United Nations hav obligated themselves to carry out the purposes an principles set forth in the Charter,

WHEREAS it is a purpose of the United Nations to d velop friendly relations among nations based on respec for the principles of equal rights and self-determinatio of peoples,

WHEREAS the organization of the United Nations i based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all it members and on respect for international agreements, an

WHEREAS the Charter calls upon all Members to refrai in their international relations from the threat or us of force against the territorial integrity or political inde pendence of any State, or in any other manner incon sistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

The General Assembly,

DESIRING to promote the stability of international rela tions in the Far East,

Calls upon all States:

(1) to respect the political independence of China and to be guided by the principles of the United Nations in their relations with China;

(2) to respect the right of the people of China now and in the future to choose freely their political institutions and to maintain a government independent of foreign control;

(3) to respect existing treaties relating to China; and

(4) to refrain from (a) seeking to acquire spheres of influence or to create foreign controlled regimes within the territory of China, (b) seeking to obtain special rights or priviliges within the territory of China.

The adoption of such a resolution as this cannot be expected to deal with and cure all of the difficulties inherent in the China question presented to the General Assembly. The resolution does, however, isolate and emphasize certain elements in this question which are of special concern to the United Nations. Those elements are: first, the maintenance of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of China; second, the right of the people of China to maintain political institutions free of foreign control; third, the observance in good faith of existing treaty obligations with respect to China; fourth, a ban on the establishment by foreign powers of spheres of influence or puppet regimes in the territory of China; and, fifth, a proscription of the acquisition of special rights or privileges which would give individual foreign powers an exclusive or monopolistic position.

I think there can be no doubt that these are matters on which the Assembly can pronounce and that such a pronouncement will not be futile. In our view, the provisions of the draft resolution represent the application to the China question of certain of the basic principles of the Charter. They represent the application to the particular situation in China of the essentials-of-peace resolution adopted last week by an overwhelming majority in this Committee. They represent the traditional policy toward China of many members of the community of nations. They represent an earnest expression by the General Assembly of its concern for the welfare and security of the people of China.

I should like to reiterate that this resolution states principles which would naturally obtain the endorsement not only of the Chinese Government but also of the great body of the Chinese people and of any one else who has at heart the true interests of China. It is, moreover, a resolution to which all nations pledged to the Charter and to the rule of international law can adhere. Indeed, failure to endorse this resolution might well be interpreted as indicating an intention to profit by the present situation in China for purposes of imperialist aggrandizement. It cannot lightly be assumed that any member of the United Nations has such intentions, and I therefore confidently hope that this resolution will receive a unanimous vote in this Committee and in the Assembly.

It may be said that it is disingenuous for my delegation to expect unanimous approval of this resolution in view of the fact that one member of the United Nations has been charged with violating the principles which it contains. On this point, I should like to say that if we have erred in our interpretation of the historical facts, we should rejoice to have that error established because our concern is with the welfare of China and the Chinese people and with the maintenance of the historical principles which have guided United States policy in the Far East for half a century. We do indeed hope that unanimous approval of this resolution may be forthcoming and that after its adoption the conduct of all states in their relations with China will be governed by the principles contained in it.

China, we all must recognize has experienced cruel hardships and bitter sufferings from the ravages of a world war which was thrust upon her in the course of her struggle since the days of the Chinese Empire to achieve security against foreign imperialism, the establishment of democratic political institutions, and economic and social advances in the life of the people of China. World War II was followed in China by devastating civil conflict which is even yet not ended. No state should be permitted to take advantage of these disturbed conditions for purposes of self-aggrandizement by detaching areas from the territory of China or by extending its control to dominate part or the whole of that country.

All of the United Nations are only too keenly aware of the efforts of the Japanese imperialists and militarists to extend their domination over China and the rest of the Far East. These attempts, which began in the nineteenth century, were pressed forward steadily and insidiously, to the point where at last they plunged Asia and ultimately the whole world into war. The United Nations must be alert to see that the domination of China by one totalitarian power has not been displaced only to make way for the subjugation of that country to any other imperialism. The common efforts of the United Nations in rescuing China and Japan from the grasp of imperialist and militarist power must not be nullified by acquiescence in new imperialist conquest by more subtle devices than outright war.

Our purpose in submitting the joint draft resolution is to show the specific application of certain basic principles of the United Nations Charter to the existing situation in China. If the United Nations can through this resolution help all the nations to follow and give effect to those accepted principles in relation to China, the Organization will have made a notable contribution to the maintenance of general peace and to the efforts of the Chinese people to promote in China the growth of free institutions, social progress, and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The United States in the United Nations

[December 3–9]

General Assembly

During the twelfth week of its fourth session, the General Assembly completed action on most of the items on its agenda.

China.—Two Political Committee resolutions—one, of which the United States was a cosponsor, calling upon all states to respect China's independence and the other, sponsored by Cuba, Ecuador, and Peru, referring the Chinese charges against the Soviet Union to the Assembly's Interim Committee "for continuous examination and study"—were approved by the General Assembly on December 8, Chinese Ambassador Tsiang had stated in the Political Committee that favorable committee action on the Cuban–Ecuadoran–Peruvian proposal would obviate the necessity of a vote on the Chinese draft resolution, which was consequently not acted on. Ambassador Tsiang had also said in the Committee debate that although he was not opposed to the first resolution he considered it inadequate without the second.

The second resolution provides that the Interim Committee shall make recommendations on this matter to the fifth session of the General Assembly and if it deems necessary, bring it to the attention of the Secretary-General in order to report to the Security Council. The United States, which had voted against this resolution in committee, supported it in the plenary after it had been amended to expand its terms of reference to include not only the Chinese charges against the Soviet Union but also any charges of violations of the principles set forth in the resolution calling for respect of China's independence.

Arms Census.—On December 5, the General Assembly adopted the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee resolution approving the proposals for the submission by member states of full information on conventional armaments and armed forces and for the verification of such information, which had been formulated by the Security Council Commission for Conventional Armaments. The General Assembly also recommended in this resolution that the Security Council "despite the lack of unanimity among its members on this essential feature of its work," continue to study, through the Commission for Conventional Armaments, the regulation and reduction of such armaments and armed forces in accordance with the Commission's plan of work.

This Assembly action followed its decisive rejection of a Soviet counterresolution by which the General Assembly would recognize as essential that member states should submit information both on armed forces and conventional armaments and on atomic weapons. United States representative, John D. Hickerson, cited the persistent Soviet efforts to merge atomic energy and conventional armaments "into a hodgepodge of confusion" and noted that an additional reason for rejecting the Soviet proposal lay in its failure to provide for any means of verification. Mere submission of information would be a "snare and a delusion," he warned.

In supporting the proposals of the Commission for Conventional Armaments, Mr. Hickerson said that the work thus initiated could go forward in the hope that a feasible plan of disarmament might be evolved.

Palestine.—Without debate the General Assembly, on December 8, approved by a large majority the resolution creating the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Based on the interim report of the Economic Survey Mission, the resolution provides for an expenditure of $54,900,000 for direct relief and works programs through June 1951 and recommends that direct relief be terminated by December 31, 1950, unless otherwise determined by the General Assembly.

Refugees.—The General Assembly, on December 3, authorized the establishment of a High Commissioner's Office for Refugees as of January 1, 1951 to provide for the protection of refugees and displaced persons after the terminations of the activities of the International Refugee Organization. The United States, which had opposed this resolution in the Social Committee, supported it in plenary after it had been amended to define more clearly the categories of persons coming within the competence of the High Commissioner's Office and to retain a greater degree of control in the General Assembly.

Indonesia.—After brief discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and the plenary, the General Assembly, on December 7, adopted with only five dissenting votes, a 14-nation resolution as approved in the Committee welcoming the agreement on Indonesia reached at the round-table conference at The Hague. The resolution commended the parties concerned and the United Nations Com-

nission for Indonesia for their contributions and velcomed the forthcoming establishment of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia as n independent, sovereign state.

In the debate, the Slav states vigorously attacked he round-table agreement and all those involved n its achievement. United States Ambassador Varren R. Austin declared that the Slav attack n the Indonesian settlement was not "unexpected" n view of the Cominform's "expansionist ambiions." By branding as "traitors" legitimate Inlonesian leaders, international communism laid are its attempts to identify itself with legitimate ndependence movements. He termed the Hague greement a settlement to which the United Naions could look with a "good deal of hope."

ICEF.—On December 2, the General Assembly nanimously approved the resolution of the Social Committee calling attention to the "urgent necesity of further contributions" to the International Children's Emergency Fund in order to permit it o carry out its program; congratulating the Fund for its great humanitarian effort in Europe and n the Middle East, now being extended to Asia, atin America and Africa"; and noting with conern the existence not only of children's emergency eeds arising out of the war and other calamities ut also the needs existing in underdeveloped counries. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, Irs. Franklin D. Roosevelt explained that the Jnited States did not construe this resolution as ltering or broadening the Fund's original terms f reference as laid down by the General Assembly n December 1946. "We regard the Children's Fund as having been established to meet emerency needs arising out of the war, and we regard ne Fund as having been successful in very much iminishing those needs." For the future, Mrs. Roosevelt said, the United States would be guided y an important study already underway on the ontinuing needs of children.

South West Africa.—After prolonged debate in oth the Trusteeship Committee and the plenary, ne General Assembly adopted, on December 6, a esolution inviting the Union of South Africa to esume submission of reports to the United Nations n its administration of South West Africa and o comply with the previous decisions of the General Assembly regarding this territory. The Committee draft of this resolution was amended in ne plenary session to make its language less conemnatory of the Union, and a clause expressing egret that the Union had not taken into account revious General Assembly resolutions on this ubject failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds ote.

The General Assembly then adopted a second esolution referring to the International Court of ustice for an advisory opinion the questions of ne international status of South West Africa, the international obligations of the Union of South Africa arising therefrom, and the applicability of chapter XII of the Charter (creating an international trusteeship system) to South West Africa.

Other Plenary Action.—The General Assembly, on December 2, approved the draft convention on prostitution that had been under consideration in its Social and Legal Committees and the following day adopted six Legal Committee resolutions: (1) rules for calling international conferences; (2) invitations to nonmember states to accede to the genocide convention; (3) reference of the draft convention on the declaration of death of missing persons to member states; (4) the Secretary-General's report on United Nations privileges and immunities; (5) the establishment of permanent missions at the seat of the United Nations; and (6) deferment of consideration of the question of accession by nonmember states to the revised general act for the pacific settlement of international disputes. On December 6, the General Assembly also approved the Committee's recommendations on the report of the International Law Commission including that for the transmission of the draft declaration on the rights and duties of states to members for consideration and comment. The previous day, the Assembly adopted, without debate and after the withdrawal of a Soviet and a British proposal on this subject, an Ecuadoran resolution on executions in Greece. This resolution requests the President of the General Assembly to take up with the Greek Government the suspension of political death sentences "as long as the Conciliation Committee is in existence."

Ad Hoc Political Committee

Jerusalem.—The Committee, on December 7, approved the resolution of its subcommittee calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum* administered by the United Nations through the Trusteeship Council and asking the Trusteeship Council to proceed with the preparation and implementation of a statute for Jerusalem. Thirteen states voted against this recommendation, and eleven abstained. United States representative, John C. Ross, in opposing the subcommittee resolution, reaffirmed support of the Palestine Conciliation Commission proposals. He said that the subcommittee recommendations represented no improvement and not even a "satisfactory substitute." By confronting it with the "impossible task" of establishing a new and separate political entity for Jerusalem, the General Assembly would be asking the Trusteeship Council to fly "directly in the face" of the expressed desires of the peoples concerned. Although the draft resolution had the "appearance of complete internationalization," he continued, it "deceives" world opinion by offering no assurance that internationalization could or would be achieved. World opinion expected the United Nations to avoid "irresponsible and fruitless decisions."

Calendar of Meetings[1]

Adjourned During November

ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Region III Frequency Conference	Geneva	May 18–Nov. 4
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Far East Conference on Cooperatives	Lucknow, India	Oct. 23–Nov. 3
Council: Seventh Session	Washington	Nov. 14–
Latin American Forestry and Forest Products Commission: Second Meeting.	Lima	Nov. 14–19
South Pacific Commission: Fourth Session	Nouméa	Oct. 22–Nov. 5
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Tripartite Conference on Rhine Navigation	Geneva	Oct. 31–Nov. 5
Industrial Committee on Metal Trades: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 8–19
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Air Routes and Ground Aids Division Meeting: Fourth Session.	Montreal	Nov. 1–
Special European-Mediterranean Regional Communications Committee Meeting on Aeronautical Fixed Telecommunication Services.	Paris	Nov. 9–
International Wheat Council: Second Session	London	Nov. 1–4
United Nations:		
International Children's Emergency Fund: Meeting of Executive Board.	Lake Success	Nov. 2–4
International Congress of Zootechny	Paris	Nov. 3–10
Third Inter-American Congress on Radiology	Santiago	Nov. 11–17
Regional Conference of Latin American Science Experts	Lima	Nov. 23–30

In Session as of December 1, 1949

(Does not include meetings in session which were convened prior to January 1, 1949)

United Nations:		
Conciliation Commission for Palestine	Haifa, Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Lausanne.	Jan. 17–
General Assembly: Fourth Session	Lake Success	Sept. 20–
Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission to West Africa	Cameroons and Togoland	Oct. 25–
ITU (International Telecommunication Union):		
Meeting of the Technical Plan Committee of the International High Frequency Broadcasting Conference.	Paris	June 23–
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Council: Eighth Session	Montreal	Sept. 6–
Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference	Montreal	Sept. 13–
Council of Foreign Ministers: Deputies for Austria	New York City	Sept. 23–
UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization):		
International Seminar on Rural and Adult Education	New Delhi	Nov. 2–Dec. 14
ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Industrial Committee on Iron and Steel: Third Session	Geneva	Nov. 22–Dec. 3
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Annual Conference: Fifth Session	Washington	Nov. 21–

[1] Prepared in the Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Scheduled December 1, 1949 Through February 28, 1950

ILO (International Labor Organization):		
Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment: First Session.	Geneva	Dec. 5–6
Governing Body: 110th Session	Mysore, India	Dec. 29–Jan. 7
First Asian Regional Conference	Colombo, Ceylon	Jan. 16–20
Preparatory Technical Tripartite Conference on Training of Adults.	Geneva	Jan. 23–
Committee of Social Security Experts: First Session	New Zealand	Feb. 8–20
111th Session of Governing Body	Geneva	Feb. 27–
International Conference of Experts on Pneumoconiosis	Australia	Feb. 28–Mar. 11
United Nations:		
Ecosoc (Economic and Social Council):		
Social Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	Dec. 5–16
Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities: Third Session.	Lake Success	Jan. 9–
Economic and Employment Commission: Fifth Session	Lake Success	Jan. 9–
Tenth Session	Lake Success	Feb. 7–
ECAFE Subcommittee on Iron and Steel: Third Meeting	Undetermined	February
Trusteeship Council: Sixth Session	Geneva	January
Caribbean Commission: Ninth Meeting	St. Thomas, Virgin Islands	Dec. 5–10
Port-au-Prince Bicentennial Exposition	Port-au-Prince	Dec. 8–
Tenth International Ornithological Congress	Washington	Dec. 16–18
ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization):		
Legal Committee: Fifth Session	Taormina, Sicily	Jan. 5–
Council: Ninth Session	Montreal	Jan. 24–
Meteorological Division: Third Session	Paris	Feb. 14–
Committee on the 1950 Census of the Americas: Third Session.	Bogotá	Jan. 9–
WHO (World Health Organization):		
Executive Board: Fifth Session	Geneva	Jan. 16–
Second Session of the Inter-American Statistical Institute	Bogotá	Jan. 16–28
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization):		
Nutrition Committee for Southeast Asia	Rangoon	Jan. 30–
International Rice Commission: Second Meeting	Rangoon	January or February
North Atlantic Westbound Freight Conference	London	Jan. 31–
Four-Power Discussions Regarding Swiss-Allied Accord	Bern	January or February
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade):		
Fourth Session	Geneva	Feb. 23–

Improvements in Telegraph Rates and Regulations

[*Released to the press November 4*]

Improvements in the international telegraph rate structure and desirable changes in the telegraph operating regulations were decided upon by the Paris International Telegraph and Telephone conference, according to a report submitted recently to the Secretary of State by Wayne Coy, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. The Conference, sponsored by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and held under the auspices of the French Government, met at Paris, May 18 to August 5, 1949. Sixty-eight countries, members of the ITU, took part in the meeting. Mr. Coy was chairman and Francis Colt deWolf, Chief of the Telecommunications Policy Staff, Department of State, was vice chairman of the United States delegation to the Conference.

In recognition of developments in telegraphy since 1938, the Paris conference was convened for the purpose of revising the international telegraph regulations and the international telephone regulations signed at Cairo in 1938. Since the United States had no intention of signing international telephone regulations, and since these regulations relate at present only to the European area, the interest of the United States delegation was primarily in telegraph matters. According to Mr. Coy's report, the principal decisions taken on telegraph tariff matters involving the United States were:

(1) Unification of rates for telegrams in any language (i.e., plain or secret including code), effective July 1, 1950, at 75 percent of the full rates in force on February 1, 1950. This decision is applicable to government as well as to private telegrams. Unification on a corresponding basis was also decided upon for urgent plain language and code rates.

(2) Elimination of the deferred (LC) class of message.

(3) Establishment of a coefficient for letter telegrams of 50 percent of the new unified rate, and improvement in and clarification as to the kind of service to be given to letter telegrams.

(4) Revision of the regulations with respect to the counting of words in telegrams so as to provide that in any telegram, whether in plain or secret language, each word appearing in a standard dictionary of one of the admitted languages, each word in common use in one of those languages, and certain specified expressions, are to be counted at 15 characters to the word, plus 1 word for each additional 15 characters or fraction thereof in excess.

(5) Establishment of a coefficient for urgent telegrams of double the new unified rate for ordinary telegrams.

(6) Establishment of a minimum charge for 5 words for any telegram, except letter and press telegrams, for which the minima were fixed at 22 and 10 words, respectively.

(7) Agreement upon a new regulation that the rates to be charged for government ordinary telegrams, whether or not priority is requested, shall be the same as the rates charged for private ordinary telegrams. The effectiveness of this regulation is, however, qualified by a specific recognition of existing special arrangements under which special rates are provided for government telegrams.

The revised regulations will enter into force on July 1, 1950, with respect to the countries which adhere formally to them. Other decisions made by the Conference referring to revision of the existing international telegraph regulations concern the setting up of accounts, the establishment of a central clearing house for the settlement of accounts, the payment of balances, and a number of technical operating matters.

Although for many years a party to international telecommunication conventions, the United States has not heretofore become a party to the international telegraph regulations because of the problems involved in reconciling the provisions of those regulations with the United States system of private ownership and operation of the public-communications service, subject to governmental regulation. However, after considering the views of the telegraph industry and users, this Government concluded that it should participate in the Paris meeting in the interest of developing regulations to which the United States may adhere.

At the conclusion of the Paris conference, the United States delegation signed the telegraph regulations as revised at the Conference, but did so with certain specific reservations regarding various provisions of the regulations. This signing does not represent formally binding acceptance of the regulations because such acceptance requires further action by this Government.

In summarizing the accomplishments of the conference, Mr. Coy in his report pointed out that there is still room for substantial improvement to be made in the telegraph regulations. The Paris conference recognized this in deciding to refer various questions to the International Telegraph Consultative Committee for study in preparation for the next general conference.

FAO Establishes Headquarters at Rome

[*Released to the press December 1*]

At their meeting in Washington, the members of the Food and Agriculture Organization voted on November 28 to establish the headquarters of the organization at Rome.

It is a source of particular pleasure that democratic Italy should have received this vote of confidence from the members of this important international organization. The United States Government has on a number of occasions clearly and forthrightly expressed its belief that Italy should become a member of the United Nations itself: a membership to which Italy justly aspires, and which she is prevented from attaining by actions of another government. That Italy, a member not only of FAO but also of other important international organizations, should now be selected as a host of the FAO is another clear indication that not only the United States but also many other governments place a high value on Italy's position among the free and democratic nations of the world.

Maxwell M. Hamilton Appointed U.S. Representative on FEC

Maxwell M. Hamilton was sworn in on December 1 as United States representative on the Far Eastern Commission, with the personal rank of Ambassador. Mr. Hamilton, a Foreign Service officer, succeeds Maj. Gen. Frank R. McCoy (retired). The President accepted General McCoy's resignation on November 11 and appointed Mr. Hamilton to succeed him effective November 30.

Fifth Session of Social Commission of ECOSOC

The Department of State announced on December 2 that Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner for Social Security, Social Security Administration of the Federal Security Agency, will attend the fifth session of the Social Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, scheduled to be held at Lake Success, December 5–16. Mr. Altmeyer is United States representative to the Social Commission. Advisers to the United States representatives will be: Roger W. Grant, Division of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State; Louis K. Hyde, Jr., United States Mission to the United Nations, New York; and Dorothy Lally, technical assistant, Office of Commissioner, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency.

The provisional agenda provides for consideration of United Nations programs of work in such fields as child welfare, housing and urban and country planning, prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, and social rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, and other related items.

Arrangements Made for Consul General Ward To Leave Mukden

[*Released to the press December 2*]

Consul General Angus Ward reported this morning in a telephone conversation to Consul General O. Edmund Clubb at Peiping that he had received a message from the Mukden Municipal Government to the effect that he, together with all foreign members of the consulate general staff and their dependents, must leave Mukden within 48 hours after 8 a.m. Monday, December 5.

Mr. Ward also reported that they would travel via Tientsin and that permission had been given for a local firm to handle packing and transportation of personal effects, as well as their own travel.

Mr. Ward earlier had written the Mayor of Mukden asking that he be informed on Saturday of the date when he and his staff could expect transportation facilities. He also had asked for advance notice of 3 days in which to make final preparations.

The Department of State accordingly expects that Mr. Ward and the staff and their dependents will leave Mukden early next week by train to Tientsin. Arrangements are being made for onward transportation from Tientsin for Mr. Ward and his staff to enable them to depart as soon after their arrival as possible.

Vice Consul William H. Stokes Escorted to "Court"; Then Released

Vice Consul William N. Stokes returned to the American consulate general in Mukden on November 26, 7 hours after he had been escorted off to attend a hearing in connection with "spy charges."

The Chinese Communists removed Stokes from the consulate general at 9 a.m. on November 26 (8 p.m. November 25, Washington time).

Consul General Angus Ward reported from Mukden on November 27 that Stokes had attended as an observer a Chinese Communist "Peoples Court" where an alleged "American spy ring" was on trial. None of the American consulate general staff was named in the trial which seemed to be the final hearing for ten persons in the case. All of the accused were Chinese, Japanese, or Koreans, and sentence was passed against all.

Without having been named in the trial, however, all non-Chinese members of the consulate general staff in Mukden were sentenced to deportation. No date was set for the deportation of the staff.

After Stokes had been taken to "court", Consul General Angus Ward informed Consul General O. Edmund Clubb at Peiping in a telephone conversation of Stokes' detention.

Mr. Ward said he had been refused permission to accompany Stokes to the hearing. He also stated he had been unable to ascertain whether Stokes was to appear as a witness or a defendant or in what capacity.

At 3:45 p.m., November 26, (China time) Mr. Ward reported that Stokes had not returned and that he had been unable to obtain any information of any kind on his detention.

The Department of State instructed Consul General Clubb to file the strongest protest with Chinese Communist authorities in Peiping over this unwarranted treatment.

In connection with the "spying charges" referred to by Mr. Ward, the Department presumes these are the same fantastic charges which were leveled by the Chinese Communists in a North China News Agency report datelined Mukden, June 18, 1949.

At that time (June 22), the Department stated "categorically that no member of the staff of the consulate general is or has been involved in espionage activities. Specifically, they are not and have not been involved in any way with the individuals or alleged activities mentioned in the North China News Agency report."

The Department reiterated categorically that any allegations that members of the consulate general staff in Mukden engaged in espionage are ridiculous and absolutely false.

Mr. Ward reported that he had not yet been informed when he and the four involved with him in the earlier trial would be deported.

Attacks on United States Shipping by the Chinese

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 30*]

Without becoming involved in technicalities, I would like to state very simply what the Department of State's position has been and is regarding the port closure order of the Chinese Nationalist Government. From the outset this government refused to accept the port closure as constituting a legal blockade. That decision stands. Immediately upon the receipt of the Chinese Government's port closure order, steps were taken to inform American shipping companies, and later amendments to it were brought to their notice. It was also stated that any American ship which went into one of the closed ports would do so on its own responsibility. Moreover, to any reader of the newspapers it has been apparent since last June that by reason of Nationalist naval and air activity in the port of Shanghai and its approaches, the area was in effect an area of hostilities and, in consequence, hazardous.

To my knowledge, no American ship entered or attempted to enter Shanghai from late June, when the port was stated to be closed, until late September, when arrangements had been made and publicly announced for the entrance of the *General Gordon*. As was stated at that time, the owners of the *General Gordon* secured through their local agents the assurance of the Shanghai authorities that the ship would not be molested during its call. It was similarly announced that the Department of State had secured from the Nationalist Government in Canton assurances that its entrance and departure from Shanghai would not be interfered with in any fashion. All this was a matter of public knowledge.

At about this time, one American shipping line determined to start sending its ships into Shanghai. This line requested the Navy Department to provide a Naval escort which was refused, on the grounds that it was not this government's policy to convoy American shipping through the so-called "blockade." That remains our policy.

That same line has continued to send ships into Shanghai, notwithstanding the fact that the first two were detained for a considerable period by Nationalist patrol vessels after leaving Shanghai. More recently, two vessels of this line have been involved in incidents in which they have been shelled by Nationalist vessels. That is a serious matter. Fortunately, no one was hurt. Nevertheless, the endangering of American lives is, as I said, a serious matter. We immediately protested to the Nationalist Government and requested an explanation.

I should like to commend the prudence, wisdom, and perceptiveness displayed by the American shipping lines in the Pacific which during this troubled period have omitted Shanghai from their port of call. There has been only one exception among them, which I have already referred to above.

U.S. Protests to Chinese Communists in Smith-Bender Case

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 30*]

I believe most of you are familiar with the general background of the case of Chief Electrician William C. Smith and Master Sergeant Elmer C. Bender who, since their disappearance on October 19, 1948, have been detained by the Communist authorities, in the vicinity of Tsingtao, China, under conditions which have prevented them from communicating with their families or others interested in their welfare.

In contravention of all accepted principles and practices of international behavior the United States Government has not been informed in any way, despite repeated inquiries, of the reasons for or the circumstances surrounding their detention.

The staff of the American consulate general at Tsingtao has not been permitted to get in touch with the men to ascertain their exact whereabouts and welfare. Heretofore, the efforts of the consulate general at Peiping to ascertain the facts in this case and to obtain the release of Mr. Smith and Mr. Bender have also been ignored. A further letter has now been addressed to the authorities of the recently established Communist regime at Peiping.

The Chinese Communist authorities are apparently unaware that the international practice of civilized countries for many years has recognized that consuls should be afforded full opportunity for the proper conduct of their duties in the protection of their nationals.

These men have been held for over a year completely incommunicado from their consular representatives and from members of their families. I should like to emphasize that American public and official opinion which has been deeply concerned about these violations of accepted international procedures is now thoroughly indignant over the inhumane treatment which continues to be accorded these two American citizens and the hardship and suffering being experienced by their families.

International Christian University Proposed for Japan

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 30*]

I should like to call your attention to a project which is being undertaken by a foundation in New York under the leadership of Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer and Dr. John Coventry Smith to establish an International Christian University in Japan. Joseph C. Grew, former Under Secretary of State, is national chairman of a campaign to raise funds in this country and Canada to finance the undertaking.

I think this is an excellent project. A university of this character can do a great deal of constructive good in an educational way and for the development of democracy in Japan. General MacArthur has heartily endorsed the project, and I am informed that the Japanese themselves have already subscribed over 150 million yen, 95 percent of the contributors being non-Christian.

The university is to be nonsectarian and the emphasis is to be on maintaining the highest academic standards. The faculty, both Japanese and international, is to be Christian, but there is to be no attempt to proselytize, for freedom of religion is one of the most important of the freedoms.

Many prominent people in the United States and Canada are supporting the project. Such a university cannot fail to play an important part in Japan's future, and I think the project deserves the interest and support of all of us in our own interests as well as in the interests of Japan.

Defense Committee Studies Assistance Program

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 30*]

The Mutual Defense Assistance Program is proceeding along the careful lines laid down by the Congress. Shipments of equipment and material will not be made until bilateral agreements are signed with the nations requesting such aid. Negotiations on agreements with eight Atlantic pact countries are in the final stages. Up to 100 million dollars of program funds may be expended immediately after these agreements are signed.

The bulk of the funds appropriated for the Atlantic pact countries, 900 million dollars, may be expended after recommendations for an integrated defense of the North Atlantic area are approved by the President. The Defense Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty nations is meeting in Paris, December 1, and action on these recommendations will likely be expedited as a result of decisions taken there.

The Mutual Defense Assistance organization, both in Washington and abroad, is nearing completion although final details will probably not be worked out until the return of Director James Bruce from Europe within the next 2 or 3 weeks.

There is a committee in London, the European Coordination Committee, which is composed of Ambassador Lewis Douglas, chairman; Gen. Thomas T. Handy, representative of the Department of Defense; and Ambassador W. Averill Harriman, special representative for the Economic Cooperation Administration. This group is concerned with the policy aspects of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program in Europe. Lt. Col. C. H. Bonesteel III, who left Saturday for London, has been designated Executive Director for Mutual Defense Assistance Overseas and will act as agent for this Committee.

U.S. Signs Friendship Treaty With Uruguay

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press November 30*]

The signature of the treaty of friendship, commerce, and economic development by the United States and Uruguay, on November 23, is an important and gratifying development.[1]

The treaty with Uruguay is the most recent in a series which began in 1778, when we signed a commercial treaty with France. It is the first such treaty signed with a South American country in this century.

The treaty deals with the rights of citizens of each country to live, carry on commerce, practice their professions, and enjoy protection of law in the other country.

It provides, for example, that citizens of one country may set up and operate business enterprises in the other on the same footing as citizens of that country. They will also be able to obtain entry into that country for managers and technicians from their own country who are needed in order to operate their enterprises effectively. They will be permitted to withdraw from the country the earnings of their invested capital in equi-

[1] BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1949, p. 866.

table and adequate amounts. Should their property be taken by the government of the other country for any reason, they will receive adequate compensation.

These and similar provisions should encourage United States citizens who may be considering investing capital and technical know-how in enterprises which will contribute to the advancement of the Uruguayan economy.

The treaty is an illustration of the kind of agreement contemplated by article 12 of the Habana Charter for an International Trade Organization, in the framing of which both Uruguay and the United States participated.

Message from President Truman

[*Released to the press December 2*]

The President today sent the following message to Luis Batlle Berres, the President of Uruguay:

I have been pleased to receive a report from the United States Ambassador to Uruguay of the signing in Montevideo on November 23, 1949, of a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Economic Development between Uruguay and the United States. Between our two nations understanding and friendship are both real and axiomatic. I welcome this noteworthy development in our relations at a time when international cooperation must compete for attention with threats of international anarchy. In this treaty we have reaffirmed and pledged mutual principles and practices of basic importance to closer economic collaboration and increased commercial interchange in a free world.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Policy on Elimination of Cartel and Other Trade Restrictions

[*Released to the press December 1*]

One aspect of this government's foreign economic policy is the elimination of cartel and other private restrictions on the growth of international trade. When the International Trade Organization is created, we will have an international mechanism for dealing with these practices, as provided in chapter V of its charter.

At the present time, we are much concerned that the growth of such private arrangements may hamper the program for European recovery. Our program in Europe seeks to establish a higher standard of living and viability of the European economy. These objectives, we feel, can be gained only by increased efficiency and productivity of European industry, stimulated by the creation of a broader competitive market. They cannot be attained if private restrictive arrangements to fix prices, divide territories of sale, or limit production simply replace government barriers such as quotas and tariffs. In addition, cartel arrangements, by preventing sales by European firms to hard-currency areas, can interfere with efforts to overcome the dollar deficiencies of the participating countries.

The ECA bilateral treaties with the Western European countries participating in the Recovery Program contain provisions for mutual attack on this problem. In line with these provisions, we are assisting the participating countries at every opportunity in taking action to remove these barriers.

The decartelization program in Western Germany is an important element in this aspect of achieving general European recovery. The United States High Commissioner is pressing for vigorous implementation of this program, and the West German Republic has given its commitment to the Allied High Commission to take action in this field.

In Japan, where economic recovery is also of major importance, it is clearly our policy to eliminate and prevent the reestablishment of restrictive practices and the monopolistic combines with which one is familiar. Competition, spur to efficiency, is the catalyst of economic recovery there as in Europe.

U.S. Position in Panama Coup d'État

Recent events in Panama are a serious blow t progress of democratic principles and to the inter American system in general, Edward G. Miller, Jr Assistant Secretary for inter-American affairs sai at a press conference on November 25.

The National Police refused to abide by the de cision of the duly constituted authorities of Pana ma and installed Arnulfo Arias as President. M Miller said that this act has left the United State Government with a feeling of profound shock. I view of these circumstances, he continued, diplo matic relations between the United States and th Arias regime in Panama do not exist.

In referring to the decision of the duly const tuted authorities, Mr. Miller was making referen to the action taken, on November 24, by the N tional Assembly and Supreme Court of Panam in confirming President Chanis in his office.

"Obviously," the Assistant Secretary said, " question of diplomatic relations arises. As Secr tary Acheson stated in his speech of September 1

Vhen freely elected government is overthrown ıd a new and perhaps militaristic government kes over, we do not need to recognize the new ›vernment automatically and immediately. We n wait to see if it really controls its territory ıd intends to live up to its international comitments. We can consult with other governents as we have often done.' "

Mr. Miller said that the United States will probly wish to commence consultations and exchange views with the other American Republics as on as the situation becomes completely clarified.

atement by Secretary Acheson

eleased to the press November 30]

I fully endorse the statements made by Assistant cretary Miller in his press conferences of Tuesy and Friday of last week regarding the deorable disruption during the past 10 days of nstitutional and democratic processes of governnt in Panama.

This government does not have diplomatic relans with the regime of Arnulfo Arias. Views ll be exchanged with the other American Reblics regarding aspects of the situation in nama. These exchanges will commence when litical developments in Panama are more fully rified.

atements on U.S. Minister Bulgarian Trial Fabricated

eleased to the press December 1]

The Department of State has noted that in the lgarian Government's indictment against for-r Vice Premier Traicho Kostov for treason and ›ionage, it is alleged that in 1947 the American nister, Donald R. Heath, had two interviews th Kostov who was then Acting Prime Minister. :. Heath, according to the indictment, told Kos- to coordinate his activities with Tito and the ders of Yugoslavia. According to this fanciful e, based on the now familiar type of "confesn" which appears to have been made by Kostov, plots to overthrow his government were carried ·ward on the basis of his understanding with :. Heath.

This crude attempt to accuse the United States vernment and its official representative in Bulia of being involved in clandestine efforts to rthrow the Bulgarian Government follows the tern of the Rajk trial in Hungary and similar vesties of the judicial process held elsewhere in mmunist countries.

The statements concerning Minister Heath are completely fabricated. From the date of his arrival in Bulgaria in October 1947 to the present, he has never had an interview of any kind with Traicho Kostov. In fact, he has never exchanged a single word, oral or written, with him. This single fact affords ample basis for judging the veracity of the indictment.

Embargo on Arms Shipments to Albania and Bulgaria

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[Released to the Press November 30]

On November 18, 1949, by a vote of 50 to 6 and with but 2 abstentions, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution on the Greek case which, among other things, recommended to all members of the United Nations and to all other states to refrain from the direct or indirect provision of arms or other materials of war to Albania and Bulgaria until the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans or another competent United Nations organ has determined that the unlawful assistance of Albania and Bulgaria to the Greek guerrillas has ceased.

The United States will abide faithfully by this recommendation and is continuing in force all necessary measures to insure that no arms or other materials of war are made available to the Albanian or Bulgarian regimes from or through areas under American control and jurisdiction. Accordingly, this government will continue its policy of refusing to permit the export of such materials to Albania and Bulgaria and will take all possible steps itself and in cooperation with other nations to suppress clandestine traffic to those countries.

THE DEPARTMENT

Harry C. Hawkins Appointed Director of Foreign Service Institute

The Department of State announced on December 1 that Harry C. Hawkins, professor of international economic relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts, has been selected for the position of Director of the Foreign Service Institute. Mr. Hawkins will succed Dr. William P. Maddox, who has been in the position since July 1946. Dr. Maddox has been assigned first secretary at the American Embassy in Lisbon.

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H. H. Kelly, author of the article on the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport, is Chief of the Inland Transport Policy Staff of the Department of State. He was chairman of the United States delegation to the Conference. Mr. Kelly was also a United States observer to the Road Traffic Conference held in Paris in 1926. Acknowledgment is made of special assistance given by H. S. Fairbank and J. W. Foley, Jr., members of the delegation, in preparation of this article.

George P. Shaw, author of the article on the traveling in the Americas, served as chairman of the United States delegation to the Congress while he was assigned as American Ambassador at Managua, Nicaragua.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

by Haldore Hanson

On November 16, 1949, the United Nations General Assembly, meeting at Flushing, Long Island, adopted a resolution approving a new program for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The vote was unanimous in the 59-nation body, which includes six Communist countries.

The program will cost millions of dollars a year, to be raised by voluntary contributions from governments. Nineteen nations announced during the debate that they were prepared to contribute at an appropriate time to the special account which will be established in the United Nations for this purpose. These nations are:

Argentina	New Zealand
Australia	Norway
Belgium	Pakistan
Chile	Peru
Denmark	Sweden
France	The United Kingdom
India	The United States
Liberia	Uruguay
Mexico	Venezuela
The Netherlands	

Departing from custom, the President of the General Assembly, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, delivered a brief speech from the rostrum after the vote in which he described the resolution as "one of the most constructive acts of international statesmanship ever undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations." He added: "Despite the bitter political differences that have divided us on other questions, we have not hesitated to accept joint responsibility for the success of this beneficent enterprise."

The General Assembly vote was the culmination of 9 months of planning, drafting, and sharp debate in the various organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies. Honest but bitter differences of opinion were thrashed out or compromised during this period before a workable and acceptable plan of action emerged.

The important issues and decisions in this period of 9 months are discussed in this article.

Previous U.N. Experience

When President Truman called for a "bold new program" for economic development in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949, technical assistance for economic development was not a new idea in intergovernmental organizations.

Specialized agencies in the fields of health, agriculture, labor, education, and aviation had engaged in technical assistance under their regular budgets for a number of years. In fact, this type of international assistance was considered one of the primary purposes for which these agencies were established.

The United Nations General Assembly for the fiscal year which began January 1, 1949, had voted a small sum—$288,000—with which the Secretariat could commence a technical assistance program in those fields of activity for which no specialized agency existed, and instructed the Secretariat to make concrete plans for an international center for training in public administration. The United Nations area of action was understood to include natural resources development, industrial development, land and water transport, and public administration.

These technical assistance activities for economic development, under the separate sponsorship of the United Nations and the specialized

agencies, amounted to about 5 million dollars a year at the beginning of 1949. It was unlikely that any significant expansion of these activities could take place within the established budgets and contribution quotas, since many governments were having difficulty meeting their annual membership contributions and a few had defaulted.

The newness of Mr. Truman's proposal, as it applied to the United Nations, was that it stimulated a search for a new formula, a special or voluntary budget, under which the United Nations could expand manyfold its existing 5-million-dollar-a-year rate of effort for economic development and would do so on a coordinated basis.

Developing the Program

The 18-member United Nations Economic and Social Council met at Lake Success in February 1949, with an agenda emphasizing economic development.

Assistant Secretary Willard Thorp, United States representative on the Council, opened debate with a United States proposal that Secretary-General Trygve Lie should prepare for the July meeting of the Ecosoc a concrete program for enlarging the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the field of technical assistance for economic development. The Secretary-General was asked to consult with the specialized agencies through the Administrative Committee on Coordination, a Committee which brings together the heads of the Secretariats of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The United States proposal called also for recommendations from the Secretary-General on financing arrangements and recommendations on how to coordinate the program Ecosoc adopted the United States proposal.

During February–April 1949, the staffs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies devoted many weeks to the preparation of the required report, which emerged as a 328–page book, distributed in May. It contained separate program plans prepared by the United Nations, FAO, WHO, ILO, UNESCO, and ICAO.

Although representatives of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund collaborated in the preparation of this report and although they both carry on extensive activities in the field of technical assistance, these institutions made it clear that their existing funds and their incomes from the regular operations are such that they would not need additional financial contributions in order to keep up their work. They will, however, continue to work closely with the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the future.

The report also points out that other specialized agencies, such as the proposed International Trade Organization, when established, may participate in the program. The estimated cost of all these plans was 35.8 million dollars the first year and 50 million dollars the second.

Strictly speaking, this report presented not one program but six. It was not the result of joint planning. Nevertheless, the document represented a comprehensive survey of steps which each organization might take to stimulate economic development.

On financing the technical assistance program, the report recommended separate appeals by each agency to its members for voluntary contributions. Each government which was a member of more than one agency was expected to decide for itself what fraction of its contribution should go to each participating organization.

On coordination, the report recommended that the Administrative Committee on Coordination establish a new subcommittee on technical assistance consisting of a representative of each participating organization, to serve as a focal point for exchange of information on technical assistance, for joint planning, and for joint reports to the Ecosoc.

These were the proposals on which Ecosoc opened its debate at Geneva in July 1949.

ECOSOC Debate

In the opening speeches at Ecosoc there was wide difference of understanding on what constitutes "technical assistance for economic development." Various delegations conceived the term to mean:

1. An UNRRA-type of supply program, furnishing food, clothing, shelter, etc.
2. A lend-lease program for furnishing complete factories, dams, irrigation works, etc.
3. A new kind of bank to provide capital investments but "without such strict banking principles."
4. A service for supplying technical advice technical training and demonstration equipment to those countries which are ready to proceed with

their own plans for economic development, but require assistance on some of the technical phases.

The United States supported only this last concept.

Assistant Secretary Thorp, in his opening speech on July 21, expressed the opinion that the Council's debate should result in Ecosoc recommendations on:

1. Content of the expanded program
2. Administration of the expanded program
3. Financing of the expanded program.

The Council's Economic Committee took up first the content of the program. It followed a procedure similar to a United States Government budget hearing, in which a representative of each organization was asked to make a statement on the proposals of his organization, then to answer questions, which sometimes continued for 5 or 6 hours.

Assistant Secretary-General David Owen appeared for the United Nations, Director General Chisholm for the World Health Organization, Director General Torres Bodet for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Director General Morse for the International Labor Organization. Staff members spoke for the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization. Each of these representatives was subjected to questions by the 18 members of the Council.

After a week of this interrogation, a working party of seven, chaired by Roberto Campos of Brazil, was appointed to draw up the Council's observations and guiding principles on the expanded program. These observations do not constitute a table of priorities, which the United States had proposed, but they do establish some firm guide lines. A few examples from the observations can be cited:

First, the program is restricted to activities which contribute directly to economic development. Several delegations criticized proposals by Who and Unesco as being insufficiently related to economic development.

Second, assistance will be given only at the request of a government and should never serve as a means of foreign economic or political interference.

Third, the recipient countries have definite obligations—to facilitate the work of the foreign advisers they request, to pay "a substantial part of the costs," to undertake continuing support of the projects initiated under international auspices, to give publicity to the program within their countries, and to publish information on the results of the technical assistance received.

Fourth, the program must make maximum use of existing facilities. This provision was aimed at a proposal for the construction of laboratories and research institutions at the expense of the United Nations and specialized agencies.

Fifth, authorization was included for projects aimed at "specific social improvements that are necessary to permit effective economic development and to mitigate the social problems . . . that may arise as a concomitant of economic change." This item was hotly debated, since it determined the extent to which social projects could be included in an economic development program.

Sixth, large gifts of supplies and materials were excluded from the program, although equipment necessary for technical experts or technical training was recognized as valid. This item was designed to rule out a Who project for distributing medical supplies.

Implicit in the entire debate on the nature of the program was the assumption that detailed priorities within each field of activity could best be determined by each participating organization. Ecosoc could not assume that its knowledge of health matters was superior to that of Who, or that it knew more about agriculture than the Fao.

Debate on Administration

The major issue on administrative arrangements could be stated thus: Should the Council establish a committee of government representatives to pass judgment on individual requests from governments seeking assistance; or should it establish only general principles and delegate the authority for reviewing specific requests to a body composed of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Directors General of the various organizations who, in their roles as international civil servants, would be expected to exercise an impartial judgment.

Support for the first alternative—that is, retaining a strong control in a committee of the Council—was led by Australia and supported by New Zealand, India, and the three members of the Soviet bloc. They conceived of a committee sitting in more or less continuous session to make

operating program decisions on the allocation of funds and the approval of specific projects.

The second alternative—that is, delegation of responsibility for program decisions to the international civil servants—was advocated by the United States and supported by the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, and several underdeveloped countries.

This single issue required days of debate. The United States viewpoint prevailed by a narrow margin in the Economic Committee, often by a count of 9 to 8, with 1 abstention. In the final debate, this issue was voted more than 20 times on varying amendments, and each time the viewpoint taken by the United States carried the majority.

The United States pointed out that a committee of government representatives would delay the program. It would inevitably inject partisan, political considerations. It would embarrass the countries which sat on that committee, because they would be subjected to lobbying by every country in the world which was seeking assistance.

At the close of the debate on administration, the Ecosoc resolution recommended the creation of two administrative bodies and specified their functions in some detail:

First, it called for a Technical Assistance Board (TAB), to be made up of representatives of the participating organizations (i.e., international civil servants) to coordinate the program. This was the original proposal of the Secretary-General.

Second, it established a new Technical Assistance Committee of the Council (TAC), with limited responsibilities for reviewing the actions of the participating organizations, preparing recommendations for the Council, and settling disagreements in the Technical Assistance Board.

Throughout the debate on administration, representatives of the specialized agencies expressed the fear that the arrangements for the Technical Assistance Board might give the Secretary-General of the United Nations the power to direct their activities and lead eventually to the loss of their present degree of independence. Several representatives of the specialized agencies were given permission to address the Council on this subject. In the end, the resolution placed the chairmanship of the Technical Assistance Board in the United Nations Secretary-General or his representative but required the Secretary-General to consult with the other organizations before appointing the Executive Secretary of the Technical Assistance Board who performs many of its staff functions.

Debate on Financing

Turning to the problem of fund raising, the Council rejected, almost without discussion, the Secretary-General's proposal that each participating organization should appeal to its members separately for contributions. Judged in the light of the desire for a planned and integrated program, this proposal was found inadequate. It would leave to mere accident the amount of money available for each agency and thus might lead to an imbalance of the total economic development program.

Moreover, a single central fund was necessary to make possible the wisest use of the different currencies which would be contributed. Contributions should not be restricted to dollars. Many of the other currencies might not be convertible and would most readily be usable for training facilities or for the hiring of experts in the donor country. For example, if Norway contributed kroner, this currency might best be spent on fishery experts and therefore assigned to FAO; and Indian rupees might be used for public health training (WHO).

After the need for a central account was recognized, the Council's problem was where to place the executive authority for disbursing the funds. The Council was not impressed that the participating organizations could themselves reach decisions on how all these funds should be allocated the first year. The Council also rejected the proposal that the new Technical Assistance Committee of the Council should sit as a comptroller. It therefore drafted a formula for the automatic distribution of most of the first year's contributions.

Members of the Council were asked to submit to the chairman a secret ballot, indicating how each believed the funds should be divided in percentages among the participating organizations. The chairman then reported the results in mathematical terms, showing the mean, the mode, and the average for each agency. The Council chose a modified modal figure which showed:

	Percent
UNITED NATIONS	23
ILO	11
FAO	29
UNESCO	14
ICAO	1
WHO	22
	100

The first 10 million dollars received in the first year and 70 percent of the second 10 million dollars would automatically be distributed in this manner. All other contributions would be placed in reserve. The percentages represented a compromise for most of the members of the Council. The United States had proposed a much higher figure for health work and a somewhat lower figure for UNESCO and the United Nations.

The Council's resolution placed the central account, for administrative purposes, in the hands of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, but he was instructed to make payments from the reserve funds only by decision of the TAB.

This left only the question of how to raise the funds. It was the view of the United States, accepted by the Council, that it was not sufficient for the Secretary-General merely to "pass the hat" but rather that a conference should be called to negotiate contributions. To this conference should be invited the 59 members of the United Nations and the 15 non-United Nations nations which are members of one or more of the specialized agencies. These 15 nations are:

Albania	Italy
Austria	Jordan
Bulgaria	Korea
Ceylon	Monaco
Finland	Portugal
Hungary	Rumania
Indonesia	Switzerland
Ireland	

The Secretary-General, after consultation with member governments, should determine the timing of this fund-raising conference. The primary consideration in the timing would be the passage of prerequisite legislation by a substantial number of the member governments.

Final ECOSOC Action

A plenary session of Ecosoc on August 15, 1949, adopted the resolution on technical assistance by a vote of 15–0–3, with three members of the Soviet bloc abstaining.

In addition to the technical assistance resolution, the Council took these related actions:

(1) It recommended an expansion of the regular budget of the United Nations for technical assistance from $288,000 in 1950 to $676,000 in 1951 and an additional amount of a little over $200,000 for an International Center for Public Administration. The Council recommended that technical assistance in the regular United Nations budget should be continued even if an expanded program might be launched under voluntary contributions;

(2) the Council authorized the Secretary-General to enter into negotiations with non-United Nations intergovernmental organizations (for example, Pan American Union) engaged in the development of technical assistance programs in order to insure desirable coordination; and

(3) it voted to postpone a full debate on capital investments for economic development, at least until the tenth session of the Council in February 1950 and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a number of studies as the basis for that debate.

General Assembly Action

The United Nations General Assembly met at Lake Success on September 20, 1949, and took up the Ecosoc resolution on economic development. The General Assembly contains, of course, 18 nations which participate in the Ecosoc debates and 41 who do not. The problem, therefore, in reviewing any Ecosoc action is to persuade the 41 nations that thorough consideration has been given and that all compromises should be accepted as agreed to in the smaller body.

Most of the Ecosoc members, in speaking before the Assembly's Committee 2 (the committee for economic matters), stressed that the Ecosoc resolution should be accepted without change.

After 4 weeks of debate, this viewpoint prevailed although Poland attempted by an amendment to reopen the question whether a committee of government representatives should pass judgment on all requests for technical assistance. The Assembly made only minor drafting changes in its resolution and left intact the Ecosoc decisions.

The final vote of 59–0–0 in the Assembly included six Communist votes. A. A. Arutiunian, in explaining the vote of the Soviet Union, castigated the United States for the imperialist nature of its Point 4 program but explained that he could vote for the United Nations resolution because it contained a type of technical assistance program substantially different from that of the United States. Other Communist delegates, except those of Yugoslavia, both at Ecosoc and at the General Assembly, expressed this same point of view.

Wilson Compton, who represented the United

(*Continued on page 929*)

Settling Disputes in the Western Hemisphere

No American Republic would now take aggressive action or would consider aggression against a sister republic in face of the experience of the Organization of American States (OAS) in promoting the settlement of disputes, Ambassador Paul C. Daniels told the National Coffee Association at Boca Raton, Florida, on December 7.[1]

The United States representative on the Council of the Organization said that each nation knows that the OAS has proved machinery for consultation and, if necessary, for collective enforcement action to assure the maintenance of peace.

If the OAS machinery is to be maintained properly even when not in use, Mr. Daniels continued, every advantage must be taken of every available moment "to strengthen and perfect the instruments of security and peaceful settlements, so that if and when disputes occur anywhere in the Americas, the proper means will be available to achieve their peaceful solution."

The inter-American system, now called the Organization of American States, was revised, reordered, and strengthened, Mr. Daniels reminded his audience at the Bogotá conference in 1948. "This organizational improvement is embodied in the Charter of the OAS, approved at Bogotá in the form of a treaty," he pointed out.

Ambassador Daniels reviewed the effort of the American states in a series of inter-American conferences to bring about the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

He commented on the procedure for consultation of the Lima conference of 1938; the resolution of the Habana conference of 1940 which declared that an attack upon an American state by a non-American state would be considered an attack on all of the American states; the Mexico conference of 1945 in which the Habana resolution was broadened to include an attack upon an American by any state, inside or outside the hemisphere.

Ambassador Daniels emphasized several aspects of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance formulated at the conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1947.

"First," Mr. Daniels said, "it is a regional arrangement for the maintenance of peace and security within the meaning of articles 52 through 54 of the Charter of the United Nations."

In the second place, the Rio treaty, Mr. Daniels said, was a precursor of the North Atlantic Treaty since they are both designed to assure international peace and security and their complementary results are certain to be mutually beneficial.

In the third place, the treaty applies with equal force to armed attacks or aggression, the Ambassador said, which may occur between two or more American states. "It is not only a protection," he said, "against possible aggressors from across the seas; it is likewise an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace within the hemisphere."

How has the Rio treaty been demonstrated in actual practice? In answering this question, Ambassador Daniels cited two general types of situations which call for the application of the treaty one in which there is an armed attack by any state against an American state when a party to the treaty may be required to interrupt economic relations with the aggressor but that party may not be required to use armed force without its consent the other situation is that in which there may be an act or threat of aggression, which is not an armed attack, or in which there may be any other fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the Americas and which affects the inviolability territorial integrity, sovereignty, or political independence of an American state. In such a situation the OAS shall agree on measures to take in

[1] For the complete text of Mr. Daniels' address, see Department of State press release 946 of Dec. 5, 1949.

case of aggression to assist the victim or, in any case, the measures which should be taken for the common defense of the peace and security of the continent.

Mr. Daniels described in the following manner two cases in which the Rio treaty was invoked:

"December 11, 1948—almost a year ago—the Costa Rican representative on the Council of the Organization of American States charged in a letter to the chairman of the Council that an armed force was invading its territory from the territory of Nicaragua, its neighbor. This was a serious charge, indeed, but it should be noted that Costa Rica specifically requested that the provisions of article 6 of the Rio treaty be invoked. These provisions, which concern the second kind of situation I have discussed, do not automatically require all nations to come to the immediate assistance of the victim, but they do require, if they are actually involved, an immediate consultation among the parties to the treaty. The decision on whether to invoke the treaty is made by the Council of the Organization of American States.

"Events moved rapidly. The chairman of the Council immediately called a meeting of the Council on the following afternoon, Sunday, December 12. As we gathered that afternoon we felt a sense of urgency and responsibility, not only on behalf of our respective governments but also on behalf of the Council. Only a few days earlier, the Rio treaty had come into legal effect, with final deposit of the ratification of Costa Rica, itself, fulfilling the requirement that two-thirds of the states complete their ratifications. Each of us, as we gathered that Sunday afternoon, was aware that failure to stop the dispute involving Costa Rica and Nicaragua, or any delay in its solution, could get the Organization—and the treaty—off to a bad start from which it might never recover. At the same time, we were equally aware that any premature action might fan the flames. Surely this was a time for prompt decision but not for snap judgment.

"As is often the case in such disputes, we lacked complete and accurate information that Sunday afternoon. Consequently, we decided to devote the next 48 hours to obtaining information and to meet again on Tuesday. At that time, additional information was presented to the Council.

"It was then that a tremendously important decision was taken, one which may not even today be fully appreciated. With the information at hand, the Council invoked the Rio treaty, declaring itself to be the Provisional Organ of Consultation under the treaty. Although we were well aware of the significance of the principles of the treaty to all American states, we could not be certain as to how effective the machinery set forth in its several articles would prove in actual practice. The Council's first official act in its capacity as Provisional Organ of Consultation was to send immediately an investigating commission to San José and Managua in order to obtain on the spot accurate, complete information. This Commission included representatives of Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, and the United States, each with civilian and military advisors. We took off at night on a special plane and flew directly to the scene of the trouble.

"In San José and Managua, officials of both countries showed the utmost cooperation. All parties concerned were most anxious to settle the difficulty. It was obvious that neither country had any intention of declaring war. The actual incident which had initiated the Costa Rican request—the crossing of its border by an armed force chiefly revolutionary in character—had not developed into a serious threat to the stability of that government, but there was evidence that each government had been remiss in discouraging revolutionary groups whose aim was to overthrow the government of the other. Unquestionably a serious misunderstanding had arisen.

"Within a few days we were back in Washington with our report to the Council. The Council met immediately to study the report of our investigating group and on December 24—Christmas Eve—it approved a resolution which called upon each of the governments to eliminate those conditions which had led to the dispute and made specific recommendations to them for settling it.

"There followed a relatively short period when the Council, still acting as the Provisional Organ of Consultation, continued to maintain its direct interest in the situation and to encourage a peaceful solution. This 'watch and wait' period lasted until February 21, when the two governments, through their representatives in Washington, signed a treaty of friendship—*Pacto de Amistad.* This treaty, in the view of the Council and the countries involved, represented an effective basis for a mutually satisfactory solution. It was subsequently formally ratified by both countries. That is the way we like to see disputes settled.

"In February of this year, the Republic of Haiti

filed a complaint with the COAS against its neighbor, the Dominican Republic. The Haitian charge was, essentially, that the Dominican Government was permitting in that country certain activities whose purpose it was to undermine the stability of the Haitian Government. The Haitian representative asked that the provisions of the Rio treaty be invoked. In this case, however, unlike that involving Costa Rica and Nicaragua, the Council felt that the situation was not of a character to require invocation of the treaty and so informed the two countries.

"This, however, did not end the matter. On March 21, the Haitian delegate placed the problem before the Inter-American Peace Committee, which had its origin in a resolution of the Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers held at Habana in 1940. The Committee is composed of representatives of five nations (including the United States). It is charged with suggesting measures and steps whereby disputes which exist or may arise between American States may be solved as quickly as possible. While its functions are, therefore, limited to offering suggestions on methods, and its procedures are much less formal than those set forth in the Rio treaty, the Peace Committee affords an extremely useful mechanism whereby an approach may be made to the solution of inter-American disputes.

"The Peace Committee listened to representatives of each of the governments involved in the dispute, giving ample time to each. Three members of the Committee augmented this information by visits to the capitals of the two countries. Finally, after continued consultation and negotiation, representatives of the two governments, along with members of the Inter-American Peace Committee, signed an *Acta Final* in which was included a declaration which, as agreed, each government made to its people on June 10, 1949. This declaration stated that neither government tolerated or would in the future tolerate activities which had as their purpose the disturbance of the domestic peace of its neighbor, or of any other friendly government. The inter-American machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes had again proved its usefulness.

"But it was apparent that within the Caribbean area there remained certain seeds of dissension. These derived largely from the activities of citizens of one or another of the countries of the area who engaged in preparation for, or actually participated in, movements whose purpose was to accomplish by intimidation or armed invasion political changes in governments of the area. The possible violation by governments of international obligations was involved. Consequently, the Inter-American Peace Committee met on August 3 at the initiative of the United States, in order to determine whether there were a constructive approach to the problem which it might suggest. After obtaining information and considering various factors involved, the Committee reached agreement on fourteen conclusions which included principles and standards whose proper observance would not only keep such situations from arising but would also remove the symptoms of disturbed relations among American states."

The importance of peaceful settlement of disputes may, Mr. Daniels said, be underestimated on the ground that the threats involved were small in relation to the problems of tremendous magnitude which face us.

Such criticism, he continued, "missed the point that in the inter-American system each sovereign state enjoys a status of juridical equality with every other sovereign state."

"No member state of the OAS can or should be made to feel that its size or strength are the standards by which it is judged," Mr. Daniels said. The Rio treaty and the Charter of the OAS itself, he concluded, reflect that juridical equality which is fundamental to inter-American cooperation.

Inter-American Policy Objectives

It is our objective—

to advance the economic and social welfare of all the American Republics and to provide a favorable environment for increasingly stable, democratic governments;

to maintain the national security of the United States and, to this end, to continue with the other American governments in energetic support of the regional and world-wide peace machinery to which we are all committed;

to increase friendship, understanding, and cultural compatibility among the American peoples.

Thus, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Willard F. Barber, outlined the major inter-American policy aims of the good-neighbor policy, when he spoke to the Foreign Policy Association of Shreveport, Louisiana, on December 8.[1]

Technical Assistance

Freedom, expressed through representative democracy, will prosper in the world, if we are aware of the economic and social underpinnings.

The technical know-how which has been exported through private capital investment and the free enterprise system has resulted in many instances in railways for Latin America as well as port works and communications systems.

In those instances where private facilities are not sufficient in themselves, economic, and social measures are undertaken through intergovernmental cooperation. Exemplary of this type of action is the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which is an agency of the American governments, supported by annual contribution quotas. In its field headquarters in Turrialba, Costa Rica, students from many countries return as agricultural experts—there takes place a pooling of resources and a joint effort for achieving advances in agriculture.

[1] For complete text of Mr. Barber's address, see Department of State press release 953 of Dec. 8, 1949.

The Pan American Sanitary Organization, with a history of 50 years in the fields of quarantine measures and epidemic control, is another such example of wide governmental cooperation.

Regarding country-to-country cooperation, Mr. Barber spoke of the bilateral character of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and its relations with appropriate agencies of other governments in the improvement of agriculture, public health, and basic education. From this partnership which has developed through the years has come a generic term, *servicio*. A public health *servicio*, for example, would be a division within the Ministry of Public Health of the country in which it works. It would be staffed by United States and local technicians under a director from the United States who reports to and works with the local public health administration. Although the United States would contribute some of the funds in support of the *servicio*, the bulk would ordinarily come from the aided country.

Paraguay has been an underdeveloped nation, economically depressed, and subject to frequent political change. This political unrest surely stems in major part from a low standard of living. Faced with such a situation in a friendly American Republic, what can the policy of the United States be? What has been and is being done?

Through the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, experts from the Tariff Commission and the Federal Reserve Board, for example, have suggested revisions both in the tariff system and in the basic monetary law.

In the field of agricultural collaboration, the *Servicio Tecnico Interamericano de Cooperacion Agricola* (STICA) was set up. Paraguay has a tremendous production potential—wide expanses of fertile soil and virgin forests, a benign climate. Yet despite these natural advantages United

States technicians found that farm yields were insufficient to satisfy domestic demands, much less to provide a surplus for foreign markets. STICA's task, then, was to build a program which would serve as a beginning for an integrated agricultural economy.

"There is now a Paraguayan farm credit institution operated by the Bank of Paraguay with technical aid from STICA. Its 6,000 accredited farmers and model colony provide the vehicle for extending the technical knowledge developed on such STICA projects as: the National Institute of Agronomy, a 500-acre seed production, training, and demonstration farm; *Estancia Barrerito*, a 27,000 acre livestock ranch; and the San Lorenzo Model Dairy, a dairy extension center, breeding headquarters, and pasteurization plant. Also included in STICA's varied activities are food storage, rice production, and grasshopper control.

"Education has not been forgotten. Five American specialists teach techniques in plumbing, refrigeration, auto mechanics, wood working, and radio in a trade school. The Minister of Education hopes to revitalize the rural schools with United States help.

"The cost of the agricultural, health, and educational programs has been shared. At first, the United States put in the greater amount; Paraguay paid a smaller part in guaranis. But now the operation is on solid ground, and the proportion has changed."

Such cooperative benefits have reciprocal advantages. Latin America is our major source of supply for many important materials and commodities and is also an important market for our own products. "Furthermore, our neighborly activities have helped to orient Latin America toward views shared by the United States and toward our conception of democracy. Meanwhile, opportunities for anti-United States propaganda and Communist penetration have materially diminished."

National and Regional Security

An armed attack by any state upon an American state shall be considered, according to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance or the Rio treaty, an attack on all of them. "This treaty," Mr. Barber pointed out, "is not a pious expression of intentions or noble generalities. It contains an explicit, hard commitment to do something. It is an undertaking of all parties to come to the assistance of each in time of need. The fact that they will do so is a strong deterrent to military adventurers whether from within or outside the hemisphere."

The effectiveness of this principle was proved in the case of the dispute between Costa Rica and Nicaragua a year ago, when a pact of amity was signed by their ambassadors.[2] The significance of the document is realized by what does not happen because of its provisions.

"The problem of peace is not fundamentally a problem of machinery, but rather a matter of attitudes." The mechanical problem of communication and understanding between governments and peoples, however, is facilitated through regional arrangements such as the Organization of American States, reinforced when necessary by the larger body of United Nations.

Friendship Between Peoples

The two treaties signed recently, one with Uruguay and the other with Mexico, reaffirm the bonds of friendship with those two countries: The treaty of friendship, economic development, and commerce and an agreement establishing a United States-Mexican Commission on Cultural Cooperation.

The force of public opinion, a universal and tremendously vital and inescapable force, is a strong power in the world today. The Voice of America, probably the best-known operation of the information and educational exchange program, adapts its output to Latin America to the special local requirements. Since most countries in the area have, for the most part, easy access to the best commercial programs, VOA features relations between the two continents and dedicates itself to news reports; it also prepares transcriptions for use by local radio stations.

"With motion pictures we have been particularly successful. Our 16 mm. documentary films are being shown to millions of people every month. In Mexico, for instance, there are as many as 3,500 showings in a single month to an audience of a million and a half. These films are about the United States or about some phase of educational or technical success developed in our country. Our public-affairs operators give showings to country folk in open plazas and to sophisticated

[2] BULLETIN of June 5, 1949, p. 707.

city audiences, to university students in classrooms high in the Andes and to Indian villagers along the Orinoco. These films demonstrate malaria control, the conduct of orderly and democratic elections, a highly specialized operation in dental surgery, or raising nutritive vegetables with a minimum of tools."

"The friendships among young people of different nationalities, during the formative student years, is a wonderfully rewarding method of bridging differences of language and environment." The Department of State makes scholarship grants available for both Latin Americans to study here and for our students and professors to study there.

Mr. Barber cited that in the total enrollment of 476 foreign students in Louisiana, six at Louisiana State University receive Department of State grants; two from the list of 26 students studying in Latin America are from Louisiana; one of the seven exchange professors is teaching at Tulane University.

We also exchange leaders. These leaders of thought and opinion in their own countries may be authors, newspaper editors, educators, artists, lawyers, doctors—the range is great. But they all have one quality in common: their own ideas help mould the ideas of many of their fellow citizens.

Latin Americans are just as anxious for us to grow in friendship for them and to increase our understanding of what kind of people they are.

Exchange Programs in American Foreign Relations

by William C. Johnstone, Jr.
Director, Office of Educational Exchange

A month or so ago, a hundred American students arrived in London. After a few days, they dispersed to colleges and universities throughout the British Isles, not alone to Oxford and Cambridge but to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and into Wales. They will study for a year in these universities. We know they will learn much. They will get new ideas. But they will give much—ideas about America, what we are like, how we act, what we are thinking.

Two weeks ago, at the University of Michigan, a group of about 30 students sat around a conference table talking about what they were learning, and exchanging ideas on the United States—our institutions, our foibles, our way of life. These students were from Germany, and the theme of their discussion was how some of the ideas—the knowledge they were getting—could be applied to the problems of their own country.

A prominent Brazilian, who spent 3 months in extensive travel in the United States, discovered the virtues of our rural free delivery service. It was something we take for granted, but to him it was a new idea which he is taking back to his country.

A Norwegian technician, who came to the United States to investigate new methods in the manufacture of paper and cardboard food containers, found the corporation he visited stumped by a problem. He had helped solve this particular problem in Norway. His idea was traded for the new ideas he came to get.

A group of women from a European country recently visited a small city where they attended a meeting of the city council. They heard the citizens, the taxpayers of the community, arguing with the members of the city council on the problem of schools which was a matter of mutual concern to the citizens and their government. This was a new idea to these women. But they took it back with them and are trying it out in their own community abroad.

In one of the foreign capitals, a library carries over the door a sign both in English and in the language of the country which says: "United States Information Library—Open to the Public." One day, an important official of the provincial government came to this library. He watched people going in and out—his own people. Inside at

a long table in a well-lighted room with open bookshelves around the walls, he saw one of his own officials in deep discussion with a student. Both were looking at an open book on American city planning. Talking to the American librarian was a dairy farmer who wanted up-to-date information on improving his dairy herd. The government official discovered that the library was open to everyone without cost, and furthermore, that the free public library is an American institution. This gave him an idea. His provincial government has now started free reading rooms for the people of his province.

In a small Latin American capital, a building on one of the main streets houses classrooms, a library, a little theater, and meeting room. Nationals of the country and Americans jointly support it. Here American residents and the people of the city meet to discuss a variety of subjects. They read, see films, look at exhibits together—all part of a continuing effort between the two peoples to trade ideas, to understand each other better. An American director of art studies in a large city school system was assigned to this cultural center to lecture on art studies in education. She had an idea. She opened a workshop in the cultural center for amateur painters in the community. A cabinet minister could be found discussing his work as an artist with the owner of the barber shop next door. But the discussion was not restricted to art for very long. Soon the two were trading ideas on taxes and a lot of other problems. Both went to the American director of the center with a single question: how do American cities support a public health system for school children.

This kind of activity is not new; it has been going on for a long time. But it has become a big business, a large scale enterprise, and one in which the United States government, and particularly, the Department of State is actively engaged.

Never before has so much attention been given to the interchange of ideas, of knowledge, of people. This year, 26,000 students from foreign countries are enrolled in American colleges and universities. More than 16,000 American students are studying abroad. This year, the total flow of professors, teachers, and students to the United States and from the United States to other countries is close to 50,000 individuals. This year, more than 125,000 people will travel between the United States and other countries: Americans going abroad, foreign nationals coming here—not just to visit, not as tourists, but for the sole purpose of learning, acquiring knowledge, and trading ideas.

Why is the government in this business? What is the government's role and just what is going on? Why is the United States Government and particularly the Department of State in cooperation with the American citizen engaged in the business of trading ideas?

The citizen's role in the conduct of foreign relations has long been a subject of debate and discussion on the college campus and in meetings and forums of private organizations interested in foreign affairs. American citizens have always had a hand in shaping the course of American foreign policy. As individuals, or as members of organizations, the American people have not hesitated to make their desires known. But we have not been content with talk or with writing letters to Congressmen. When we have sensed an opportunity to take an active role in relations with other peoples, we have seized the opportunity without prodding from our government.

Americans have given hundreds of millions of dollars to aid other peoples. We have willingly given of our time and energy, often at considerable personal sacrifice, to share our scientific knowledge and technical proficiency with other people. We have opened our doors to students, teachers, technicians, and specialists from other nations who came here to learn and we have welcomed equally those who had knowledge and ideas to give us.

But since the war, the free flow of ideas between peoples obviously encounters opposition. Equally obvious is the fact that there has not been sufficient exchange of knowledge between peoples to enable them to understand one another. In fact, lack of understanding is apparent, and without understanding we lack an essential element in the maintenance of peace.

The American people have come to realize that building a peaceful world is a job for many hands. The Government with all its agencies cannot do the job alone. The American people have come to realize that knowledge of foreign affairs is not enough. Understanding, based on an appreciation of differences in culture, customs, and history is essential to a world of international cooperation. It is an essential ingredient of peaceful relations among nations. But it is an American characteristic to take a direct approach. The American wants to learn first-hand, and the

American people have become increasingly aware that real international understanding can be achieved best through personal knowledge of other peoples, their land, their culture, and their customs.

This awareness explains why the idea of interchange of persons between the United States and other countries has caught on. American farmers are not content with listening to a speaker describe France. They want something more tangible, so they bring two French farm boys over to work on their farms and from them learn first-hand of the life and problems of rural France. They send their own young people to work on French farms and when they return, they learn still more from first-hand accounts of those things which can never be photographed or written in books.

Every week brings notice of some new project. A business women's group raises money for a scholarship for a young business woman; cities send good-will ambassadors to their neighbors across the water. Towns exchange mayors. Schools exchange teachers and universities exchange professors. Thousands of foreign students and thousands of American students are learning first hand of the ways and customs of other peoples.

The value of this kind of first-hand acquaintanceship is unquestioned. That it is helping to build foundations for a more peaceful world is little doubted. That it would have developed as a wholly private activity by private citizens and groups is likewise unquestioned.

Why then should the American government become involved in similar activity? The answer is simple. We have learned through experience that democracy is most effective when citizens and government work together with a common purpose.

Our common purpose is clear, but there is further justification for the role of government in this program, because government and the citizen must work together in the exchange of ideas, knowledge, and people to achieve our common purpose. The Congress of the United States created a commission of private citizens, the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, to advise the Secretary of State on the conduct of a world-wide program of exchange of ideas, knowledge, and persons.

This Commission clearly outlined the government's role in its first semiannual report to the Congress.[1] The Commission said:

> The educational exchange program takes on added importance in today's world. International disaster has been averted by United States money, materials, and political help to a world made insecure by war and postwar conflicts. We have invested heavily in world recovery. We are assisting war-ravaged countries to become self-supporting so that they may contribute their share to world prosperity. This means that we must share our knowledge, experience, and skills as a way of helping other countries to help themselves. The recovery program will have no permanent value if, at its close, the nations who have received our aid lack the trained technicians and other personnel to carry on the economic programs which we helped them start. Furthermore, unless we take positive action to insure the free mind, our efforts at world stability will be used as a powerful weapon against us. Anti-American forces are engaged in an offensive to distort and attack the principles and motives of the United States. They will win this struggle if men are kept in ignorance of our true purposes, policies and culture.
>
> The United States is also investing heavily in military preparedness to insure national security. Ideas are also weapons—weapons which can be utilized only by educational exchange. The free mind and free flow of ideas and knowledge among peoples provide such powerful weapons for peace that only when we review the progress of mankind itself can we measure their potentialities.
>
> There is a widespread impression that educational exchange activities can accomplish only long-range results. This is incorrect; their effect is both immediate and long range. The great majority of exchanges involve adults in positions of active leadership—professors, specialists, technicians engaged in research, mature leaders in important fields such as journalism and the professions, leaders of labor organizations, and others whose impact upon the attitude of their respective countries immediate as well as long continued. Further, the very initiation of an exchange project in a given country has an immediate influence in that country since it indicates American intent to cooperate in a positive manner.

Through enactment of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402) on January 27, 1948, the Congress carefully and deliberately determined that a program of educational exchange shall become an essential part of the conduct of this Nation's foreign affairs. This basic policy has thus been established.

Let me recall for you what the Congress defined as the broad objectives of this act and how the Department of State should carry it out. Public Law 402 states:

> Sec. 2. The Congress hereby declares that the objectives of this Act are to enable the Government of United

[1] *Trading Ideas with the World*, Department of State publication 3485.

States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries. Among the means to be used in achieving these objectives are:

(1) an information service to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people, and policies promulgated by the Congress, the President, the Secretary of State and other responsible officials of Government having to do with matters affecting foreign affairs;

(2) an educational exchange service to cooperate with other nations in—

(a) the interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills;

(b) the rendering of technical and other services;

(c) the interchange of developments in the field of education, the arts and sciences.

The Department of State, therefore, is engaging in a program of interchange of ideas and people as an integral part of its conduct of foreign policy. As a government, we no longer confine the business of foreign relations to government channels nor to government officials. As a government, we are doing everything possible to assist the people of the United States to have more direct contact with the peoples of other nations. It is a program of peoples speaking to peoples.

The role of the government in this program is not to direct but to help, not to dominate but to assist the citizens of the United States, their private organizations and institutions in a joint effort aimed at better understanding between peoples.

How do we do it? What resources are available to government? Just what is going on?

First of all, we facilitate the efforts of private groups. The Office of Educational Exchange stands ready to do help on almost any type of project that legitimately contributes to better relations between the United States and other nations.

This year it aided a student drama group from Howard University in Washington to present a series of plays in Norway upon the invitation from the Norwegian Government.

It assisted a project sponsored by the *Farm Journal* and *Pathfinder* magazine by which nearly 200 farm leaders from 16 states made a special trip, at their own expense, to see first-hand the agricultural problems of the Western European countries.

In five Department of State reception centers, in New York, Washington, Miami, New Orleans, and San Francisco (all with very small staffs) over 23,000 visitors to the United States were welcomed, their questions answered, itineraries arranged, and appointments made so that they might learn the most and see what they most wanted to see during their stay in this country.

A recent example illustrate what is meant by the cooperative nature of this whole program. The visits of groups of young adult leaders from several foreign countries who were here to study American community life and to see how the average American community helps itself were made possible through the combination of funds contributed by three foreign governments, five private organizations abroad, the United States Government, four private groups in this country, and a number of individual American citizens. But even more important, private American organizations and individuals are seeing to it that these young people live in average American homes in average American communities. They experience at first hand the kinds of things we, as Americans, take for granted, the things we don't always think to explain to people from abroad.

More and more, young adult leaders from American communities are doing the same thing abroad. This first-hand acquaintanceship between peoples at the grass roots of their respective cultures is what builds international understanding.

But the number of eye witnesses is, of course, limited. Travel is difficult between countries, and dollars are scarce.

For the person abroad who cannot see America at first hand, we must conduct the trade in ideas differently. Today the Department of State maintains 102 libraries and reading rooms in more than 60 countries. They are entirely free. They constitute a cross section of America. They provide in their books and periodicals the factual answers about this country for anyone who seeks them. Around these libraries is built a whole range of activities, lectures, exhibits, conferences, film showings, and concerts; these activities are designed to provide a better understanding of America. Through our missions abroad and our activities at home, we have stimulated other countries to initiate similar activities in the United States directed toward the same purpose.

In Latin America, we assist 30 binational cultural centers and of the 270 primary and secondary schools eligible for assistance, 123 were assisted by the Department of State in 1949. Because these activities are cooperative, a joint effort of the United States and other nations toward a com-

mon goal, the record indicates steady progress in mutual understanding.

This business of trading ideas, of expanding human knowledge, of getting peoples of different nations acquainted is a veritable "big business," but we have only just begun. The areas of misunderstanding of distorted ideas and of ignorance are still very great indeed.

Many different sets of ideas are competing for people's attention. This program is only a part of a total American effort to build a secure world. We believe that such security must come in a world in which men's minds are free to accept or reject ideas. There are others who deny the principle of multiple choice for the individual. They would confine ideas into a narrow dogma and a single choice. We believe that one essential of a free society is freedom to utilize the intelligence of the many. We believe that many minds at work can solve our problems; others believe in the application of the intelligence of the few—the few in power.

In this struggle for men's minds, we are all engaged. This program is an integral part of our conduct of foreign relations; and in a free society, government and the conduct of foreign relations is everybody's business. Trading ideas, knowledge, people, skills is a positive, constructive method in the conduct of foreign policy and a positive constructive approach to world peace.

The ideas we stand for are not trade-marked "American." They are basic human aspirations the world over. In the current struggle between the dogmas of authoritarianism and the beliefs of free men in a free society, we too often allow ourselves to be placed on the defensive. We permit ourselves to build mental Maginot lines.

A careful analysis of our current problems should reveal that there can be no impenetrable iron curtain. For ideas can penetrate the barriers which may shut out a person or a commodity. The basic ideas of a free society of free men are ideas which the human mind has rarely refused to receive.

Because the United States has demonstrated that a great national power can be built on foundations of a free society, we dare not ignore the challenge. We must accept the responsibility of doing whatever we can to provide for all peoples the opportunity to put the intelligence of the many to work in order to create the secure foundations for a free world society.

General Assembly Action on Technical Assistance—*Continued from page 919*

States in the General Assembly debate on economic development, devoted his final speech on November 16 to a forecast of the next actions required under the United Nations expanded program. A partial text of his speech appears elsewhere in this issue.

The American delegation at the General Assembly, after talking to most of the other delegations, estimated that the Technical Assistance Conference for negotiating contributions would most likely be held in March or April 1950 and that the total of contributions might range between 20 and 23 million dollars.

Coordination With Bilateral Programs of Technical Assistance

Throughout this debate on the United Nations expanded program, the United States delegation was constantly concerned with seeking arrangements both in Washington and in the United Nations Secretariat for coordinating bilateral plans for technical assistance with those of the United Nations.

The Ecosoc resolution contains a provision requiring any country requesting technical assistance under the United Nations expanded program to submit a report on all assistance which it is already receiving in the field of development for which it is requesting aid. This information would flow to the Technical Assistance Board, which in turn is required to supply the information to the Technical Assistance Committee, of which the United States will be a member. Thus, through formal channels, the United States and other countries participating in bilateral programs will be supplied with information on all requests for assistance under the United Nations program.

Within the Department of State, a single office will be responsible for both the United States bilateral program and United States policies in relation to the United Nations expanded program. Full information and a singleness of policy is thus assured in dealing with both bilateral programs and those of the international organizations.

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The Next Steps Under the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance

by Wilson Compton
U.S. Alternative Representative to the United Nations

[NOTE: *This article is an excerpt from a speech delivered before the United Nations General Assembly at Lake Success on November 15, 1949.*]

As we reach the close of this long debate, I shall confine my remarks to the actions which if the pending resolution is approved by the Assembly, the United States delegation hopes may be taken to get this program under way as promptly as practicable. There will, of course, be need for action by the Secretary-General, by the member governments, and by the specialized agencies.

First, as to the Secretary-General: The resolution calls for a conference to raise funds for the expanded program. The Secretary-General is empowered to set the date for that conference. He has announced that he will do so after consultation with governments. We may, I hope, expect that he will begin these consultations immediately, even while this Assembly is in session; and we may, of course, count on the Secretary-General to convene the conference at the earliest practicable time.

The Secretary-General will have two other responsibilities in advance of the Conference:

Paragraph 9(a) of the resolution of the Economic and Social Council, on technical assistance provides that the contributions shall be made by governments in such forms and subject to such conditions as may be agreed between the Secretary-General, after consultation with the participating agencies, and the contributing governments.

That is an immediate responsibility. Governments will wish information from the Secretary-General regarding the forms and conditions of contributions. The Secretary-General, we hope, will wish to discuss this aspect of the program with member governments as soon as he has had time to consult the participating agencies.

The resolution invites all governments to make voluntary contributions as large as possible. Here again the Secretary-General may, we think, be helpful to all of us. Most governments, including my own, require affirmative legislative action before funds are available which may be paid into the special account for technical assistance. It is desirable that such legislative action be sought by all governments as promptly as possible. The Secretary-General, in his conversations with governments regarding the timing of the Technical Assistance Conference and regarding the conditions for contributions, will wish, I am sure, to urge the earliest practicable legislative action where such action is necessary.

May I say a word in behalf of the United States delegation, concerning the position of the 14 nations, which although not members of the United Nations, are members of the specialized agencies, and are to be invited to attend the Technical Assistance Conference. These 14 governments have not been represented in the debate in the Council or the Committee or in the General Assembly. But many of these have a deep interest in this program. It would seem to my delegation that it might be helpful if the Secretary-General were promptly to prepare a brief report, together with the pertinent documents on this debate, for the information of the 14 governments concerned. We hope that their proper interests in the program as now formulated will not be under any handicap by reason of the obvious fact that they could not have participated in the formulation of the program itself.

Second, as to governments:

It is the hope of the United States that each government, including the governments of underdeveloped countries, will contribute to the special account according to its ability. Every country is more advanced than its neighbors in some field of economic development. Each country no doubt can provide training facilities or expert advice in some line of endeavor.

If every recipient country is also a contributor to the fund itself, there will be a minimum of sensitiveness about seeking needed technical assistance. It is precisely because this program is a cooperative pooling of wits, wisdom, and skills in economic development in which all countries are able to participate, that all may give as well as receive. Some, of course, will be able to give much more, and some, much less. But it is the hope of my government that all may participate.

Perhaps one point regarding contributions may warrant special mention. As has been made clear in the discussions in the Economic and Social Council and the Second Committee, the expenses of a government receiving technical assistance, paid in its own currency and spent in its own country in connection with the services received by it is not a contribution to the special account itself as proposed to be set up. Contributions to the special account therefore will express a willingness on the part of the participating government to share in encouraging the economic development of other nations, in addition to its own.

Third, as to the organizations including the United Nations itself, which plan to participate in the expanded program;

This Assembly, by adopting the pending resolution, will have taken the necessary steps to enable the Secretary-General of the United Nations to participate in the program. However, under the arrangements proposed by the Economic and Social Council, and as now provided in the pending resolution, each participating specialized agency will, of course, take the preliminary steps necessary to establish its eligibility to receive funds; and it is the hope of the United States delegation that these steps may be taken promptly.

Each such agency to be eligible is, of course, required to adhere to the guiding principles formulated by the Economic and Social Council and proposed in this resolution, to be approved by the General Assembly; each must authorize its Director General to accept moneys and credits from the special account, to exercise the necessary controls, and to account for the expenditures. Each agency is required to agree to report to the Technical Assistance Committee of the Council through the Technical Assistance Board. These are not formidable requirements; but they are important to the business-like administration of this program and to the maintenance of a unity of basic policy.

There are five specialized agencies whose participation is provided for by the specific terms of the resolution of the Economic and Social Council. One of these, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, at the annual meeting of its governing body in Paris last month, adopted a resolution which is intended to meet the requirements of this program. The Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization is stated to have taken similar action; and it is expected that the Assembly of that organization may take further qualifying action at its forthcoming fourth session. The Food and Agriculture Organization is holding its annual conference in Washington this month; and two other organizations—the World Health Organization and the International Labor Organization—have early scheduled meetings of their respective governing bodies competent to deal with this question. It is the hope of the United States delegation that the eligibility of the specialized agencies may be thus promptly established.

The United States assumes that each eligible agency as well as the United Nations itself will receive from governments more requests for technical assistance than can be fully and promptly met with the personnel and funds likely to be available. Each participating organization may be under the necessity of rejecting or at least deferring some requests. Such decisions no doubt should be based primarily on a determination of the type or condition of technical assistance which will contribute the most to economic development.

The Economic and Social Council itself at its ninth session did not formally prepare any guides or criteria or standards by which each participating organization might determine such priorities as may be necessary in the administration of the technical assistance services. The United States delegation therefore suggests that it might be generally helpful if the appropriate body of each participating organization would prepare at its early convenience, for the information of all interested governments, a statement which, in general terms, might indicate the types of technical assistance which are likely, in the outset at least, to make the greatest contribution to economic development.

Mr. President, my government is glad to have had a share in the initiation and formulation of this expanded program for technical assistance to the economic development of underdeveloped countries. It has high hopes for the ultimate usefulness of this kind of international cooperation. The United States is confident that this program, carefully planned, properly administered, and widely used among nations which are willing to help themselves, will add to the prestige of the United Nations, and will eventually add greatly to the strength of its member nations, to the welfare of peoples everywhere, and to the assurance of enduring peace.

Soviet Union Clouds Atomic Energy Issue in Hodgepodge of Confusion

by John D. Hickerson
Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs [1]

Everyone agrees that the field of atomic weapons and the field of conventional armaments and armed forces are two segments of the same general area. Everyone agrees that the one field can not be dealt with effectively while the other is ignored. And all reasonable thinking people recognize that there are fundamental differences between the two fields which necessitate that initially they continue to be dealt with separately and in different ways. Ultimately, when the details of their separate treatments have been sufficiently developed, there will have to be a coordination and integration of them within an over-all plan or system of collective security.

All of this has been clearly understood by the great majority of the member nations from the First General Assembly down to the present one. The Soviet Union has striven persistently to becloud this clear understanding by advancing one proposal after another for merging the two problems together into a hodgepodge of confusion out of which no useful solution could possibly emerge. This same persistence of purpose underlies the proposal which they have introduced here. It should meet with the same summary rejection as that given to its predecessors in the past.

An additional reason for its rejection lies in its failure to provide for any inspection or checking, or other means of verifying the information submitted. This lack is characteristic of all the other superficial proposals which have been introduced by the Soviet Union in this field.

In effect their proposal is simply this:

"We will tell you what we have, but you will just have to take our word for its correctness."

In the face of Mr. Vyshinsky's repeated assertions concerning the willingness of the Soviet Union "to open wide its doors" for periodic inspection of atomic facilities—a type of inspection wholly inadequate to the problem of the effective control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons,—I inquired in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee whether this willingness extended to the field of conventional armaments and armed forces— a field where periodic inspection would be suitable. There was no answer to my inquiry.

Now the mere submission of information, without provision for proper checking and verifying, would be wholly unsatisfactory. It would be a snare and a delusion.

My government would not expect other member nations simply to take whatever data we might submit on conventional armaments and armed forces and let it go at that.

Similarly, we do not feel that other member nations should be asked by the Soviet Union simply to take whatever data and information they may care to submit.

If we are willing to lay open our records and facilities in order that the information submitted by us may be properly checked and verified, why should the Soviet Union be unwilling to do likewise?

The processes of a true democracy, where the people insist on being kept fully informed of whatever action is being taken by the heads of their government, furnish a reasonably accurate test of the validity of any information submitted by such a government. No equivalent guaranties are to be derived from the governing processes employed in the Soviet Union.

Is it not strange that the very nations which have been attacked so vehemently as warmongering and aggressor nations are, without exception, willing to accept these proposals, with all they entail in the way of inspection and checking, whereas the only nations which have persistently refused to accept them are the accusing nations which profess none but the most peaceful intention.

And yet the proposals are wholly reciprocal. They demand no more information from one nation that they require of another. They expose

[1] Excerpts from a statement made in plenary session on the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces on Dec. 5, 1949, and released to the press by the United States delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

no nation to any more inspection and checking than any other nation. What a manifest absurdity it is, therefore, for the representative of the Soviet Union to vilify these proposals as a dastardly scheme of espionage against the armed strength of their government. What, if their intentions are as peaceful as they profess them to be, are they fearful of disclosing? How, with such an attitude of secretiveness, can they wonder that their intentions are suspect?

Here lies the core of the whole problem. I said in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, and I repeat it here: That the nations of Western Europe are not rearming because they are opposed to disarmament, and the United States is not helping them to re-arm because the United States is opposed to disarmament. They are rearming, and we are helping them to do so, because they fear the intentions of the Soviet Union.

I also said in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and I repeat it here: That the Soviet Union has it within its power to make possible a real and lasting improvement in the atmosphere of international relations without which there can be little hope of any real progress toward our goal of world peace.

That, after all, was the real purpose of the General Assembly's resolution of November 19, 1948. Its basic purpose was not the mere collection of information, since, after all, any information resulting from the implementation of proposals like these would be but a means to an end. The essential objective sought was the engendering of a little world confidence, which it was thought would result from an exchange of verified information. This, it was hoped, would encourage and stimulate the taking of further steps toward our goal of world peace.

And so, were the Soviet Union willing to come along with the rest of us in accepting these census and verification proposals, the really significant result would not be the information eventually resulting therefrom. Rather would it lie in the fact that for the very first time, in matters affecting the peace and security of the world, the Soviet Union had been willing to join the family of nations in a truly cooperative enterprise.

Unfortunately the Soviet Union has not as yet been willing to join the family as a fully participating member. Nevertheless the invitation is a standing one, and we hope that some day soon they will see fit to accept it.

To this end the resolution now before us recommends that the Security Council continue its study of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces through the agency of the Commission for Conventional Armaments and in accordance with the Commission's established plan of work.

In this connection it may not be amiss to point out that despite the fact the veto of the Soviet Union makes it impossible to put into effect the proposals which this resolution calls upon the General Assembly to approve, the work and effort which have gone into the development of the proposals need not be wasted. Viewed from the perspective of future planning—rather than immediate implementation—they fit readily into the Commission's plan of work, under item III thereof, which deals with safeguards for a plan of disarmament. The work thus initiated may go forward in the hope that a feasible plan of disarmament may be evolved. By that time the uncongenial circumstances in which the world now finds itself may happily have changed for the better so as to permit at least a beginning to be made to put such a plan into actual effect.

For these reasons the United States delegation will vote for the draft resolution approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. It will vote against the Soviet draft resolution.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

National Military Establishment Appropriation Bill for 1950. Preconference Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on the National Military Establishment Appropriation Bill for 1950. ii, 84 pp.

Supplemental Hearings on the Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1949. Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H.R. 5300, an act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, and for other purposes. Aid to Korea and Securities and Exchange Commission. ii, 49 pp.

Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1950. Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on H.R. 6008, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, and for other purposes. ii, 258 pp.

The Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1950. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1950. ii, 549 pp.

Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1949. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on the Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill for 1949. ii, 590 pp.

North Atlantic Treaty. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, on Executive L, Eighty-first Congress, First Session, the North Atlantic Treaty. Part 3, Private Witnesses. May 12, 13, 16, 17, and 18, 1949. iv, 449 pp.

The United States in the United Nations

[December 10–16]

General Assembly

The fourth regular session of the General Assembly ended December 10. United States representative, John Sherman Cooper, in a closing statement, cited the remarkable degree of unity achieved at this session. The demonstration that 53 nations are united on the essentials of peace, he said, "gives us hope and faith that fifty-nine nations may become united. . . . I look forward to the day when we can duplicate in the political field the unanimity sometimes we achieve on economic and social problems."

Among the Assembly's final decisions were approval of a plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem, the appointment of Assistant Secretary General Adrianus Pelt as United Nations Commissioner for Libya, and approval of the U. N. budget of $49,641,773, including $8,000,000 for Jerusalem.

Jerusalem

On December 9, the General Assembly approved the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee resolution calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum* administered by the United Nations through the Trusteeship Council and asking the Council to proceed with the preparation and implementation of a statute for Jerusalem. The vote was 38 to 14 with 7 abstentions, the United States being among those opposing the plan. The decision followed rejection of a last-minute proposal, which was supported by the United States, to adjourn debate on Jerusalem during the present session and to instruct the Secretary-General to consult with members on the time and place of a special session to consider this matter further.

The Trusteeship Council has since decided to resume work immediately on this problem. United States representative, Francis B. Sayre told the Council at its meeting on December 13 that the United States would cooperate "in the most loyal way possible" in the difficult task of trying to carry out the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution. He preferred, however, that discussion by the Trusteeship Council be delayed until January when Argentina, as a new member of the Council, could join in the deliberations and other members would have had an opportunity to consider the problem. The Council agreed to grant the requests of Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and to invite Argentina, to participate in these discussions without vote.

Somaliland

The Trusteeship Council, on December 9, established a six-member committee to draft a trusteeship agreement for Somaliland, which would take into account any draft that Italy might care to submit. Three nonadministering and three administering members were elected to the committee—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Philippines, Iraq, and the Dominican Republic. At its first meeting on December 13, the Committee agreed to begin its work on January 9 in Geneva.

Indonesia

In the Security Council, on December 13, Soviet vetoes prevented adoption of a Canadian-sponsored resolution on Indonesia congratulating the parties to the recent round-table conference at The Hague, welcoming the forthcoming establishment of the United States of Indonesia, and commending the United Nations Commission for Indonesia for its assistance. The defeated resolution, which was supported by 9 of the 11 Council members, further asked the Commission for Indonesia to continue to discharge the responsibilities assigned to it by the Security Council, and in particular to observe and assist in the implementation of the agreements reached at The Hague. Security Council President McNaughton deprecated the Soviet exercise of the veto and ruled that the Security Council resolution of last January 18 remained in full effect.

United States representative Ernest Gross, speaking in support of the Canadian resolution, held that the Hague settlement was a substantial contribution to the advancement of the purposes and principles of the Charter. He noted that the Soviet Union, in an incessant stream of opposition, had been trying desperately to hide the fact that an Indonesian-Netherlands agreement had been reached whereby the Indonesian people will be free within a matter of days.

Social Commission

The Economic and Social Council's 18-member Social Commission held its fifth session at Lake Success December 5–16.

Children's Needs.—The Commission had before it an interim report of a study on the continuing needs of children prepared by the Secretary-General's Committee on administrative coordination. This study was prompted by a United States proposal at the Executive Board meeting of the International Children's Emergency Fund in Paris in 1949, looking forward to the ultimate dissolution of the Children's Fund, an emergency organization. The Commission was not able to take conclusive action on the interim report because of the absence of specific data. The Commission, therefore, requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate specialized agencies, to develop a report for the consideration of the sixth session of the Social Commission along the following lines: Types and activities that would appear to be appropriate for handling by international agencies on a continuing basis; ways in which the United Nations and specialized agencies now are coordinating planning and activities for children and the extent to which improvement in joint planning and action are needed; organizational arrangements essential to future international action for children. The United States representative in speaking of the interim report and the resolution adopted by the Social Commission declared that this government is aware of the increasing importance of the needs of children that can be realistically met within the United Nations structure. He stated that this government was convinced that the postwar emergency for which the Children's Fund was created is coming to a close, but that some form of long-range planning for children was required. He indicated that his government wished the most careful analysis of these problems so that the fifth session of the General Assembly would have sufficient facts in hand to make a considered decision on the future United Nations programs for children.

Food and Agriculture Organization Conference

About three hundred and fifty delegates from fifty-eight participating countries attended the fifth annual conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization in Washington November 21–December 6. Though many topics were discussed, the major decisions concerned the admission of new members, the selection of a permanent site for the headquarters of the Organization, its role in the United Nations program of technical assistance, and proposals for dealing with the world problem of food surpluses and scarcities.

Five new members—Indonesia, Israel, Korea, Afghanistan, and Sweden—were admitted to the Organization, bringing the total membership to sixty-three. After spirited debate, a decision was reached to establish the permanent headquarters in Rome. The argument for a European location most frequently presented was the possible savings in operation costs to be anticipated in a soft currency country.

Unanimous approval was given the plan for participation in the United Nations program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, under which the Food and Agriculture Organization is to receive 29 percent of the funds available to the United Nations for this purpose.

Turning to discussion of the problem of food surpluses and scarcities, the Conference considered a plan devised by a committee of experts for the establishment of an International Commodities Clearing House. Since some of its features were inacceptable to most of the participating nations, the Conference established a special fourteen-nation committee under the Food and Agriculture Organization Council to consider the needs of deficit nations, to consider distribution schemes proposed by surplus nations, and to study general methods of surplus disposal. Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan pledged the wholehearted cooperation of the United States in the work of this new committee.

The United States representative agreed to accept 27.1 percent as the United States share in the cost of the Organization but asked for an understanding that an effort will be made to establish as soon as possible the previously agreed ceiling of 25 percent.

Caribbean Commission

The ninth session of the Caribbean Commission met at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States December 5–9 and was presided over by Ward M. Canaday, United States Co-Chairman of the Commission.

The Commission recommended that representatives of the Netherlands, United States, France, and Great Britain meet as soon as convenient to decide what part the Commission should play in initiating the development and execution of technical assistance in the area.

The four co-chairmen considered a working paper dealing with the negotiation of a joint four-power statement on the recommendations of the West Indian Conference (third session) and the objectives of the Commission. The Netherlands and United States Co-Chairmen were empowered to negotiate such a statement at St. Thomas. The French and British co-chairmen, although unwilling to sign a four-power statement at that time, indicated that their Governments might be ready to negotiate a joint declaration through diplomatic channels in the immediate future.

Five Years of Progress in International Civil Aviation

Statement of K. N. E. Bradfield
Vice President of the Council[1]

Exactly 5 years ago today the representatives of more than 50 nations, gathered together at Chicago, signed a document formally known as the Convention on International Civil Aviation, and familiarly known to the aviation world as the Chicago Convention. This document was drawn up as the final result of an international meeting convened by the United States in November 1944.

At the time of this meeting, the world was close to the end of the greatest war in mankind's history, a war fought with all the weapons and ingenuity which modern science could devise, a war in which, for the first time, air transportation became important in the conveying of men and materials. The Chicago conference was designed to help aviation continue as a major means of international transportation after peace was declared. To achieve such an end the cooperation of the world's nations and of the world's technicians, working toward a common end, was necessary.

Out of the Chicago Convention was to come the International Civil Aviation Organization, an international body which is also a specialized agency of the United Nations. ICAO's aims are best given in the preamble to the Chicago Convention: to develop international civil aviation so that it may help to create friendship and understanding among nations and peoples of the world; to avoid friction and to promote that cooperation between the peoples upon which the peace of the world depends; to promote the orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world so as to meet the needs of the peoples for safe, regular, efficient, and economic air transport; to prevent the economic waste caused by unreasonable competition; to promote safety in flight.

It is obvious that ICAO can not realize its aims to the full unless and until it receives the support of the world as a whole. At the present time, although 55 nations are members of ICAO, nations whose airlines operate more than 90 percent of all international civil air transportation, a number of nations are still absent from the membership list, one of these being the U.S.S.R. Subject to the conditions laid down in the Chicago Convention, they are one and all welcome to become members of the organization, providing only that they agree to adhere to the principles of the Convention and to accept the corresponding responsibilities.

The work which ICAO carries out falls into three general categories: air navigation (in particular, the safety and regularity of international flight); the economic aspects of transportation by air; and international air law. It is fitting that on this occasion we take stock of the work of ICAO in each of these fields.

First, air navigation. Until now, the most important work of ICAO has been the creation of international standards and recommended practices to unify the technical aspects of civil aviation on a world-wide scale. These ICAO standards and recommended practices are designed to establish uniform and adequate procedures and facilities so that aircraft operations on international routes will be carried out in such a way as

[1] Made on Dec. 7, 1949, in the absence of Edward Warner, President of the Council, on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Convention on International Civil Aviation. Released to the press by ICAO in Montreal on Dec. 7, 1949.

to insure safe, regular, and efficient transportation.

Up until now, nine sets of international standards and recommended practices dealing with technical subjects have been approved and produced as annexes to the Chicago Convention. They cover such widely separated fields as aeronautical maps and charts, licenses for aircrew personnel, airworthiness of aircraft, rules of the air, aeronautical telecommunications, and the standardization of dimensional units used in air-ground communication. Some of these annexes are substantially complete. Others are at present little more than skeletons upon which ICAO must and will eventually build a complete structure.

Some examples of agreements that have been reached indicate the widely varied nature of the subjects dealt with—the qualifications and experience necessary for aircrew licenses, the amount of fuel that an aircraft must carry over and above that calculated to be necessary for a flight to allow for possible emergency and unforeseen contingency, standard symbols to be used on aeronautical maps and charts, codes for the reporting of meteorological conditions.

For the most part, the member nations are implementing these standards and recommended practices with commendable speed. However, in certain cases one or another nation has found it impossible to comply with some accepted standard. In such cases, the nation concerned must file notice of its deviation from the standard with ICAO which correspondingly informs all member states. Fortunately, these deviations are exceptions rather than the rule.

ICAO has held a world-wide series of regional air navigation meetings designed to survey existing air-navigation facilities and services, to decide whether these were or were not adequate for international air safety and to recommend necessary improvements and additions. By their very nature these regional meetings were able to get down to the individual local problems which must be solved if international air services are to be operated safely and regularly. As a result of these meetings we have found that, in some of these cases, there is a need for air navigation facilities which cannot be provided by the nations in whose territories they would normally be located—cannot be provided because the nations involved are not able to provide funds for their construction and maintenance or personnel for their operation.

A remedy for such a situation has been found through ICAO joint-support procedures as provided for in the Chicago Convention. Here ICAO takes the initiative in making the necessary facilities and services available. Working with member nations whose civil aircraft make use of these specific facilities, or who otherwise have an interest in their use, agreements are eventually reached for the financing and operation of these facilities. Four important agreements of such a character are in effect at the present time. One provides for the maintenance of 10 floating ocean stations in the North Atlantic, stations manned by the ships of 6 nations and assisted financially by 5 others. These ocean stations provide essential weather reports for inclusion in the North Atlantic weather network. They serve as air navigation check and relay points for aircraft flying across the Atlantic and, when necessary, perform search and rescue duties. Two other agreements provide for the financing of a LORAN (long range radio navigation aid) station in Iceland and of meteorological and communications facilities in that country. The fourth agreement, with the government of Denmark, makes provision for the financing of weather stations in Greenland and of a LORAN station at Skuvanes in the Faroe Islands. In each case, costs are borne by a group of nations, with ICAO administering the scheme and providing technical assistance where required.

Until now, the joint-support program has been confined to projects associated with the North Atlantic area. However, regional air navigation meetings have provided us with information as to the international requirements for air navigation facilities in the other regions of the world and the more important deficiencies therein are now receiving a methodical consideration which must of necessity take time.

In the economic field, the first major effort was an attempt to draw up a multilateral agreement to govern the exchange of commercial air rights. At present, these commercial air rights—the right of the airlines of one nation to fly to the airports of another, for example—are exchanged by a process of bilateral agreement. These bilateral pacts are at the economic basis of international air transportation, and it is ICAO's hope that the multitude will be replaced by one multilateral agreement acceptable to all members. For several years, ICAO has worked toward this end but so far the best that has been achieved is the clarification and embodiment of certain basic principles in the majority of the bilateral agreements now in effect.

In another economic field some achievements have been reported. ICAO has devoted its attention to the multiplicity of restrictions, which hinders the free flow of traffic across international borders. We have adopted a set of international standards on the facilitation of air transport which we believe is a major step toward the elimination of much of the time-consuming formalities and of the amount of documentation required each time passengers or freight are carried by air from one country to another. Important among the provisions are standardized forms for passengers, crew and cargo manifests, embarkation and disembarkation cards, and baggage declarations, and a limit is placed on the number of such forms which

any state may require. It is significant that these standards and recommendations have been accepted so readily by the International Air Transport Association, the organization of international airline operators which has worked so closely with ICAO in this and in many other fields.

ICAO is cooperating closely with the Universal Postal Union on the questions of the cost and charges related to the transportation of airmail, an all-important element in the sound and economic operation of airlines. We are studying such subjects as burdensome insurance and multiple taxation of international airlines and charges for the use of air-navigation facilities.

In the broad field of air transportation, ICAO has interest and responsibilities in regard to the economic problems of the international airlines and is well aware that international air transportation depends for its success upon economic operation and upon economic health. So far, the accomplishments toward agreement in the economic field have not been so extensive as that in the technical field, but we hope to see agreement extended rapidly in the years immediately ahead, and we realize that there is a great deal yet to be done.

Finally, in the legal field, I should like to point to one outstanding achievement—the adoption and opening for signature of the Convention on International Recognition of Rights in Aircraft. As of this date, 24 nations have signed this agreement which provides, among other things, for the recognition by all contracting states of the rights in aircraft constituted in any country that is party to the Convention and is designed to afford international airline operators the largest possible measure of assistance in arranging and financing aircraft purchases. The Convention provides the best possible security for those who finance or purchase aircraft and spare parts, whether the assets involved are within or outside the state of registry of the aircraft. This international convention, like all others, requires ratification by the states which have signed it, and it will come into operation after two or more nations have ratified. One ratification, that of the United States, has been received. Others may be expected after other nations have been able to amend their domestic legislation which of necessity requires some time.

I believe that the men who 5 years ago today signed the International Convention on Civil Aviation can now regard the fruits of their work with growing satisfaction. The first 5 years have seen the building of a secure foundation—always a slow process if it is done well. It has been necessary during that time to recruit an international secretariat and to gain the necessary experience in the operation of the Organization as a whole. We have today a highly qualified Secretariat; thanks to the Canadian Government we are housed in the new and excellent International Aviation Building specially erected for the purpose in Montreal; we have gained much experience in the operation of our organization. ICAO now looks forward to the next 5 years with confidence with the knowledge that there is much work that must be done and with the will to do it.

The Office of High Commissioner for Refugees

by George L. Warren

The General Assembly on December 3, 1949, adopted a resolution establishing as of January 1, 1951, the Office of High Commissioner for Refugees to provide the service of protection for refugees and stateless persons after the International Refugee Organization (IRO) relinquishes this service when its activities are terminated. This action was taken pursuant to previous discussion of the problem at the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) held in Geneva, July–August 1949.

Ecosoc had recommended that the General Assembly should decide the functions and organizational arrangements within the framework of the United Nations necessary for the protection of refugees until such time as they have acquired normal civil status by becoming citizens of their countries of residence. Ecosoc had also requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare a plan for such organization within the framework of the United Nations, taking into account the alternative of establishing a High Commissioner's office under the control of the United Nations or a service within the United Nations Secretariat. The Secretary-General was also requested to report on the nature and extent of the functions of protection to be performed and on ways and means by which states not members of the United Nations might be brought into association with the work of the United Nations for refugees and stateless persons.

The General Assembly had before it for con-

sideration not only the resolution of Ecosoc and the report of the Secretary-General, referred to, but also a memorandum addressed to it by the General Council of the IRO adopted on October 20, 1949, advising the General Assembly that the organization would continue its operations for an extended period of 9 months after June 30, 1950, in order to complete its task and recommending that the service of protection of refugees and stateless persons be initiated no later than January 1, 1951, under the auspices of the United Nations.

In the discussion in the Third Committee prior to the action by the General Assembly there was general support of the plan to establish the Office of High Commissioner to continue the service of protection after the termination of the IRO. Only the representatives of the countries of origin of the refugees in Eastern Europe were in opposition to the plan. They argued persistently that all refugees should be returned to their home countries.

Such a service was provided in the first instance under the auspices of the League of Nations and had been continued under the IRO and was envisaged as necessary under the United Nations for such time as the General Assembly might later determine. The General Assembly resolution provided that the Office of High Commissioner should be located in Geneva and that the arrangements for the Office should be reviewed not later than at the eighth regular session of the General Assembly with a view to determining whether the Office should be continued beyond December 31, 1953.

Three items of organization and function preoccupied the attention of the General Assembly before final action was taken. First, identification of the persons who were to become the concern of the High Commissioner's Office; second, the election of the High Commissioner by the General Assembly or his appointment by the Secretary-General; and third, the functions to be assigned to the Office with respect to the administration of material assistance to refugees. With respect to the persons who were to become the concern of the High Commissioner's Office, the discussion in the first instance clarified the Assembly's decision that the High Commissioner was not to have competence with respect to internal refugee situations such as those in Pakistan, India, Greece, and China in which no question of protection of refugees under international auspicies arises. These internal refugee situations have been treated unilaterally by the governments most immediately concerned which, although burdened with heavy relief responsibilities, have not appealed for international assistance. Otherwise, the persons involved enjoy the complete sympathy, support, and protection of their home governments and have a normal civil status.

Discussion of the persons who are to become the concern of the Office also centered on whether the High Commissioner should be given broad discretion in this matter or whether the General Assembly should in each instance decide specifically to what categories of refugees protection was to be accorded. The provision finally included in the annex of the resolution adopted is as follows:

> 3. Persons falling under the competence of the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees should be, for the time being, refugees and displaced persons defined in annex I of the constitution of the IRO and, thereafter, such persons as the General Assembly may from time to time determine, including any persons brought under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner's Office under the terms of international conventions or agreements approved by the General Assembly.

Under this provision, the General Assembly is to determine for which categories of refugees it will accept responsibility.

The differences of view with respect to the election or appointment of the High Commissioner were finally resolved by majority decision that the General Assembly should elect him. The United States delegation opposed this decision on administrative considerations. Under article 97 of the Charter, the Secretary-General is declared to be the chief administrative officer of the United Nations. Under the election of the High Commissioner it was argued that the Secretary-General would tend to be cut off from the work of the High Commissioner and that proper integration of the efforts of the Secretariat and the High Commissioner would not be achieved.

The question of whether the High Commissioner should administer material assistance was debated vigorously. On the one side, it was maintained that the period of large-scale operations on behalf of refugees under the auspices of the United Nations would be concluded upon the termination of the IRO and that thereafter the numbers of refugees requiring assistance, who might remain on the territory of any single country, would not constitute a burden on the government of that country of such proportions as to require continuing international assistance over a period of years. The opponents of this view, chiefly the representatives of the Western European countries, argued that the concluding operations of the IRO would not resolve completely the problems of material assistance presented by refugees and that the functions of protection and material assistance were so inextricably bound together that it would prove impracticable to establish the function of protection solely under the auspices of the United Nations.

It was argued further that although no appeal to the General Assembly for international funds for assistance was envisaged in the present resolution, the High Commissioner should be authorized to allocate to governmental or voluntary agencies such funds as he might receive from governments or private sources for material assistance.

Those who opposed such authority, chiefly the United States delegation, argued that the High Commissioner might easily become the center of a continuing succession of appeals for funds in situations which the General Assembly might not, after consideration, consider its legitimate responsibility.

These conflicting points of view were eventually satisfied by the inclusion of a provision in the assistance clause of the resolution that the High Commissioner should not appeal to governments or make a general appeal to nongovernmental sources for funds for material assistance except with the prior approval of the General Assembly. In this manner, the General Assembly will decide in each situation arising whether an appeal to governments for funds is justified and should be made. Inherent in such a decision in the first instance is the General Assembly acceptance of responsibility for the refugees requiring assistance.

Although implicit in the resolution as a whole, a specific provision was included in the final text that only the administrative expenses of the Office were to be included in the general budget of the United Nations. The Secretary-General presented an estimate to the Assembly based on the discussion on the resolution that such administrative expenditures for the calendar year 1951 would approximate $400,000. He was requested in the resolution to prepare in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions a draft budget for the operation in 1951 of the High Commissioner's Office.

In a similar manner Ecosoc was requested at its eleventh session to prepare a draft resolution embodying provisions for the functioning of the High Commissioner's Office for submission to the General Assembly for consideration at its fifth regular session. Ecosoc was also requested to make such recommendations as the Council may deem appropriate concerning additional categories of refugees and stateless persons which should be covered by the Office.

The annex to the resolution cited various functions by which the protection of refugees is to be insured by the High Commissioner, such as (a) promoting the conclusion and ratification of international conventions, supervising the application of the provisions of such conventions and proposing any necessary amendments thereto; (b) promoting through special agreements with governments the execution of any methods calculated to improve the situation of refugees and to reduce the number of refugees requiring protection; (c) assisting governments and private organizations in their efforts to promote voluntary repatriation of refugees or their assimilation within new national communities; and (d) facilitating the coordination of the efforts of voluntary agencies concerned with the welfare of refugees.

The High Commissioner is to be elected by the General Assembly at its fifth session for a term of 3 years from January 1, 1951, and is authorized to appoint a deputy high commissioner of a different nationality than his own for a similar term. He will have a small staff to assist him.

The resolution adopted also provided that the High Commissioner might appoint representatives in any country, recognizing the need of such representatives subject to the approval of the government of that country.

U.N. Urges Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy

U.N. doc. A/1134
Resolution adopted Nov. 23, 1949

The General Assembly,

RECALLING its resolutions 1 (I) of 24 January 1946, 41 (I) of 14 December 1946 and 191 (III) of 4 November 1948,

AWARE that atomic energy, if used for peace, will lead to the increase of human welfare, but if used for war may bring about the destruction of civilization,

ANXIOUS to free humanity from the dangers which will continue to exist as long as States retain under their individual control the development and operation of atomic energy facilities,

CONVINCED that an international co-operative effort can avoid these dangers and can hasten the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy for the benefit of all peoples,

1. *Urges* all nations to join in such a co-operative development and use of atomic energy for peaceful ends;

2. *Calls upon* Governments to do everything in their power to make possible, by the acceptance of effective international control, the effective prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons;

3. *Requests* the permanent members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to continue their consultations, to explore all possible avenues and examine all concrete suggestions with a view to determining whether they might lead to an agreement securing the basic objectives of the General Assembly in this question, and to keep the Atomic Energy Commission and the General Assembly informed of their progress;

4. *Recommends* that all nations, in the use of their rights of sovereignty, join in mutual agreement to limit the individual exercise of those rights in the control of atomic energy to the extent required, in the light of the foregoing considerations, for the promotion of world security and peace, and recommends that all nations agree to exercise such rights jointly.

Propaganda: A Conscious Weapon of Diplomacy

by George V. Allen
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs[1]

The American public is largely unaware of an important change which has been taking place during the past 15 years in the conduct of foreign relations. Every major foreign office in the world, including the Department of State, is doing things today which it would have considered startling, if not improper, even 10 years ago.

Until recent years, international relations between peoples were conducted by relatively few officials especially selected to live abroad for the purpose of representing one government to another. These officials, called diplomats, were forced by custom and precedent to deal only with an equally limited group of officials in the foreign office of the receiving country. Although diplomats were permitted to establish social contacts with the people among whom they lived, they were not expected to deal on political matters with anyone except the foreign office. Although I do not suggest that this restriction, built up through generations of experience, has been totally discarded today, some rather surprising new methods in conducting foreign relations are being developed, and one wonders where the trend will lead.

Change From Traditional Diplomacy

In January of 1949, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were in a very poor state. The Western zones of Berlin were under strict blockade, and the United States Air Force, aided by the Air Force of Great Britain, had to fly in supplies for 2 million people through the storms of winter. At the same time, counterblockade measures which had been imposed against the Soviet zone of Germany were hurting the Soviets, and the propaganda effect on Germany and all of Europe of the generally unexpected strength and success of the air lift was beginning to run steadily against the U.S.S.R.

Stalin wanted to get off the hook. He had imposed the blockade in the confident expectation that we would be forced out of Berlin. When he did not succeed by January 1949, he was ready to talk. Under traditional diplomacy, he should have telegraphed his Ambassador in Washington to approach the Department of State, or he might have called to the Kremlin our Ambassador in Moscow, Gen. Bedell Smith, and informed him in the greatest secrecy that he believed the difficulties over Berlin could be solved. Ambassador Smith would have hurried to the American Embassy and drafted an urgent telegram which would have been sent off to Washington in top secret code. The next morning the Secretary of State would have taken it to the White House and laid it before the President.

Neither of the foregoing methods was followed. Instead, Stalin sent a cable to an American newspaper correspondent in Paris, answering certain questions the correspondent had addressed to him and which he found it convenient to answer. Stalin's answers added up to a pretty good indication that his government was ready to begin discussions.

The next morning Stalin's message was in the Department and on President Truman's desk at the White House, but not in the form of a secret diplomatic cable. It was in an eight-column streamer on the front page of every American newspaper and was being proclaimed simultaneously by every radio station and newspaper

[1] An address delivered at Duke University at Durham, N. C., on Dec. 10, 1949, and released to the press on the same date. Mr. Allen is Ambassador Designate to Yugoslavia.

throughout the world. Secretary Acheson and President Truman got the message all right—at the same moment as everyone else among 2 billion inhabitants of the globe who could read or listen.

The method Stalin used in conducting his foreign relations in this instance was by no means unprecedented. Woodrow Wilson proposed peace terms to the German people in 1918 through a speech to Congress, containing the famous 14 points or conditions under which we would end the First World War. He could have proposed them to the German Government through Swiss or other neutral diplomatic sources. The Duke of Wellington doubtless addressed messages to Napoleon through the press of his day, and Cyrus the Great probably started bazaar rumors for his purposes.

Propaganda Methods

But, for better or worse, propaganda as a conscious weapon of diplomacy has increased tremendously during recent years. The technical development of mass communications, by which the greater part of mankind can be reached almost simultaneously by press or radio and the increased numbers of people who can read or understand may prove to have made this new tool as important to diplomacy as the invention of gunpowder was to military science.

I am not particularly concerned with whether either gunpowder or propaganda have benefited or harmed mankind. I merely emphasize, at this point, that propaganda on an immense scale is here to stay. We Americans must become informed and adept in its use, defensively and offensively, or we may find ourselves as archaic as the belted knight who refused to take gunpowder seriously 500 years ago.

Let us consider another example of the use of propaganda in modern diplomacy. Last year, a highly significant election took place in Italy. The issue was whether communism would continue its march into Western Europe or whether democratic forces could turn the tide. Radio Moscow and all the agents of communism outside and within Italy went to work with presses and loud speakers to convince the Italian voters that communism offered the panacea for all their woes. The United States and other democracies did not stand idle.

By press, motion picture, and radio we tried our level best, through open propaganda methods, to persuade the Italian voter that democracy, although offering no immediate paradise, was a surer method of progress. The Voice of America transmitted short-wave radio programs in the Italian language every day, beamed toward the people of Italy, extoling the advantages of democracy. Americans of Italian origin were encouraged to write to their relatives in Italy, counseling them to vote democratic. We arranged for American newsreels, showing the American way of life and American aid to Italy, to be shown in every Italian theater for several weeks prior to election day.

At present, the State Department sends out programs over the Voice of America in 22 languages every day, beamed to almost every corner of the world. It is true that we still write diplomatic notes to foreign governments, but we also try our utmost to reach directly into as many foreign homes as we can all over the globe. We talk directly to foreign peoples as well as to their governments. And every other major power is doing the same thing.

Our information, or propaganda, activity is by no means directed solely at peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The Department now maintains 85 information libraries in the leading capitals and important cities throughout the world. These libraries that contain American books and periodicals are usually not located in our Embassies but in separate buildings on busy streets where they will attract the largest numbers of individual foreigners.

In Mexico City, for example, our famous Benjamin Franklin Library is a conspicuous building on one of the principal thoroughfares. We encourage every Mexican passerby to come in off the street and read what we have to offer. And mind you, the Mexican Government does not ask us to clear with it what we show the Mexican citizen. We are trying hard to reach Mexicans, and Englishmen, and Iranians, and Hottentots, direct, without having to channel our activities through their governments. We are succeeding in this effort to deal more and more directly with the peoples themselves of other nations.

The Mexican Foreign Minister assurred me recently that the United States Information Library in Mexico was the finest activity the United States could possibly carry on in his country. So we are not cramming our propaganda down their throats.

We also show American documentary films abroad and sometimes take projectors into the mountain valleys of Central America, Afghanistan, and Ceylon to show movies to anyone who wishes to attend our presentation. We demonstrate democracy in action through scenes of American life.

All this activity is a far cry from the few short years ago when diplomats dealt almost exclusively with foreign offices. Some observers of international affairs, and not alone the gentlemen of the old school, are still shocked by this new activity. Some think the government is in a field that should be left to private industry. Others feel that this direct approach constitutes interference by one country in the internal affairs of another and will come to no good.

Potentials of Democratic Approach

After 2 years of experience in this new method of conducting foreign relations, I have reached a few general conclusions. I am convinced that unless the United States continues to utilize this new method, we shall be left at the post by other countries which are becoming skilled in the use of mass media. New methods in government, like new discoveries in science, can be used for good or ill. Direct radio contact with foreign individuals may be taken advantage of to proclaim falsehood as well as truth. But the potentialities of the direct approach are very great in both directions, and we must understand and perfect the techniques to protect and advance our interests. Furthermore, I see no need for the United States to become concerned over a contest in the mass propagation of ideas. We have the best commodity, democracy, to sell, and we are ahead of the world in physical facilities and know-how in mass communications. Our chief problem is to find the proper balance between government and private industry in the field.

I am inclined to think, moreover, that the direct approach in diplomacy will prove, on balance, to be a good development. It is the very opposite to secret diplomacy. If propaganda is deceptive, the glare of world publicity will generally find it out. Lincoln's confidence in the people's wisdom is still apt. Moreover, public debate, openly and honestly conducted, is not interference, in my judgment.

The direct approach, where there is no censorship, is the democratic approach. The Department of State assists friendly foreign governments in presenting their case direct to the American people, and we do not even try to jam unfriendly programs off the air waves.

As Congressman Daniel J. Flood said recently, "If Congress made it illegal for people in this country to listen to foreign broadcasts, 150 million Americans would be listening to them tomorrow, and I'd be one of them." As long as information is free in this country, we need have no fear for our institutions. No dictator ever existed without censorship and no democracy with it. A police state is desperately afraid for its citizens to read and hear directly what foreign governments have to say. Hence the frantic jamming of the Voice of America by the Soviet Union.

I am convinced that eventually, world government of some sort will be accomplished, but it can be brought about only through the assistance of the direct approach to peoples. Propaganda, when based on truth, can be an unequalled force for good.

As Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr points out, the peoples of the world must develop a much greater sense of world community before any form of international political structure can be developed strong enough to keep the peace. To develop a world community, peoples must establish more direct contacts with each other across international boundaries. UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, is making significant progress in this direction.

In the efforts now being made by governments to reach foreign peoples direct, we may be witnessing an important movement toward the establishment of a world community. At any rate, the American Government will do everything it can to hasten the time when peoples speak directly to peoples in a thousand tongues calling for peace.

VOA Highlights Differences Between Soviet International and Internal Propaganda

[*Released to the press December 3*]

The Voice of America today broadcast to Russia the recorded voice of Andrei Vyshinsky to correct *Pravda's* report of what the Soviet Foreign Minister told the United Nations about Soviet atomic developments.

The Voice recording was inserted in a commentary exemplifying differences between the international and internal propaganda of the Soviet Union. The recording was an excerpt from a speech by Mr. Vyshinsky to the Special Political Committee on the United Nations General Assembly on November 10. It said:

"We use atomic energy in the fulfillment of our economic plans, in the interests of our economy. We are blasting mountains, we are changing the flow of rivers, we are irrigating deserts, we are laying ever new life lines, stamping out death and decay in such areas in which the human foot seldom treads."

Moscow's *Pravda*, central organ of the Soviet Communist Party, reported Mr. Vyshinsky's speech in its issue of November 17 as follows:

"We use atomic energy in the fulfillment of our

economic plans. We will set atomic energy to the performance of the great tasks of peaceful reconstruction. We want to apply atomic energy to blasting mountains, changing the flow of rivers, irrigating deserts, laying ever new life lines in such areas in which the human foot seldom treads."

The Voice of America commentary noted the discrepancies between the present tense used by Mr. Vyshinsky and the future tense used by *Pravda* and attributed the differences to the fact that the Foreign Minister was speaking for the benefit of foreign consumption while the *Pravda* article was directed to the Russian people.

The commentary said the usual practice of printing Mr. Vyshinsky's speeches in the Soviet press with the utmost precision was not followed in this instance—

"since in the Soviet Union, and especially in the regions where these miracles are supposed to have occurred, it would hardly be possible to find a single person who would believe in them."

The Voice of America commentary contrasted the secrecy surrounding Soviet atomic developments with the abundance of available information concerning what is being done in the United States for the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It also pointed out that radioactive isotopes, which are widely used in medicines, have been sent regularly to the laboratories of 22 countries for the last 2 years.

VOA To Broadcast in Ukrainian and Turkish Languages

The Department of State announced on December 8 plans for the inauguration, beginning December 12, of 30-minute daily broadcasts by the Voice of America in the Ukrainian language.

The program will consist of United States and world news, political commentaries, and features about American life. It will supplement the present broadcasts of the Voice of America to the Soviet Union in the Russian language which began in February of 1947.

The new program will be broadcast in the Eastern Ukrainian dialect and will be directed to the Ukraine. It will be broadcast from 1:30 to 2 p.m., e.s.t. (9:30 to 10 p.m. local listening time). The new program will be carried by 16 short-wave transmitters in the United States and will be relayed by four short-wave transmitters which the Voice of America leases from the British Broadcasting Corporation and by three short-wave and one medium-wave transmitters at the American relay base in Munich. The program also will be rebroadcast daily on medium wave from Munich at a later time.

The new broadcast series will increase to 21 the languages utilized by the Department of State's International Broadcasting Division in its worldwide radio service.

On December 9, the Department of State announced the inauguration of a daily Turkish language broadcast by the Voice of America, effective Monday, December 19. This will bring the languages in which the Voice broadcasts to a total of 22.

The initial broadcast will include a message from President Truman and a recorded statement in Turkish by the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Feridun C. Erkin. It will also contain statements by Ambassador George V. Allen, former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and Edwin C. Wilson, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, in their own voices, followed by Turkish translations.

According to Foy D. Kohler, Chief of the Department's International Broadcasting Division, the daily 30-minute Turkish program will include news, commentaries, music and features about the United States and Turkish-American relations. It will be broadcast from 12:15 to 12:45 p. m. e.s.t. (7:15 to 7:45 p. m. Turkish time) by four short-wave transmitters in the United States and relayed by one transmitter at the American relay base in Munich and by three transmitters leased by the Voice of America from the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Turkish will become the second language to be utilized by the Voice of America in its broadcasts to the Near East, Persian programs having been inaugurated last March 21.

U.S. Knows of No Uranium Shipped to Soviets Under Lend-Lease

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press December 7*]

The Department of State was not involved in the alleged shipments of uranium or uranium compounds to the U.S.S.R., since the actual operations of lend-lease were not within the Department's jurisdiction before it absorbed the remnants and the files of the Foreign Economic Administration, which included lend-lease, in the fall of 1945.

A thorough search of these files reveals various Soviet requests for uranium and uranium compounds, as well as for heavy water. These files also reveal that in March 1943, two export licenses were granted, one for 200 pounds of urano-uranic oxide and 220 pounds of uranium nitrate and the

other for 500 pounds of urano-uranic oxide and 500 pounds of uranium nitrate. In April 1943, an export license for 25 pounds of uranium metal and in November 1943, for 1,000 grams of heavy water were granted by the Board of Economic Warfare, which at that time was responsible for licensing United States exports.

The lend-lease records now held by the Department show that none of these export licenses were permitted without approval of the Manhattan Engineering District.

These records give no indication as to whether or not any shipments were actually made.

This information was given in the summer of 1948 to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and also to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, through the Atomic Energy Commission. The same information has been made available to the FBI.

The Department has no knowledge that any Departmental documents, secret or otherwise, were made available to the Soviet Government without proper authorization, as alleged by Mr. Jordan.

U.S. Protests Chinese Attack on American Vessel

[*Released to the press December 3*]

Text of note delivered to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, George Yeh, at Hong Kong, December 2, 1949, by Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, Robert C. Strong, on instruction of the Secretary of State:

The American Embassy presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to express the serious concern of the United States Government with regard to the attack made on the American flagship *Sir John Franklin*, by a Chinese naval vessel on November 28 in the Yangtze River approaches.

It is the understanding of the United States Government, as reported by the master of the *Sir John Franklin*, that in reply to Chinese naval vessel's signal to stop the master signalled as follows:

"Unable to anchor here due to deep draft. Please board me underway or accompany me to deep water at Foo Ching Buoy."

The master of the *Sir John Franklin* reported that without making any further signal the Chinese naval vessel opened fire, whereupon the master decided to proceed immediately at full speed since to have anchored as instructed would have resulted in the ship's going aground at low tide. Shortly thereafter a second Chinese naval vessel, which was anchored nearby, weighed anchor, and pursued the *Sir John Franklin* maintaining an almost continuous barrage of fire. In his statement, the master said that the *Sir John Franklin* sustained damage from several 3-inch shells and numerous rounds of 40mm shells; that one shell, apparently aimed at the bridge, struck an object from which it ricocheted into an officer's vacant quarters and there exploded. The master has expressed his belief that this shell would have killed or injured everyone on the bridge had it not been deflected. Some time later having reached sufficiently deep water, the master stated, the *Sir John Franklin's* engines were stopped at a point approximately 13 miles from Kiutoan Spit Buoy and preparations were made to anchor. The pursuing naval vessel was so informed by signals but made no reply and continued firing. The master of the *Sir John Franklin*, therefore, again ordered his vessel to proceed at full speed.

As the Chinese Government was informed by the Embassy's note of June 29, 1949, in the absence of a declaration and maintenance of an effective blockade the United States Government cannot admit to the legality of action on the part of the Chinese Government in declaring certain Chinese ports and territorial waters adjacent thereto, not actually under control of the Chinese Government closed to foreign vessels. The action of the Chinese naval vessel in indiscriminately and wantonly firing on an American flagship and thus endangering American lives was unjustifiable and contrary to the law and practice of nations. Accordingly the United States Government holds the Chinese Nationalist Government fully responsible for any losses sustained by American nationals as a result of these reckless acts.

Further, the Government of the United States is constrained to point out to the Chinese Nationalist Government the seriousness with which it views this attack upon American life and property. It is therefore requested that the Chinese Nationalist Government immediately issue such orders as will preclude the possibility of any future incident of this nature.

The Ministry's early reply will be appreciated.

Haiti Inaugurates Bicentennial; Names Street for President Truman

[*Released to the press December 8*]

Various official ceremonies are being held today at Port-au-Prince, Haiti to inaugurate the Bicentennial Exposition commemorating the founding of that city. The President of Haiti, Dumarsais Estimé, is presiding with ranking Haitian

Government officials present, together with representatives of foreign governments, including the United States Ambassador, William E. DeCourcy.

President Estimé has named the principal boulevard of the Exposition grounds "Boulevard Harry S. Truman," and President Truman has sent the following message to President Estimé, to be read and delivered by Ambassador DeCourcy during ceremonies at 3:30 p. m. inaugurating the Boulevard:

MR. PRESIDENT: I felicitate Your Excellency in the name of the people of the United States, and through you the Haitian people, upon the inauguration of this Exposition which commemorates the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Port-au-Prince. On an occasion so auspicious, Haiti can well look back with pride upon two centuries of history during which she won and has retained her independence as the second oldest republic of this hemisphere. While our country by some years antedates yours as an independent State, Port-au-Prince was a rich and well-known city a half-century before our own capital was built at Washington. In recalling these facts, Your Excellency, we recall likewise the many generous proofs throughout the years of Haitian solidarity with those democratic principles upon which are established the Constitutions of all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. In the eighteenth century, Haitian volunteers fought side by side with our revolutionary forebears at Yorktown and at Savannah. In the nineteenth century, assistance was given to General Bolivar by President Petion in the freeing of northern South America. In the twentieth century, Haiti has steadfastly supported the democracies during two World Wars. At international council tables Haiti speaks in behalf of peace and concord among nations. The citizens of the United States, mindful of the long-established and cordial cooperation between our peoples, desire for this capital city of your country many additional centuries of ever more rewarding life. It is in this spirit that I express my sincere gratitude for the honor you have shown me, which I accept as a symbol of the friendly feeling which the people of Haiti have for the people of the United States.

Haiti's Bicentennial Exposition has enjoyed international interest and support from the outset. Various countries, including the United States, will be represented at the Exposition with pavilions and exhibits. Participation by the United States Government was authorized by the United States Congress. According to present plans, February 12, 1950, is the date set by the Haitian Government for the formal opening of the international exhibits, including the United States pavilion.

Tariff Concessions With Haiti To Come Into Force

[*Released to the press December 7*]

The tariff concessions negotiated at Annecy, France, last summer between the United States and Haiti will become effective on January 1, 1950. Haiti is the first country, among the 10 new countries acceding to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which has taken the necessary action regarding the Annecy negotiations so that the concessions negotiated between it and the United States can become effective. The procedure for giving effect in the United States to the concessions made by this government to Haiti is by a Presidential proclamation, in accordance with the Trade Agreements Act under which the United States carried on its tariff negotiations at Annecy.

The principal concessions granted by the United States at Annecy in the negotiations with Haiti were duty reductions on vetivert oil, mahogany household wares, and footwear with upper vegetable fiber and soles of other material than rubber or leather. Existing rates of duty on alpargatas (rope-soled sandals) and on certain braided articles were bound, as was the duty-free status of lemongrass oil.

United States imports from Haiti in 1948 were valued at 19 million dollars of which approximately 3 million dollars represented products subject to duty and almost 16 million dollars duty-free. Haiti is the chief supplier of relatively few products to the United States. Consequently, the total value in 1948 of products imported from Haiti into the United States on which concessions were initially negotiated by the United States with Haiti amounted to only $1,875,000, or about 10 percent of total United States imports from Haiti in that year. However, Haiti is a secondary or important supplier of a number of products on which the United States has granted concessions to other countries, parties to the General Agreement at Geneva or Annecy, and benefits by reductions in duties and duty-free bindings made to these other countries on products which accounted for over 70 percent of the total United States imports from Haiti in 1948.

The principal concessions granted by Haiti in negotiation with the United States were bindings against increase of the moderate duties on a number of agricultural products including various meats and meat products, oat cereals, various fruits, dairy products, and certified seed potatoes. The duties on a number of machinery items were entirely eliminated and other types of machinery already free of duty were bound duty-free. Existing duty rates on still other types were bound against increase. Rates on automobiles valued at less than $1,800 c.i.f. Haiti and on parts were bound. There were other reductions and bindings on a variety of metals and metal manufactures,

medicinal and pharmaceutical preparations, and other products.

The value in 1947 of products exported from the United States to Haiti on which concessions were initially negotiated by Haiti with the United States amounted to $3,769,000 or 15 percent of total United States exports to Haiti in that year. In addition, concessions granted by Haiti to other countries will, when put into force, benefit some $1,800,000 worth of United States exports on the basis of 1947 statistics. Total United States exports to Haiti amounted to $25,214,000 in 1947.

The three steps necessary for bringing into force the concessions negotiated at Annecy are: (1) Agreement by two-thirds of the present contracting parties to the accession of each individual acceding government. Such consent has now been given by 22 out of the 23 contracting parties including the United States. (2) Acceptance of the Annecy agreement, and action accepting certain subsidiary documents modifying the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, by individual acceding governments. As of December 6 this had been done only by Haiti. (3) Notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by existing contracting parties of their readiness to apply the concessions which they negotiated at Annecy. As of December 6 this notification had been given only by the United States and Canada.

Concessions negotiated between the United States and other acceding governments will, in general, be given effect on the thirtieth day following the taking of the requisite action by the other acceding governments. Under the protocol the remaining acceding countries have until April 30, 1950, to take such action.

Supplementary Trade Agreement Proclamation With Cuba

The President, on November 30, 1949, issued a proclamation supplementing the Presidential proclamations of December 16, 1947 and January 1, 1948, carrying out the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the contemporaneous exclusive trade agreement with Cuba, respectively, which were concluded at Geneva in 1947.

The principal effect of the proclamation of November 30 is to make a few relatively unimportant upward adjustments in tariff rates on products listed below which were not made when the General Agreement and the exclusive trade agreement entered into force. These adjustments were not carried out then because of the provision in section 350 of the Tariff Act, as amended, which contained a limitation on the President's authority preventing him from increasing rates of duty on Cuban products by more than 50 percent of the rates applicable thereto on January 1, 1945. The Trade Agreements Act of 1949 modified this limitation.

The increases in rates apply principally to products, if any, imported from Cuba and result from the provision in the exclusive agreement with Cuba that, in the case of products which were not described in either part I or part II of schedule XX of the General Agreement (the schedule of United States concessions) and which were not imported into the United States in any of the calendar years 1937, 1939, 1944, and 1945, the margin of tariff preference accorded Cuba by the United States would be eliminated and the rates of duty applicable to any such products imported from Cuba would be the same as the most-favored-nation rates that are applicable to imports from other countries.[1] The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1949 contains additional authority permitting the President to proclaim rates applicable to Cuban products as high as the rates applicable to products imported from other countries.

The proclamation also, in a few cases, establishes higher most-favored-nation rates for some of the products involved, which could not have been proclaimed previously without increasing the margins of preference applicable to like Cuban products since the rates on such Cuban products could not be similarly increased. Under the provisions of the General Agreement, margins of preference may not be increased. In most of these cases, the rates of duty on these products had been reduced in bilateral trade agreements which were suspended at the time of entry into force of the General Agreement, but the products were not included in the General Agreement and would therefore have previously reverted to the pertinent statutory rate except for the limitation upon the increase of rates on Cuban products referred to above which has now been removed.

In the case of only one of the products on which rates applicable to Cuba are increased, item 1544, rosaries, etc., were there imports from Cuba in any of the four years mentioned above. Therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the supplementary agreement with Cuba the margin of preference is not removed in the case of the products in item 1544 but continues subject to certain provisions set forth in that agreement.

All these modifications in rates of duty become effective on the thirtieth day following the date of the proclamation, that is on December 30, 1949.

In addition, the proclamation contains a correction of an earlier proclamation in the case of tariff paragraph 708 a (condensed and evaporated milk).

[1] For a list of products affected by increases, see Department of State press release 943 of Dec. 2, 1949, and for text of proclamation 2865, see 14 *Fed. Reg.* 7303.

North Atlantic Defense Committee Communiqué

[*Released to the press in Paris December 1*]

The North Atlantic Defense Committee composed of:

Belgium: Albert Deveze, Minister of Defense
Canada: Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defense
Denmark: Rasmus Hansen, Minister of Defense
France: René Pleven, Minister of Defense
Iceland: Kristjan Albertson, Chargé d'Affaires, Paris
Italy: Randolfo Pacciardi, Minister of Defense
Luxembourg: Joseph Bech, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Netherlands: Willem Fredrik Schokking, War and Navy Minister
Norway: Jens Christian Hauge, Minister of Defense
Portugal: Fernando dos Santos Costa, War Minister
United Kingdom: A. V. Alexander, M.P., P.C., C.H., Minister of Defense
United States of America: Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense met today, December 1, 1949, at the Ministère de la Marine in Paris

This was their second meeting since the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty organization of September 17, 1949. The first meeting was held in Washington on October 5, 1949. Louis Johnson, United States Secretary of Defense is present chairman of the committee. The Defense Committee met to consider matters brought before it by the North Atlantic Military Committee and the North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board.

The Defense Committee arrived at unanimous agreement on and gave full approval to the following actions:

A. Strategic concept for the integrated defense of the North Atlantic area.

B. Provision of a production and supply of armaments and equipment.

C. Coordination of planning between the various regional groups.

D. The progress of defense planning of the North Atlantic Treaty organization.

The Military Committee under the chairmanship of Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, met in Paris on November 29, 1949, in conjunction with the Defense Committee. Since their first meeting in Washington on October 6, 1949, the Military Committee and its standing group have devoted themselves to preparing a strategic concept for the integrated defense of the North Atlantic area in the light of the principles of self-help and mutual aid embodied in article 3 of the treaty. The objective is adequate military strength accompanied by economy of resources and manpower. Representatives of the Military Committee were:

Belgium: Gen. Etienne Baele, Chief of Staff, Army
Canada: Lt. Gen. Charles Foulkes, Chairman, Canadian Chiefs of Staff
Denmark: Maj. Gen. E. Møeller, Chief of Danish Army Staff
France: Gen. d'Armée Aerienne Charles Lecheres, Chairman Chiefs of Staff Committee
Italy: Gen. Efisio Marras, Chief of General Staff, Army
Luxembourg: Col. Aloyse Jacoby, Chief of Staff, Luxembourg Armed Forces
Netherlands: Gen. Hendrik Kruls, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee
Norway: Lt. Gen. Bjarne Øen, Commander-in-Chief, Norwegian Air Force
Portugal: Rear Admiral Oliveira Pinto, Chief of Staff, Navy
United Kingdom: Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fraser of North Cape, G. C. B., K. B. E., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff
United States of America: Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Chairman, United States Joint Chiefs of Staff

The North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board, Chairman N. E. Halaby, Office of the United States Secretary of Defense, at its first meeting in London, November 1–2, 1949, provided a program for the production and supply of armaments and equipment for considerations by the Defense Committee. The concept provides a basis for the development of coordinated production and supply to implement agreed military plans.

The meetings of both the Military and Defense Committees concluded the essential tasks of organization and formulation of agreed objectives necessary to carry out the defense provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The principles agreed here will constitute the basis for further effective efforts by the parties, individually and collectively, toward strengthening the common defense. These efforts are with peaceful intent; they are not directed against any nation or any people, but the parties are determined that their civilization and institutions shall be safeguarded.

The spirit of harmony and cooperation among the treaty nations has permitted the quick and effective realization of an organization to provide for their defense. The accomplishments of the North Atlantic Treaty organization demonstrate that the parties to the treaty are determined to unite their efforts in the defense of the North Atlantic area against aggression. The meeting has reenforced the conviction of the parties that their cooperation for common defense has contributed, and will continue to contribute, toward helping achieve the primary purpose of the unity of international peace and security.

U.S. and Canada To Negotiate for Niagara Treaty

[*Released to the press December 7*]

The Secretary of State announced today that Canada and the United States expect shortly to commence negotiations for a new treaty concerning diversions of water from the Niagara River for power purposes and preservation of its scenic effects. Upon agreement by the Canadian Government to a Department of State proposal to negotiate this treaty, exploratory discussions of officials of both countries were scheduled to take place in Washington beginning December 8 as a preliminary to subsequent formal negotiations.

The United States group participating in these informal talks will be headed by Adrian S. Fisher, the Department's Legal Adviser, and will include E. R. de Luccia, Chief of the Bureau of Power of the Federal Power Commission, and Col. W. E. Potter, Acting Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, Corps of Engineers. Gerald V. Cruise, Trustee and Chief Engineer of the Power Authority of the State of New York, and Edwin S. Bundy, Vice President and Chief Engineer of the Niagara Hudson Power Company, will provide technical assistance to the United States officials. The Canadian group will be headed by W. D. Matthews, Minister of the Canadian Embassy here, and will include K. A. Burbridge, Acting Chief of Legal Division, Department of External Affairs, N. Marr, Acting Controller and Chief Engineer of Dominion Water and Power Bureau, Department of Mines and Resources, G. A. Lindsay, Engineer in Charge, Department of Transport, R. Saunders, Chairman, Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission, and C. Daly, Minister of Labor, Ontario Province.

The Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 permitted certain diversions of water from the Niagara River for power purposes and steadily increasing demands for power, during and since the war, brought about several additional temporary diversions of water from the river. Recent studies indicate that the time has now come to review the entire question of the amount of water which may be diverted from the river for the generation of electric power and the division between the two countries of the water thus diverted. The purpose of the proposed treaty will be to establish a mutually agreeable formula which will protect the natural beauties of Niagara Falls and Rapids and also provide for more efficient use of the water available for power development.

The experts will have before them the recently published report of the Bureau of Power of the Federal Power Commission, prepared under the direction of E. Robert de Luccia, Chief of the Bureau of Power, entitled *Possibilities for Redevelopment of Niagara Falls for Power.* This report discusses the possibilities of increased power development of the Niagara River in connection with the preservation of the scenic spectacle.

U.S. and Canada Consult on Suspending Colonial Airline License

[*Released to the press December 6*]

The Department of State announced that the Government of Canada was today requested and in turn agreed to enter into consultation concerning the apparent differences between the two governments with regard to the interpretation of certain provisions in the bilateral air transport agreement which became effective on June 4, 1949.

The request for consultation was occasioned by action of the Air Transport Board of the Canadian Government in issuing a show-cause order, on December 1, to Colonial Airlines, Inc., alleging that Colonial has by its acts in the courts of the United States prevented the granting of operating authority to Trans-Canada Airlines to enable it to exercise privileges on the route from Montreal to New York.

In a note handed to the Minister for External Affairs of Canada by the United States Ambassador it was stated that the Government of the United States does not believe that any provision of the air agreement contemplates suspension of a license for the reasons given in the Air Transport Board's order. It was pointed out that the hearings before the Civil Aeronautics Board on the application by Trans-Canada have not yet been completed and that Trans-Canada will not possess a right to operate the New York-Montreal route until it has received a foreign air-carrier permit under the applicable laws and regulations of the United States, as provided for in article 3 of the agreement.

The order of the Canadian Air Transport Board indicated that it was based in part at least upon the fact that Colonial Airlines has brought suit in the courts of the United States. This government, in its note, pointed out to the Canadian Government that Colonial Airlines, in bringing an action before the courts of the United States to determine the validity of the air transport agreement and the constitutionality of certain sections of the United States Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, is exercising a right which it has under the laws and Constitution of the United States, and which should not be challenged.

It is expected that the consultation will be initiated in Ottawa prior to December 12, the date set for the hearing on the Air Transport Board's

show-cause order. In the meantime, the United States Government has expressed the hope that the Government of Canada may find it possible, pending the conclusion of this consultation, to avoid taking action to suspend the license of Colonial Airlines, inasmuch as this government believes such action would be inconsistent with the terms of the agreement.

Italian Awards for Outstanding Films

The Tenth International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art was held at Venice, August 17–September 1, 1949. The Exhibition, an annual event under the patronage of the Italian Government, is held for the purpose of giving public acknowledgement to those films which testify to a genuine effort toward progress in the motion picture field as a means of artistic expression and the dissemination of knowledge between nations.

In addition to official representatives from 19 countries, a number of celebrities of film industries the world over attended the Tenth Exhibition. The United States Government was represented by Chester A. Lindstrom, Chief of the Motion Picture Service, Office of Information, Department of Agriculture.

Sixteen United States Government films were shown for competition at Venice, and of these, seven won awards. The seven films were produced, respectively, by the Departments of the Army, Navy, Interior, the Veterans Administration, and the United States Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency.

In addition to the special prizes won by the United States Government films, two American motion pictures, *The Quiet One* and *The Snake Pit*, won two of three international first prize gold medals. Joseph Cotten and Olivia De Haviland won the international prizes for the best male and female acting.

On November 21, 1949, at a ceremony at the Department of State, representatives of the Government departments and agencies which produced the prize-winning films received awards on behalf of their respective Departments from representatives of the Italian Government. Howland Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, presided at the ceremony.

Representing the Italian Government at the ceremony were the following members of the Embassy of Italy at Washington: Mario Luciolli, counselor of Embassy; Capt. Franco Baslini, naval attaché Lt. Col. Umberto De Martino, military attaché; and Emilio Bettini, secretary of Embassy.

The Government films awarded prizes were as follows: first prize silver medals—*Surgical Approaches to the Scapulohumeral Joint*, produced by the Veterans Administration; *It's the Maine Sardine*, produced by the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior; *Root Canal Therapy* (*Endodontia*), produced by the Department of the Navy; and *Cancer, the Problem of Early Diagnosis*, produced by the National Cancer Institute of the United States Public Health Service in conjunction with the American Cancer Society; honorable mention—*California and Its Natural Resources*, produced by the the Bureau of Mines of the Department of the Interior; *Operative Dentistry* (*Periodontia*), produced by the Department of the Navy; and *Inside the Cell*, produced by the Department of the Army.

A representative of the Embassy of Canada at Washington accepted an award for the motion picture *The Loon's Necklace* on behalf of the Crawley Films of Ottawa, which produced the film.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

Marcus J. Gordon as Chief, Division of Organization, effective November 15, 1949.

Howard K. Travers as Director, Foreign Service Inspection Corps, effective November 15, 1949. This title is a change in name from "Chief, Foreign Service Inspection Corps."

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Jacobs and Bohlen Handle MDA Affairs in Italy and France

The Secretary of State announced on December 6 the appointment of Joseph E. Jacobs, until recently Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, as special assistant for Mutual Defense Assistance Affairs (MDA) to the Ambassador in Rome. Ambassador Jacobs recently returned from Praha and will proceed shortly to Rome to take up his duties.

Robert B. Eichholz of Washington, D.C., consultant and special assistant to the Legal Adviser in the Department since 1947, has been assigned as Deputy to Ambassador Jacobs.

Charles E. Bohlen of Clayton, New York, a career minister of the Foreign Service at the Embassy in Paris and

formerly counselor of the Department of State, has been attending to the preliminary details of the MDA organization in France under the direction of Ambassador David K. E. Bruce and will continue in charge of MDA affairs for the Ambassador. Mr. Bohlen was special assistant to the Secretary of State before serving as counselor.

Shepard Stone Appointed Information Consultant in Germany

The Department of State announced on November 3 the appointment of Shepard Stone as special consultant on information and cultural affairs in Germany where he will serve as acting deputy to Ralph Nicholson, Director of the Office of Public Affairs in Germany.

Representatives of U. S. Missions in Africa To Confer

[*Released to the press December 9*]

Representatives of certain United States diplomatic and consular missions in Africa will meet in a conference scheduled for January 9 at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Portuguese East Africa.

This conference is being held in pursuance of the Department's policy of holding periodic regional conferences of officers of the Foreign Service, the Department of State and other interested American agencies.

United States diplomatic and consular officers stationed at Monrovia, Liberia; Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa; Lagos, Nigeria; Léopoldville, Belgian Congo; Elisabethville, Belgian Congo; Luanda, Angola; Johannesburg, Union of South Africa; Pretoria, Union of South Africa; Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Portuguese East Africa; Tananarive, Madagascar; Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, East Africa; Mombasa, Kenya; Nairobi, Kenya, and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, will attend. The Commerce and Agriculture Departments and the ECA will also be represented.

U. S. and Philippines Discuss Defense Program

[*Released to the press December 3*]

Representatives of the Department of State and the Department of Defense arrived in Manila on November 30, 1949, for preliminary discussions with representatives of the Philippines relating to a proposed Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

Exploratory and informal talks will continue for about 1 week on specific military equipment requirements of the Philippines.

John F. Melby, a foreign service officer in the Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs, is representing the Director for the Mutual Defense Assistance Program; and Lt. Col. R. H. Lawson and Lt. Col. R. M. Craig are representing the Department of Defense.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Economic Cooperation With Belgium Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1906. Pub. 3517. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Belgium Amending Agreement of July 2, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Brussels, November 22 and 29, 1948; entered into force November 29, 1948.

Economic Cooperation With Korea Under Public Law 793—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1908. Pub. 3522. 18 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States and Korea—Signed at Seoul, December 10, 1948; entered into force December 14, 1948.

United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1916. Pub. 3535. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Amending Agreement of September 22, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at London, February 25 and March 5, 1949; entered into force March 5, 1949.

Economic Cooperation With Italy Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1917. Pub. 3536. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Italy Amending Agreement of June 28, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Rome, September 28 and October 2, 1948; entered into force October 2, 1948.

Occupation Costs of United States Forces in Austria. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1921. Pub. 3542. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Austria—Signed at Vienna, June 21, 1947; entered into force July 1, 1947.

Economic Cooperation With China Under Public Law 472—80th Congress. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1923. Pub. 3545. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and China Amending Agreement of July 3, 1948—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Canton, March 26 and 31, 1949; entered into force March 31, 1949.

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The Department of State bulletin

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December 26, 1949

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Angus Ward Summarizes Mukden Experiences

[*Released to the press December 15*]

The following telegram has been received from Consul General Angus Ward aboard the S. S. *Lakeland Victory*:

On November 20, a year ago, without warning Chinese Communist Party soldiers cordoned the American consul general's office and both residence compounds, blocking all egress. Telephones and electricity were cut, disrupting office water supply and all lighting. The delegation of the Military Control Committee of Mukden presented a letter addressed to me without title stating "Your failure to surrender radio station constitutes an intentional defiance; the personnel of the former American consulate general are hereafter forbidden intercourse with the outside." Notwithstanding my suspension of radio traffic and offer to place radio equipment under seal or guard, and that I had insisted only upon communication with the United States Government before surrendering government property, the Communist authorities refused permission to reactivate our station to request the Department for instructions regarding surrender of radio equipment.

The Communist delegation's denial of my official status contradicted the mayor of Mukden's formal call and letters previously addressed to me as Consul General by the Chinese Communist Party civil and military authorities. The delegation then seized our radio transmitters and generators, and also accused me of withholding a "hidden transmitter."

Consulate General Personnel Confined

After 10 hours of continuous bickering, the Communist delegation announced that the American consulate general personnel were to be confined to their residences incommunicado until further notice. I insisted that I remain with 18 employees in unlighted office, where 22 persons for 30 hours were limited to a total of 1 bucket of water, with the warden ignoring appeals for more, and guards forbidding even kerosene light. An aged German casual visitor to the United States Information Service library was confined with Americans for more than 1 year without reply to his appeals for release or access to food, clothing, and funds from his residence. Chinese casuals caught in residences were freed only after several months delay.

Outside Communication Forbidden

The Communist Military Control Committee orally assured me on November 18, it would transmit my official telegrams over Hsin Hua News Agency facilities. On November 22, I submitted a telegraphic report to the Department to the Military Control Committee for such transmission. This was subsequently returned January 13 with the final letter I received from the Chinese Communist Party authorities, stating that no messages whatever would be transmitted because the "United States and Northeast Peoples Government are not in a diplomatic relationship." Personal messages of the staff to their families in the United States were returned unsent. Until June 6, no communication of any type with the outside world was permitted, and in more than a year, no communication whatever was permitted with other Mukden residents. Passers-by were even arrested for waving greetings.

Necessities and Requests Denied

Not until December 4, a year ago, were Americans permitted to move between residences and the office and then only under guard and when the warden chose to approve specific petitions. Such limited movements during the subsequent year were subject to exasperating and wasteful delays and frequent failures to permit more than a single daily round trip to the office. My request to the mayor to restore electricity for Christmas was approved, ending a 5-week lack of running water in a crowded office, and relieving eyestrain resulting from enforced dependence upon kerosene lamps. The Chinese staff was subject to repeated badgering interrogations aimed at establishing espionage suspicions against the consul general.

The warden took our Chinese consular identity cards, promising Chinese Communist Party countersignature, but the cards were never returned. He also wheedled our curfew passes, falsely stating that the curfew was revoked. He threatened to seal the consulate general safe containing office funds but the threat was never implemented. The warden imposed regular examination of packages carried by Americans en route to the office, and the mayor ignored our request for permission to attend Easter services. The warden failed to permit the emptying of overflowing cesspools in American residences. The consulate general was given consent to the dollar rate exchange during the 7-month period in which the official value of silver quadrupled. On May 17, the Department ordered the closure of the Mukden consulate general in a telegram received by mail on June 7 as the incommunicado phase of our arrest ended.

Departure Delayed

On June 20, the local press published spy charges. The next day the mayor's aide called (the first contact in more than 7 months), stating that the Peoples' Government approved the Consulate General's request to depart from Mukden and requiring submittal of packing lists of goods to be shipped. When he asked that I set a departure date, I replied that lack of equipment and packers prevented me from determining departure date until allowed access to designated packing firm, and I pointed out that lack of telephones, recalcitrance of guards, and limits on movement of consulate general vehicles greatly hampered preparations.

On July 19, I requested facilities for the departure of part of the staff, on July 27 and again on August 12, but without fruit. My telegram 58 to Nanking of September 17, which was rejected for transmission, reported *inter alia* "Authorities have continued to refuse my wife access to a competent dentist known to be present in Mukden to treat tooth badly broken early in December. My urgent request of April 27 for the services of my physician were ignored until June 4, and the physician was not even allowed to complete his diagnosis. The same physician later was allowed 2 minutes for consultation, examination, diagnosis, and treatment of my wife, suffering from a mild attack of appendicitis. I, and every American member of my staff, were threatened at least once with firearms. The electric power needed for adequate water supply was denied to the staff compound. Delay of weeks encountered in purchasing modest quantities packing materials and other supplies readily available in market. We were refused permission to purchase roof repair materials at times when rain was heavy and the roof was leaking badly. The staff and I were obliged to wait months for overdue routine innoculations. We have been refused services of professional packers and thus prevented from preparing household and office property for shipment pursuant to Department instructions. Adequate rail facilities were available July 27 and 10 days following, but the authorities did not permit the first group of staff members to depart from Mukden.

We were dependent for fresh foods on a merchant appointed by authorities and enjoyed monopolistic right who has exploited us through prices over open-market levels and through inferior quality and shortweight. Notwithstanding urgent pleas, our warden protractedly delayed permission to deliver coal in the dead of winter to the Tatsumi residence where his dependents were suffering from cold. Tatsumi was prevented from rejoining his family for more than a fortnight after the date of our arrest, although I had been informed then that he would be permitted to return home the next day. Non-American employees detained in office building were repeatedly denied permission to obtain urgently needed clothing from their homes.

Messages Delayed Until June

Although the mayor informed me, on November 5, 1948, that he would accept uncoded telegrams for transmission and the Military Control Committee made a similar offer, on November 18, 1948, the office was not permitted to communicate with other Foreign Service establishments until June 6, 1949. Delivery of telegrams from Nanking during the past months was delayed on an average of 40 hours after receipt in Mukden, and several official communications, which I have submitted for transmission, have been neither sent nor returned to me. I am still denied permission to recover government and staff property on storage in former residences.

Chi Incident

On September 27 Chi Yuheng, a Chinese employee of the consulate general, in refusing to perform an assigned task threw down his tools and left the job saying, "I quit." He refused proffered final settlement, whereupon he was instructed to leave government premises permanently, inasmuch as final payment would be sent to his residence upon his request. Chi, nevertheless, entered consulate general building surreptitiously on October 10 without authority. When discovered on the morning of October 11, I took him by the hand and pacifically led him to the courtyard. When he demanded money, I stated that he could await opening of the accounts office, but if he refused a settlement, then he would have to leave the building because he was committing trespass. Later the same day, Chi again refused settlement, and when he adamantly refused to leave

the building, I took him by the hand intending to turn him as a trespasser over to an armed sentry at the street entrance. At no time did I or any member of my staff strike, kick, or injure Chi in any way. I was the victim of assault by Chi's brother. The Chinese Communist Party guard, witnessing the beating of Alfred Kristan (our chauffeur) by the Chinese staff, refused Ralph Rehberg's demand that he intervene. Allegations that Chi was knocked unconscious, suffered concussion, and other serious injury are totally unfounded. A police officer using office telephone was overheard ordering Chi's retention at hospital over objections of doctor. During a police physician examination of Chi in his office, none of several Americans present saw any injury other than a slight mat burn over his right eye (which I and Rehberg saw him inflict upon himself), and Chi's own loud protestations immediately after incident belie his unconsciousness.

Departure From Mukden

The atrocious conditions of our confinement under police arrest after October 24 and the perversions of justice during investigation and so-called trial November 21 were reported in my telegrams just prior to departure from Mukden. [These reports have not been received by the Department.]

The staff and I with dependents departed from Mukden under heavy guard 0345 hours December 7, and after a 40-hour rail journey (normally requiring 15 hours) in a third-class car with board shelves as beds, notwithstanding my request for first-class accommodations, arrived at Tientsin. All were subjected to severe cold during the first hours of the journey and the car was entirely without water. All of the passengers were confined to the car throughout the journey and subject to constant surveillance by guards.

[Most of the foregoing information was today (December 11) released to correspondents.]

American Consular Personnel—Mukden

Position and home address

Braden, Mary E., Clerk, Dysart, Louisiana.
Erickson, Elden B., Clerk, Concordia, Kansas.
Feigal, Jack C., Clerk, Pine Island, Minnesota.
Hubbard, Fred, Vice Consul, Edgemont, South Dakota.
Norman, Walter S., Clerk, Sealy, Texas.
Picard, Hugo S., Clerk, Fall River, Massachusetts.
Rehberg, Ralph C., Clerk, Rochester, New York.
Stokes, Wm. N., Vice Consul, New York, New York.
Tatsumi, Shiro, Mechanic, Seattle, Washington.
Ward, Angus I., Consul General, Chassell, Michigan.

American Shipping Companies Warned Against Entering Port of Shanghai

[*Released to the press December 17*]

The Department of State has issued the following announcement which has been transmitted to all shipping companies, ship operators, and ship masters via the Hydrographic Office and the Maritime Commission:

On November 28, 1949, the *Sir John Franklin*, an American flag ship, while proceeding to the port of Shanghai was subjected to a barrage of fire from two Chinese naval vessels in the lower estuary of the Yangtze, damaging the vessel and seriously endangering life aboard it. Although the vessel was permitted to leave Shanghai unmolested, the Chinese National Government stated that the fact that the vessel was so permitted to leave should not be regarded as a precedent.

The Department of State must point out that the port of Shanghai and its approaches constitute a zone of danger and the conditions in it are such as to render this area extremely hazardous to shipping. In view of this situation, it is obvious that American lives and property should not be exposed to such risks and all masters of American flag ships are warned accordingly.

Registration of American Property in China

[*Released to the press December 16*]

The Department of State announced today that it has been informed that notification No. 4490 of December 3, 1949, issued by the Shanghai municipal land administration bureau (of the local Chinese Communist regime) requires the registration between December 5 and December 29, 1949, of land situated within Shui Tzu Yu and Yu Tzu Yu in the Pusung district, that is, the area north of Hungjao Road, west of Suiyuan Road (Monument Road), south of Hou Chia Chio and east of Hengliching; and that according to the notification owners or lessees of property in this area must present documentary evidence to the land department, 2119 Hungjao Road and apply for registration.

The American consulate general at Shanghai has informed the Department that it has communicated with the local Chinese Communist authorities, pointing out the possible absence of American owners or their representatives and reserving their right to file applications after the time set.

INDONESIAN DISPUTE SETTLED AT HAGUE CONFERENCE

The Netherlands Transfers Complete Sovereignty to Indonesian Republic

Based on excerpts from
U.N. doc. S/1417
Dated Nov. 10, 1949

INTRODUCTION

After 3 years of intermittent warfare and unsuccessful negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, an event has occurred that offers the possibility of a happy solution.

From August 23 to November 2, 1949, a Round Table Conference was held at The Hague between representatives of the Indonesian peoples, the Netherlands, and the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

Under the Commission's terms of reference, as established by the Security Council on January 28, the following functions of the Commission applied to its participation in the Conference:

a. to assist the parties in their negotiations and in the implementation of agreements reached previously;
b. to make recommendations to the parties and/or to the Conference on matters within the Commission's competence;
c. to report to the Security Council on the progress of the Conference, and possibly make to the Council pertinent recommendations.

It is recalled that an agreement, formalized on June 22, 1949, on the time, organization, and subjects to be dealt with by the Round Table Conference, stipulated that participants in the Conference would be representatives of the Government of the Netherlands, of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, and the Federal Consultative Assembly (FCA). It further provided that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia should participate in this Conference in accordance with its terms of reference.

At the Commission's meeting held on August 2, 1949, in Batavia, the Members of the Commission instructed their deputies to act on behalf of the Commission during the absence of its Members from Indonesia. The Members of the Commission then proceeded to The Hague in the course of the second week of August 1949.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Political and Constitutional Issues

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF INDONESIA

In the Inter-Indonesian Conference held from July 22 to August 2, 1949, in Jogjakarta and Batavia, representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and of the Federal Consultative Assembly agreed on the principles of the proposed Constitution of the "Republic Indonesia Serikat" (Republic of the United States of Indonesia). On the basis of these principles, the two Indonesian delegations to the Round Table Conference prepared a text of the provisional Constitution.

When this text, as prepared and initialed by the delegations to the Round Table Conference presented on October 31 to the Steering Committee,

the Netherlands delegation expressed its admiration for the work accomplished.[1]

TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY

The Charter of the transfer of sovereignty provides that the Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and thereby recognizes the Republic as an independent and sovereign state. The Republic of the United States of Indonesia in turn accepts such sovereignty on the basis of the provisions of its Constitution which has been brought to the knowledge of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Directly conflicting viewpoints were maintained, however, between the parties as to whether the transfer of sovereignty over Indonesia should also include the Residency of New Guinea. It became apparent that in view of the important factors which should be taken into account in settling this question and the limited research which had been completed regarding the problems involved, the New Guinea issue could not be settled in time to permit the Round Table Conference to conclude successfully within the agreed time limit.

Finally, as a compromise, the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, considering the heavy tasks with which the Union Partners would initially be confronted, proposed that the *status quo* of the Residency of New Guinea should be maintained, continuing under the Government of the Netherlands; with the stipulation, however, that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty, the political status of New Guinea should be determined and the dispute on this matter terminated through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The parties agreed to this solution, which was formulated as article 2 of the Charter of the Transfer of Sovereignty. This Charter also provides that the transfer of sovereignty shall take place at the latest on December 30, 1949, (appendix VII).

UNION STATUTE

The parties had been at variance from the outset as to the provisions of the Statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. In the opinion of the Republican and FCA delegations, the Union Statute should have the character of an international treaty and, whenever matters of common concern required attention, voluntary cooperation should be effected through conferences of ministers of the two Partners. The Netherlands delegation, on the other hand, although agreeing that the Union would be constituted by two states which were fully independent and sovereign, contended that the Union must assure close collaboration by means of permanent organs uniting the Partners under the Crown. This basic difference prevented the subcommittee from making progress on any aspect of the question of the Union.

The Statute provides that the Netherlands-Indonesian Union effectuates the organized cooperation between the independent and sovereign Partners on the basis of free will and equality in status with equal rights. This cooperation aims at the promotion of common interests in the fields of foreign relations and defense and, as far as necessary, finance, and also in regard of subject of an economic and cultural nature. The Partners undertake to base their form of government on democracy, to aim at an independent judiciary, and to recognize fundamental human rights and freedoms, as enumerated in an appendix to the Statute.

The Head of the Union effectuates the spirit of voluntary and lasting cooperation; at the head of the Union shall be H. M. the Queen of the Netherlands and Her lawful successors.

The aims of the Union shall be implemented by a conference, to be held at least twice a year, of ministers designated by, and responsible to, the respective Partners.

The Partners also agree to effectuate good contact and regular cooperation between their two Parliaments.

The Union is served by a permanent Secretariat; two Secretaries-General are appointed, one by each Partner; these officials have charge of the secretariat on the basis of yearly rotation.

It was agreed that all decisions in the Union shall be taken by common agreement. The decisions of the Conference of Ministers enacting joint regulations require ratification by the two Parliaments; the Head of the Union shall state that agreement exists, and the joint regulation shall thereupon be promulgated in the official statute books of each of the Partners. The Head of the

[1] For text of the Constitution and for all appendixes referred to in this account, see U.N. doc. S/1417/Add. 1.

Union may likewise state, upon request of the Conference, that agreement exists between the two Partners on other decisions of the Conference of Ministers.

A Union Court of Arbitration is established for the settlement, in the name of the Head of the Union, of legal disputes arising out of the Union Statute, of other agreements between the Partners, or of joint regulations. The composition of the Court is based on parity, the chairmanship rotating yearly between Indonesian and Netherlands members; its decisions are taken by majority of votes. If the votes are equally divided, the Court shall request the President of the International Court of Justice, or another international authority, to appoint, with the rights of an ordinary member, a special member of a different nationality. The Partners undertake to comply with, and to implement, the decisions of the Union Court of Arbitration.

To further their interests, the Partners shall appoint High Commissioners, who will be granted diplomatic status with rank of Ambassador. Further provisions concerning the exchange of High Commissioners are regulated by exchange of letters (appendix VIII).

The Union Statute embodies, in special agreements appended thereto, provisions regarding foreign relations, defence, financial and economic relations, and cultural relations. The Statute also contains provisions concerning citizenship.

The parties agree that the Union Statute, as well as agreements between the Partners, and joint regulations shall prevail in case of conflict with the laws of the Partners and that the Statute as well as any further agreements or joint regulations may be registered with the United Nations (appendix IX).

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The parties agree that the rights and obligations of the Kingdom of the Netherlands resulting from treaties and international agreements, further specified by mutual consultations, will be taken over by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia if, and in so far, as they are applicable to its jurisdiction. The Republic of the United States of Indonesia reserves its rights not to become a party to treaties and agreements other than those specified.

It is also agreed that in principle all Indonesians serving, or being trained, in the Netherlands foreign service shall be taken over by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

Agreement was also reached that the Union Partners should aim at the best possible coordination of their foreign policy and consult each other to that effect. In particular they will without previous consultations neither conclude any treaty nor perform any other international legal act if the interests of the other Partner are involved.

Furthermore, should one of the Partners have accredited no diplomatic representatives to some foreign power, its interest shall be promoted preferably by the diplomatic representative of the other Partner.

The questions of joint diplomatic representation of the Union and its competency to participate in international legal intercourse in its own name were settled by a compromise proposal from the United Nations Commission for Indonesia. This proposal provides that the Union shall effectuate cooperation in the field of foreign relations and that where both Union Partners feel it in their interest, the Conference of Ministers can provide for joint or common representations in international intercourse (appendix X).

TRANSITIONAL MEASURES

The Agreement on Transitional Measures provides for the transfer *ipso jure* of all rights and obligations of Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia unless otherwise stipulated by agreements included in the Union Statute. In providing for legal continuity, this Agreement stipulates that all provisions in existing laws and regulations relating to Indonesia, and which are compatible with agreements reached at the Conference, are to remain in force until revoked or modified by the competent organs of the Union Partners, respectively.

Included among the rights and obligations transferred are those resulting from treaties and international agreements and from contracts concluded by the Governor-General with self-governing regions in Indonesia. The rulers of these regions are released from their oath of allegiance to the Netherlands Crown, while the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in turn recognizes the special position of their territories.

The Agreement on Transitional Measures further provides for realization of the right of self-determination of peoples. Provisions for alloca-

tion of citizens, for withdrawal of armed forces, and provisions concerning the legal status of civil servants are embodied in agreements attached.

Finally, the Kingdom of the Netherlands agrees to promote the membership of the United States of Indonesia in the United Nations (appendix XI).

RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The question of the right of self-determination, the principle of which had been accepted by the parties since the Linggadjati Agreement, came up for discussion only in the later stage of the Conference. This delay was in part due to the fact that consideration of the question was dependent upon the formulation of the relevant article of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. This Constitution, in fact, made provision only in respect of internal right of self-determination, that is, the right of populations to determine, by democratic procedure, the status which their respective territories shall occupy within the federal structure of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

No provision, however, was made by the Constitution in respect of external right of self-determination, that is, the right of the populations to disassociate their respective territories from the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. This right, to which the Netherlands delegation attached particular importance and on the basis on which they had made earlier commitments, was discussed at length; but the parties were unable to come to agreement before the last day of the Conference. At that time, they accepted a compromise solution formulated by the United Nations Commission for Indonesia on the basis of principles to which the parties had given adherence in earlier agreements.

This solution, which is embodied in article 2 of the Agreement on Transitional Measures, provides that a plebiscite will be held among the population of those territories, indicated by the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia upon the recommendation of the Commission or another organ of the United Nations, to determine whether such territories shall form separate component states; these plebiscites shall be held under supervision of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia (or another United Nations organ). Each component state, whether formed by the above procedure or otherwise, shall then be given the opportunity to ratify the final Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; in case a component state decides not to ratify, it shall be allowed to negotiate a special relationship with the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands (appendix XI).

NATIONALITY AND CITIZENSHIP

Questions of nationality and citizenship were considered in terms of two major aspects: determination of nationality, assignment of citizens, and the right of option; and mutual rights of citizens of the Union Partners.

The Agreement on Transitional Measures embodies provisions relating to the first aspect. This Agreement provides that the Netherlanders retain Netherlands nationality, but are entitled to declare preference for Indonesian nationality if they were born in Indonesia or had resided there for six months.

Netherlands subjects who are non-Netherlanders, belonging to the autochtonous population of Indonesia, as well as all citizens of the Republic of Indonesia, assume in principle Indonesian nationality. They are, however, entitled to choose Netherlands nationality if born or residing outside Indonesia.

Special provisions are made with regard to Netherlands subjects, non-Netherlanders, either belonging to the autochtonous population of Indonesia and living in Surinam or the Netherlands Antilles or who are of origin other than Indonesian. The agreement further makes provision regulating the exercise of the right of option (appendix XII).

Mutual rights of citizens of the Union Partners are embodied in the Union Statute, which provides that, with some exceptions, the nationality of citizens of one Partner shall not constitute an objection against serving officially within the jurisdiction of the other Partner and that the special interest of nationals and corporate bodies of the respective Partners shall be fully appreciated in the exercise of civil rights and social activities. However, nationals and corporate bodies of either of the Partners shall on no account receive within the jurisdiction of the other Partner treatment less favorable than that accorded to citizens and corporate bodies of a third state (appendix IX).

DEBT SETTLEMENT

All parties agreed that the transfer of sovereignty entailed, as a counterpart of the transfer of rights, the assumption of liabilities, but the parties differed on the extent to which the Republic of the United States of Indonesia should take over the debts of Indonesia.

According to the Netherlands delegation, the successor state should assume the debts without limitations. The Indonesian delegations, on the other hand, although agreeing that the Republic of the United States of Indonesia should assume all debts contracted before 1942, as well as those subsequently contracted and used entirely in the interests of the Indonesian people, contended that the Republic of the United States of Indonesia must not be burdened with the extraordinary military costs in Indonesia since 1945.

Although each party made considerable concessions towards the other's point of view, no agreement could be reached; neither could the Steering Committee, which considered the question at its meeting at Baarn on October 2, find a solution.

Finally, after still other attempts of settlement had failed, the parties referred the question to a "Debt Commission" which had the task of proposing the amount of the debt to be assumed by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. It was further decided that in determining this amount, due consideration would be given to expenditures which the Debt Commission might attribute to military action.

In accordance with the proposal of the Debt Commission, the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia assumes, as of the date of transfer of sovereignty, responsibility for both interest and amortization of the consolidated debt to the Netherlands in the amount of 871 million guilders and for the debt to third countries in the amount of 420 million guilders. The Government of the Republic also takes over rights and liabilities under existing agreements for certain items of the external floating debt, to the maximum of 268.5 million guilders.

These items include the obligations assumed and assets acquired with regard to Indonesia by the Bretton Woods Agreements.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE MONETARY SYSTEM AND ISSUE OF CURRENCY IN INDONESIA

This question of regulations was closely connected with the problem of mutual liabilities and debts. The Netherlands delegations contended that the important financial commitments to be assumed by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in favor of the Netherlands created for the latter a direct interest in the future financial policy of the Republic; to protect its position as creditor, the Netherlands was entitled to guarantees.

In Indonesian delegations, on the other hand, considered that such guarantees would be incompatible with the sovereignty of their state. They were, however, prepared to enter into consultations with the Netherlands Government on monetary matters of mutual concern.

After prolonged discussions, an agreement was reached that stipulated that the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia shall aim at sound monetary systems based on the principles expressed in the Bretton Woods Agreements and further provided for consultation between the two Governments on a number of measures in the monetary field.

Such consultations shall take place prior to alterations of the exchange rate of the Netherlands or Indonesian monetary units and on regulations of mutual interest in the field of foreign currency policy. As long as the Republic of the United States of Indonesia has liabilities towards the Netherlands, the Republic will in general consult the latter when intending to take measures involving Netherlands interests in the monetary and financial field; this provision would apply *inter alia* to the amending or superseding of the Coinage Act and of the regulations concerning the Bank of Issue and, prior to the enactment of the new Bank of Issue Act, to the appointment and discharge of the President and directors of the Bank (appendix XIII, section B).

FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSFERS

Another important aspect of the future monetary relations between the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was the regulation of convertibility of certain payments into Netherlands currency.

In accordance with the Financial and Economic Agreement, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will allow those enterprises, constituting an active Netherlands investment, to effect the following transfers: payment for necessary expenditures in the Netherlands; contributions to

funds and other social provisions for their Netherlands personnel; interests and amortization of loans; and annual profit and depreciation.

Transfers of dividends on passive Netherlands investments in Indonesia will also be allowed.

Furthermore, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will allow for transfers to the Netherlands of the following payments: premiums paid by Netherlanders to life insurance companies, and contributions for their benefit to pension, invalidity, and other social funds; saving and moneys for support of dependents of Netherlanders working or having worked in Indonesia, as well as other periodical social payments for them. The Republic of the United States of Indonesia, however, reserves the right to impose, after previous consultation with the Netherlands, such restrictions regarding transfers to the Netherlands as may be necessary in view of the foreign exchange position of Indonesia.

With regard to transfers of indemnities for foreign properties expropriated or nationalized by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, the parties, with the Commission's assistance, reached agreement that such transfers shall take place within three years at the rate of exchange of the date on which the expropriation or nationalization becomes effective. In the event that the Republic of the United States of Indonesia considers it impossible to transfer these indemnities within three years, it will make this known before undertaking nationalization, and an arbitration committee shall then make a binding decision as to whether, and to what extent, an exception can be made to this three-year limit (appendix XIII, section B).

The parties also agreed by exchange of letters that existing regulations with regard to hard currency credits shall continue until new regulations are agreed upon. The regulations for hard currency transfers under the General Shipping Agreement will, however, continue in force only until March 1950 (appendix XIV).

COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF COMMERCIAL POLICY

From the outset, all parties shared the view that cooperation in matters concerning commercial policy and external trade would be to their mutual advantage. Agreement was reached that, on the basis of the principles of their independence and sovereignty, both countries will promote voluntary cooperation in their foreign commercial relations by close contact and continuous consultation. Each of the parties will take into consideration the economic interests of the other; in addition, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will take into account the considerable financial and economic interests which the Netherlands has in Indonesia.

Each party retains exclusive authority to regulate its own foreign relations and the ultimate right to dispose of its products; at the same time, the Partners undertake to strive for joint commercial agreements with third States, which, once concluded, can not be altered except by mutual consultations. In negotiating such agreements, the respective delegations of the two Union Partners will act in coordination, and whenever feasible, one negotiator shall be appointed on behalf of both.

The agreement also provides that those commercial and monetary agreements concerning Indonesia, which are in force at the time of the transfer of sovereignty, shall be taken over and implemented by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The parties agree on a mutual preferential treatment in their commercial relations. The principle is expressed that the system of mutual preferential treatment will not be contrary to international agreements; at the same time, it should be to the advantage of both the Netherlands and Indonesia. They shall exchange lists of their import requirements; they shall also reserve export goods for necessary allotments to each other. Agreements regulating in detail the mutual commercial relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia shall be periodically drawn up. The *modus vivendi* (trade agreement) for the period from October 1, 1949, to October 1, 1950, has been provisionally accepted by the delegations of the parties to the Round Table Conference.

The parties also stipulate that they will continue payments to each other by means of a commercial account, in accordance with existing regulations, and that they will, respectively, appoint commercial representatives in the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Finally, it is agreed that the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia may in the future appeal to each other for assistance and cooperation, and that such assistance

shall be granted whenever possible (appendix, XII, section C).

REAL RIGHTS AND INVESTMENTS

It is agreed that the Republic of the United States of Indonesia shall acknowledge the rights, concessions, and licenses lawfully granted by the Netherlands Indies Government and still valid on the date of transfer of sovereignty and that the rightful claimants shall remain, or shall be restored, in the factual exercise of their rights. The Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, however, reserves the right to investigate those concessions, rights, and licenses of basic economic importance for Indonesia, which were granted after March 1, 1942.

Special provisions are also made in this connection with regard to: estate grounds occupied by the population and converted for planting food crops, certain private properties requisitioned for government services, so-called conversion rights in the Residencies of Jogjakarta and Surakarta, and public utility enterprises.

It is further provided that all previously granted rights, concessions, and licenses can be affected only in the general interest and along the lines of amicable settlement with rightful claimants. If such settlement can not be achieved, expropriation in accordance with legally prescribed procedure can take place, but only against previously received, or guaranteed, indemnification; the amount of indemnification is to be fixed by court of law on the basis of the real value of the expropriated property. Provisions shall also be made to extend rights, concessions, and licenses which could not be exercised in consequence of the war and subsequent abnormal conditions.

Any extension, as well as renewal or granting of rights, concessions, and licenses shall be made under conditions justifying long-term investments.

The parties agreed in general that the same conditions shall apply to Netherlands and other foreign investments as to Indonesian enterprises of similar nature and size, all of which must submit equally to the laws of the country. The Republic of the United States of Indonesia, however, reserves the right to regulate for the protection of national interests or of economically weak groups. Furthermore, the parties agree that foreign-owned enterprises having their field of activity primarily in Indonesia should have in Indonesia representatives with full powers. There are also provisions for the training and employment of qualified Indonesian personnel by foreign enterprises (appendix XIII, section A).

The parties also agreed that further discussions on subjects relating to shipping and aviation shall take place after the conclusion of the Round Table Conference.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FUTURE ECONOMIC POLICY

The Republic of the United States of Indonesia will be guided in its economic policy by fundamental principles embodied in agreements made at the Round Table Conference; those agreements had been drawn up on the basis of relevant conclusions of the Inter-Indonesian Conference as well as suggestions made by the Netherlands delegation. This economic policy will aim at improving the material well-being of the Indonesian peoples and at raising their standard of living.

Furthermore, in order to promote the resumption of long-range economic activity, the Republic will provide safeguards necessary for successful and profitable operation of commercial and other enterprises; the fiscal, social, and other charges on these enterprises will be kept within such limits as to permit profits covering renewals, amortizations, and reserves, as well as a reasonable return on invested capital. Measures will be enacted to prevent double taxation, although freedom of enterprise, commerce and monetary intercourse will be restricted only by law.

On the other hand, these enterprises are to aim at certain social objectives: the institution of organized consultation between employers and employees; promotion of community of interest among the employers, workers and landowners; improvement of housing; and other social provisions for workers.

MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT

Differences had existed among the parties whether, or to what extent, nationals and corporate bodies of one Union Partner should be granted national treatment in the economic field by the other. Since the parties were unable to come to a solution, they turned to the Commission for assistance. The Commission's compromise proposal, to which the parties agreed, was that Netherlands nationals, corporate bodies, products, ships, and other objects are to enjoy in Indonesia

treatment no less favorable than that granted any third country. Moreover, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia is to take fully into account the special interests of Netherlands nationals and corporate bodies within Indonesia, and there shall be no discrimination against these interests; this provision shall not prejudice the right of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia to take measures necessary to protect national interests or economically weak groups.

On the other hand, the principle is expressed that nationals of third countries shall enjoy equal rights in participation in trade with Indonesia and in that country's economic activities and development (appendix XIII, section A).

Military Affairs

Under the terms of the June 22 Agreement, the Conference had to consider two questions: the military agreements and the withdrawal of Netherlands forces.

The withdrawal entailed, however, considerable technical difficulties, and the Military Affairs Committee of the Conference decided therefore to establish several work groups to consider: military technical problems connected with the withdrawal of land forces and assistance in the building-up of the fighting forces of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; financial-economic questions in the military field; social aspects of the reorganization of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army; technical problems connected with the withdrawal of the Royal Netherlands Navy and possibilities of assistance to be given in the building-up of the Navy of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; and military aviation affairs. It was understood that the Conference would not deal with questions relating to the implementation of the cease-hostilities order.

The following general principles formed the basis for the military agreements:

a. responsibility for internal security and external defense of Indonesia would rest with the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia after the transfer of sovereignty;

b. Netherlands fighting forces would be withdrawn from Indonesia after the transfer of sovereignty;

c. pending their shipment, these troops should not be used for military operations except when such operations were carried out at the request of the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia;

d. members of those fighting forces which had been organized and equipped by, or were under the authority, of the Netherlands-Indonesian Government (Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army – KNIL – and so-called Federal Units) could in principle be inducted into the fighting forces of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; their material would be transferred in an efficient way, to be determined by mutual consultotions;

e. military territorial responsibility would be transferred in an orderly manner by cooperation between Netherlands and Indonesian authorities;

f. a Netherlands military mission would be sent to Indonesia to assist the Republic of the United States of Indonesio in building up its fighting forces.

On several important issues, the positions of the parties differed considerably. These issues included: the time limit for withdrawal of Netherlands troops, the areas where they should assemble, and, their freedom of action, pending shipment; the question whether Netherlands warships in Indonesia would be transferred to Indonesian ownership or operate under Netherlands flag and command; and the future ownership and command of naval establishments.

Until the last stages of the Conference, important aspects of these problems remained unsettled; all of them were finally solved in accordance with compromise proposals presented by the United Nations Commission for Indonesia.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING NAVAL FORCES

The parties agree that the Netherlands naval forces should normally be withdrawn from Indonesia within one year; the Netherlands Government, however, is prepared, at the request of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and for a limited period of time, to lend aid in the defense of Indonesia at sea and in the building-up of the navy of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

Pending withdrawal, the Royal Netherlands Navy shall assist the naval organs of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in their patrol duties and shall perform certain other special tasks.

The Netherlands Government is prepared to transfer, under conditions to be mutually agreed upon, to the property of the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, two corvettes at the date of the transfer of sovereignty; later, two additional corvettes and other ships and, one year after the transfer of sovereignty, one destroyer; provisions are also made for transfer of naval aircraft.

The naval establishments in Indonesia, with exception of the Surabaya base, shall, after common consultations, be gradually transferred to the navy of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, on condition that such establishments continue to function on behalf of both the navy of the Republic and the Royal Netherlands Navy present in Indonesia.

The units of the Royal Netherlands Navy in Indonesia will be under the command of the Netherlands Flag Officer; he is, however, responsible to the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia when commanding operations at the latter's request. Units of the Royal Netherlands Navy will execute such operations under the Netherlands flag and, in addition, will fly from the yard the flag of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. While awaiting withdrawal, the Royal Netherlands Navy will perform in Indonesia no operational tasks on behalf of the Netherlands.

At the transfer of sovereignty, the naval base of Surabaya passes to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia but will serve ships of the Royal Netherlands Navy. An officer of the Royal Netherlands Navy will, upon recommendation of the Netherlands Government, be appointed by the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia as commander of the base, responsible directly to the Minister of Defence of the Republic. The commander is charged with maintaining order and security within the base and will have at his disposal a police force of the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, selected in cooperation with him (appendix XV).

REGULATIONS CONCERNING LAND FORCES

On the basis of the general principles, the parties agreed that land forces under Netherlands command will, pending withdrawal, be assembled in areas to be determined upon in mutual consultation. The armed forces under Netherlands command will, after the transfer of sovereignty, have the status of guests in the territory of a friendly government. They remain under the command of their own officers and will have liberty of movement within their areas; but to move outside these areas will require a pass visaed by a military authority of the Republic.

Although the Government of the Republic shall remain in general responsible for the maintenance of peace and order within these areas, peace and order among members of Netherlands armed forces shall be maintained by Netherlands military authorities. There are regulations with regard to bearing arms in public when off duty, guarding of encampments, application of the military penal code, and related matters.

Shipment of the Royal Netherlands Army from Indonesia shall take place within the shortest possible time; to that end, the Governments of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will cooperate with all available means. The Netherlands Government will keep the Government of the Republic informed of the provisions and efforts made in that regard if technical difficulties should prevent full repatriation within six months. A Joint Technical Commission will be established to study the technical possibilities of repatriation, and the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, or its successor, shall be afforded the opportunity to cooperate in accordance with its terms of reference.

Members of armed forces, formed under the authority of the Netherlands-Indonesian Government, as far as they will be present in Indonesia at the time of transfer of sovereignty, shall have the free choice to enter into either the armed forces of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia or the service of the Netherlands or to be discharged under provisions for pensions and other benefits further specified by the agreement.

The officer in charge of land forces under Netherlands command shall be responsible for such reorganization, with due observance of directives jointly established by the Governments of the Netherlands and of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The transfer of these armed forces shall be made, as far as possible, on the basis of units; to the extent that units may be reorganized for this purpose prior to the transfer of sovereignty, members of such units will enter the armed forces of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on the day following the transfer of sovereignty.

The reorganization shall take place within a period of six months as from the day of the publication of conditions for enlistment in the armed land forces of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; the Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army (KNIL) shall cease to exist when this reganization has been completed.

The parties shall draw up in mutual consultation a plan which, as far as it can be reconciled with security and operational requirements, will provide for the gradual transfer of properties of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia by the end of the reorganization period.

The expenses of the Royal Netherlands Army shall be chargeable to the Kingdom of the Netherlands; if, and in so far as these units serve the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, at its request, their expenses shall be charged to that Government. The expenses of the Royal Netherlands-Indonesian Army (KNIL) in the period pending the reorganization, as well as subsequent pensions and other social benefits of its personnel, are to be paid by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. Matériel belonging to the Royal Netherlands Army (KL) or Air Force may be transferred to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and paid for on conditions to be agreed upon (appendix XVI).

REGULATIONS CONCERNING AIR FORCES

The parties shall aim at withdrawal or reorganization of the Netherlands Air Forces in Indonesia within six months after the transfer of sovereignty under provisions similar to those applying to the withdrawal and reorganization of Netherlands naval and land forces. The Netherlands Government is prepared to assist the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in building up, training, and equipping its air force by making available personnel and matériel, and by technical advice. The safety of Netherlands personnel employed at air bases commanded by officers of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will be the responsibility of the Republic (appendix XVII).

MILITARY MISSIONS

The composition and tasks of the military missions to be exchanged by the Union Partners will be defined by their respective Governments after the transfer of sovereignty. A Netherlands military mission will, however, be established in Indonesia immediately after the transfer of sovereignty to cooperate with the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in organizing and training its fighting forces and to act as advisers on military matters.

A provisional agreement for three years has been made for such a mission; its composition will be determined in mutual consultation. Likewise, instructions for the personnel of the mission will be agreed upon between the Minister of Defense of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the head of the military mission.

The members of the mission will continue to belong to the personnel of the Netherlands Fighting Forces, and the head of the mission, as well as some other members, will enjoy diplomatic immunity. The costs of the mission are to be borne by the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. Detailed provisions with regard to the functioning, organization, administration, finances, and social care of the mission are also agreed upon (appendix XVIII).

OTHER TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

The parties agreed on provisions for tracing of graves, exhumation, and reburial of those who fell in Indonesia and on provisions for the foundation and maintenance of military cemeteries. Discussions will take place concerning the continuation of the tasks of the Royal Netherlands Navy, implementation of provisions of Navy Agreement, and withdrawal and reorganization of the air force under Netherlands command.

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNION PARTNERS IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE

The Round Table Conference included in an agreement attached to the Union Statute provisions for the future occupation between the Netherlands and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia in the field of defense.

This agreement foresees cooperation based on the principle that each of the Partners bears full responsibility for the defense of its own territory and that any joint regulations, which might be decided upon by the Union organs, will be independently implemented by each of the Partners within its own jurisdiction.

Cooperation in the field of defense may take the form of assistance in training officers and specialised military personnel, making available personnel and material, as well as by providing for its maintenance and repairs. Such aid is to be given upon request of one of the Partners and will be within the scope of the capacity of the other Partner, which however will take first into consideration its own requirements.

The Partners shall exchange military missions; neither of the Partners shall ask for, or accept, a military mission of a third power without consulting previously the other Partner. In the event that one of the Partners desires to purchase material outside its own territory for its fighting forces, it shall also ascertain by consultation in which way assistance may be given by the other Partner. Finally, the Partners agree to consult each other in the event of an imminent attack on both Partners or on one of them. Provisions concerning military law, requisitioning of civil airplanes and merchant navy ships, secret material, compulsory military service, as well as future arrangements and detailed regulations on other military matters, are also included in the agreement. Nothing in the agreement shall prejudice the rights and obligations of the Union Partners resulting from the Charter of the United Nations and from international regulations based thereon. (appendix XX).

Cultural Affairs

Discussions in the Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Conference were devoted to general considerations on the form and nature of the future cultural cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The parties shared the same general views on the subject; they agreed that the cultural relations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands would have to be regulated on the basis of full freedom, free will, and reciprocity; these relations should be universal in character and aim at the free development of the human mind.

As a result of the discussions, the Committee for Cultural Affairs drafted a Cultural Agreement, which is attached to the Union Statute.

It is the desire of the Partners to assure and develop their mutual relations in the field of education, science, and culture; to achieve this they will set up a joint committee to which each Partner will appoint seven members. The two Partners will promote knowledge of the culture of each other and the exchange of information in the cultural field. In general, they shall lend each other, upon request, assistance in the educational, scientific, and cultural fields, including the exchange of professors, teachers, and experts, and shall provide for scholarships.

Fullest possible freedom is to be allowed in the foundation of institutes of education, spiritual and social care, and cultural dissemination and their maintenance by societies or private persons. Scientists of one Partner shall be given assistance to carry on research activities in the territory of the other.

The agreement also provides for the reciprocal admission of books and periodicals.

Finally, objects of cultural value, which had their origin in Indonesia and which passed into the possession of the Netherlands or Netherlands-Indies Government otherwise than by transfer of proprietary rights, shall be transferred to the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (appendix XXI).

Social Affairs

When the Social Affairs Committee of the Conference had considered the problems with which it would be called upon to deal, it decided to discuss first the legal position of civil servants at the time of the transfer of sovereignty in Indonesia. The Committee left in abeyance the question when, and by what method, it would deal with other subjects of a social nature.

On October 28, the Netherlands delegation drew the attention of the Steering Committee to the fact that the Conference would not have sufficient time to discuss any other subject in the social field; some of the most important issues connected with such subjects were, however, settled in other commitees. The Netherlands delegation therefore suggested that discussions with the Indonesian delegations on the remaining issues in the social field could take place after the closing of the Round Table Conference.

When discussing the legal position of civil servants and other government officials in Indonesia, the parties could not agree on what guarantees should be established to safeguard, for a specified period, the legal positions of officials who entered the service of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. After prolonged discussions, it became apparent that the parties could reach agreement only by avoiding the issue of guarantees. An agreement was then reached on the following basis:

At the transfer of sovereignty the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia accepts into its service all civil government officials, at that time employed by the Government of Indonesia, consequently, it assumes all rights

and obligations, which the predecessor Government possessed at the time of transfer of sovereignty in respect of those officials, as well as of former government officials and their beneficiaries.

For a period of two years as from the transfer of sovereignty, the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia will refrain from taking any measures which would unfavorably affect the legal position of these government officials who have Netherlands nationality and who will have been taken over from the service of the Government of Indonesia.

At the same time, the Government of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia reserves the right to select and regroup those civil officials, but compensations for any premature termination of service without request, and through no fault, of the officials concerned, shall be borne by the Republic; in such cases, discharge provisions, further specified by a regulation attached to the agreement, shall apply (appendix XXII).

CONCLUSION OF CONFERENCE

The Conference reached agreement on all issues before it.

The decisions of the Conference were submitted by the Steering Committee to the closing Plenary Meeting in a single draft covering resolution, to which the documents, embodying the agreements reached at the Conference, were attached (appendix XXIII).

In this covering resolution, the parties recall that they had assembled at the Round Table Conference to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the Indonesian dispute as soon as possible by reaching an agreement among the participants concerning the ways and means to transfer real, complete, and unconditional sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia in accordance with the Renville principles. They consider that this aim had been achieved in good cooperation and that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia had given valuable assistance.

The results of the Round Table Conference are embodied in draft agreements and letters attached to the covering resolution. The agreements are: the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty; the Union Statute, including appendices and special agreements on the principal subjects of future cooperation between the Union Partners; and the Agreement on the Transitional Measures, including special agreements on subjects requiring regulation as a consequence of the transfer of sovereignty. Several other issues have been settled by exchange of letters between the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation on one side, and the Chairmen of the Republican and FCA delegations, jointly, on the other side (appendix XXIV).

This procedure accurately reflected the positions of the Indonesian delegations throughout the Conference: on all major issues, the Republican and FCA delegations had acted in coordination, presented common proposals, and taken identical views.

The resolution provides that the documents containing the decisions of the Conference shall be drawn up in the Netherlands and Indonesian languages, both texts being equally authentic. In addition, an official English text has been prepared, and shall prevail in case of divergent interpretation of the other texts.

By ratifying the covering resolution, the parties ratify the documents containing the results of the Round Table Conference. Such ratification shall be done on the one side by the Kingdom of the Netherlands and on the other side by the territories acceding to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia; ratification by a party shall become invalid if another party fails to ratify the resolution. The agreements reached at the Round Table Conference shall come into force at the transfer of sovereignty.

Finally, the resolution provides that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia or another United Nations Agency shall observe in Indonesia the implementation of the agreements reached at the Round Table Conference. Apart from this general provision, there are also special provisions concerning the functions of the United Nations in the implementation of the agreements reached at the Conference. It is provided that the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, or its successor, will be given opportunity to cooperate with the Joint Technical Commission to be established in connection with the repatriation of the Royal Netherlands Army from Indonesia; that plebiscites to ascertain the wishes of the population with regard to the future status of their respective territories in the federal structure will be held only if recommended by a United Nations organ; and that a United Nations organ shall supervise such plebiscites.

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Human Values and World Security

We face hard realities in seeking world security and until we can get the 100 percent participation in collective security hoped for in the United Nations, we must seek a collective defense with as broad a base as possible as the essential alternative, Ambassador Warren R. Austin said on December 7.

Speaking before the Rochester Institute on International Affairs in Rochester, New York, Ambassador Austin said that in the United Nations, the free world is demonstrating its unity and warning against dangerous adventure.

The United Nations provides the facilities for harmonizing policies and initiating cooperative efforts to strengthen and stabilize the member nations. Most of all, the United Nations is the indispensable bridge over which the majority and the minority must some day meet and agree to cooperate on building an enduring world security. To this end we reject the tricks and propaganda substitutes for strengthening the peace while eagerly seeking with outstretched hand the genuine opportunity for cooperative action.

What the United Nations strives for primarily is world security. Experience is unfolding better methods and increasing faith for its ultimate achievement on a universal basis.

The term "security" has a broad and comprehensive connotation. Always at the heart of it is the idea of protecting human values. So the concept of collective security goes far beyond the exercise of police power with the aim of preventing war. It encompasses collective measures to deal with the causes of conflict, which, in the last analysis, always concern human values.

It is no accident that the statesmen coming from governments in exile and from countries overrun by the aggressors linked respect for human rights with peace and world security.

The Paris Assembly has been called "the Human Rights Session." It not only adopted the declaration, but it also voted unanimously for the convention on genocide—the multilateral treaty outlawing, as an international crime, the destruction of nationalities, races, or religious groups. This convention is now awaiting the required number of signatures to bring it into force.

In the Fourth Assembly, just now concluding its deliberations, security and freedom were again linked in a resolution on the essentials of peace.[1] This was a substitute resolution for a Soviet proposal which accused various unnamed states, and especially the United Kingdom and the United States, of fomenting and planning a new war and called for a five-power pact for strengthening peace. After decisively rejecting this Soviet resolution, which I characterized as an "artificial olive branch surrounded by thorns," the Assembly adopted the substitute on the essentials of peace by a vote of 53 to 5.

The majority resolution rested firmly on the Charter as "the most solemn pact of peace in history" which laid down the "basic principles necessary for an enduring peace." The resolution declared "that disregard of these principles is primarily responsible for the continuance of international tension."

"The General Assembly calls upon every nation," reads the resolution, "To promote, in recognition of the paramount importance of preserving the dignity and worth of the human being full freedom for the peaceful expression of political opposition, full opportunity for the exercise of religious freedom, and full respect for all the other fundamental rights expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The Soviet bloc of five members voted "no" to this paragraph among others. In so doing, they identified one source of the present apprehension in the world.

Through the United Nations we have sought world security and continue to seek it on all fronts

[1] For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1949, p. 801.

Fundamental freedoms are of crucial importance because it is through the exercise of freedom that people struggle for all the other social, spiritual, economic, and political values contributing to a secure world. But we have tackled directly the problems of improving standards of living, expanding production and trade, increasing health and education, advancing the welfare of non-self-governing peoples and their attainment of self-government. The activities of the United Nations carried on through the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization all contribute to world security. These efforts are designed to create the conditions and opportunities which will provide a favorable climate for peace. Indeed, they are the works of peace.

There is no use blinking at the fact that the hoped for unity on the central problem of maintaining peace and security is lacking. Nothing short of that unity can give us the assurances we seek. Nothing short of that unity can relieve us of the anxieties and expenses involved in alternative approaches to world security.

Now it is to the sense of anxiety that the Soviet Union directs its propaganda campaigns and phony peace proposals. The Cominform has just resolved to make new mass appeals and mobilize popular demands for peace. The order has gone out, and the Moscow-directed Communist parties may be expected to stage new rallies in a so-called "peace offensive." We have to be alert to avoid being victimized to some degree by the repetitive propaganda which makes its appeal to the natural fear of war and wish for security.

Soviet Propaganda Line

In this General Assembly, we have just been given a preview of the propaganda line. It was exhaustively elaborated by the Soviet spokesmen and those from Poland and Czechoslovakia in the long debate on Mr. Vyshinsky's resolution. Yugoslavia alone among the Communist countries pulled off the false face of peace worn by the Cominform and revealed the aggressive features of the true face of Sovietism.

The delegates to the United Nations after 4 years of carefully listening to the speeches of the members of the Soviet bloc have learned a new vocabulary—what Mr. Bevin calls "the up-side-down language." They have learned that a "peoples' democracy" is in reality a Kremlin-directed and supported tyranny, that "fascist brigands, imperialists and war-mongers," and any number of similar terms, refers to Yugoslav Communists, European socialists, liberal democrats, in short, to everyone who disagrees with the aims of the Kremlin. The word "peace" means nonresistance in the path of Soviet expansion.

As the delegates listened to the violent arguments of the Soviet spokesmen in this debate, the feeling was widespread that they were not calculated to convince us, not even directed at us. Rather, it seemed to many of us that the words were uttered from the rostrum of the United Nations as a convenient method of providing a handbook for speakers at mass meetings in a subsequent campaign to sow dissension and confusion. The simple record of the vote shows that not one single delegation responded to the Soviet appeals. Every one of the delegations except Yugoslavia, which abstained, the three Soviet states, Poland, and Czechoslovakia affirmatively supported the alternative resolution on the essentials of peace.

This whole propaganda maneuver and the debate it set off concerns the vital question of world security. It is worth analyzing.

This was not a U.S. vs. U.S.S.R. dissension. It was not a so-called "East-West" debate. It was the Soviet states, Poland, and Czechoslovakia against the rest of the world with no exceptions.

What could be the purpose of such a performance? First, I think its purpose is to tighten controls and justify police measures against dissenters at home. Their people are given only their side of the story—what they said, not what the rest of the world said. The object here is to convince their own people that they are completely encircled by enemies who are planning an attack from all sides and thus to drive workers to greater efforts for production while foregoing the fruits of their labors and at the same time to justify purges and liquidations of grumblers or dissenters as traitors. The prior suppression of fundamental freedoms makes this possible. Regardless of what the outside world may try to do or say, it can't get through to the Russian people.

A second purpose, in my judgment, is to provide a propaganda line for the fifth columns in other countries in hope that to some degree public opinion, which controls the governments instead of being controlled, may be confused and divided. This line plays on very strong fears as well as powerful wishes. The speeches produced as patterns by Mr. Vyshinsky and his colleagues are full of wild assertions, appeals to idealism, and bitter condemnations documented by piles of quotations ripped out of context, distortions, and shocking fabrications.

What did their resolution and their speeches strike at? On this question the delegates at the United Nations had no illusions. The target was our growing plans for collective security.

In this debate the attack was leveled at the pact of Rio by which the nations of this hemisphere plan their common defense, the aid to Greece and Turkey program which helps hold the line against Soviet expansion at that point, and most of all the Atlantic pact and mutual defense program by

which the United States and Western Europe present a united front. The European Recovery Program was also attacked because it is expanding production, increasing stability, and averting the kind of chaotic conditions which invite minority dictatorships to power.

Having blocked agreement in the Security Council on world security, they seek to weaken the collective security measures we are taking as the essential alternative.

The next question is, why did every other nation join in rejecting their proposal?

They rejected the propaganda claim, on which the whole resolution was based, that a war is being prepared against the Soviet Union.

They rejected the attempt to characterize as preparations for aggression the building of necessary defenses.

They rejected the tricky paragraph on the prohibition of atomic weapons as another in a long line of attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan to outlaw such weapons by an effective system of control and safeguards against the hazards of violations and evasions.

They rejected the proposal for a new pact among the five powers to strengthen the peace as fatuous insincerity in the light of the Soviet record of obstruction and noncooperation in the United Nations, and violations and repudiations of existing treaties and pacts.

In the debate and the substitute resolution on the essentials of peace, they displayed the reasons for their unity in resisting Soviet threats to world security. The Soviet states, Czechoslovakia, and Poland substantiated and underscored the claims of all the others by violently opposing and voting against a resolution which simply asked all members to act in accordance with the principles of the Charter in the spirit of cooperation.

Soviet Design and Tactics

At the center of the problem of world security is the well-known aim of the Soviet regime to disrupt and overthrow governments from within through support of the conspiratorial forces of Communist parties and to insure subservience to Kremlin dictates.

Thus, we are not confronted by a state regime that is interested in getting along with other independent countries but one that persists in designs to dominate them. These designs, documented by Soviet theoreticians, by the extensive training program for conspiratorial leaders, and by a long record of confirming acts, are understood by the members of the United Nations. Their hopes that the common war effort might lead to peaceful cooperation and the abandonment of the will to dominate were dashed by events.

IRAN

Contrary to their pledges, the Soviet army remained in Iran attempting to force that little country to accept Soviet dictation, withdrawing finally only under world-wide pressure brought to focus in the Security Council. The Soviet forces left behind an organized and armed minority which they apparently hoped would be able to control the territory they evacuated and flout the authority of the government.

FAR EAST

In the Far East they dismantled Manchuria, forced the partition of Korea, refusing subsequently to cooperate with the United Nations Korean Commission, and turned over the confiscated Japanese arms to the Chinese Communists to carry on a civil war.

TURKEY

Turkey was subjected to threats and pressure, thus creating the necessity of aid and support and the beginning of the movement for collective defense.

GREECE

Likewise, war-ravaged Greece was violently attacked by the Communist forces from within, supported by the world-wide propaganda machine of the Soviet Union and by the practical assistance of the northern neighbors, already dominated by Soviet force. Again, Soviet voices called for peace. Yes, peace by the submission of the majority to the force of the minority. But at no point would these so-called peace makers cooperate with the overwhelming majority of nations through established United Nations Commissions.

BALKANS

The pledges of free elections for Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary made by Premier Stalin himself in agreement with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were cynically disregarded and circumvented. The story of Hungary presents the general pattern by which the minority overwhelms the majority. It is put succinctly in a speech of József Révai, one of Hungary's leading Communists, published in the March–April 1949 issue of *Tarsadalomi Szemel* (Sociological Review.)

Mr. Révai's remarks, and I quote: "We were a minority in the Parliament, and in the government, but at the same time we represented the leading force. We had decisive control over the police forces. Our force, the force of the Party and the working class, was multiplied by the fact that the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army were always there to support us with their assistance." This

admission was apparently too blunt, so the periodical in which the speech appeared was recalled.

PEACE TREATIES

The efforts in this Assembly of the United Nations to obtain compliance with the peace treaties guaranteeing human rights to Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, were met with denunciation and repudiation of Soviet obligations.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The tragic story of Soviet domination of one of Europe's proudest little democracies, Czechoslovakia, is well known. This crude maneuver, by which the Communist minority seized control, threatening civil war with Red Army assistance to the minority, shocked the world. More than any other incident in the long series of moves for Soviet expansion, the seizure of Czechoslovakia alerted the free world to the necessity for a strong and collective defense.

YUGOSLAVIA

The case of Yugoslavia strips away the last pretense of respect for small states, even when they are governed by Communists and formerly recognized as so-called "peoples' democracies." Refusal to follow the dictates of the Kremlin to the letter subjects even such a Communist government to threats and pressures—troop movements on its borders, incidents, and repudiation of treaties.

POLAND

In Poland where again the minority with the support of the Red Army succeeded in eliminating and destroying the majority parties, the domination is made decisive by installing a marshal of the Red Army as Minister of Defense.

INDONESIA

Soviet policy of rule or ruin was never more vividly applied than against Indonesia in the midst of its struggle for freedom and independence. Its Communist Party first tried to undermine and overthrow the Republic in an armed revolt. President Sukarno and Premier Hatta who put down that revolt were then attacked as quislings and traitors. The efforts of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful settlement between Indonesia and the Netherlands were sabotaged.

But in spite of, and partly because of, this blatant behavior to obstruct peace, the United Nations Commission for Indonesia paved the way for a free and independent United States of Indonesia, resting on what Premier Hatta called five basic principles: "devotion to God, Humanity, Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Justice."

In the closing days of this General Assembly, Soviet opposition to peace in this area was bitterly pressed. As the Indonesians and the Dutch approached the final peaceful settlement—the birth of a nation and the foundation of a Union—the Soviets made frantic efforts to prevent settlement and discredit both parties to the accord.

Members of the United Nations have studied these events in detail. They are not easily hoodwinked by protestations of peaceful intentions. They remember the tense case of the Berlin blockade as it was debated in Paris and the Soviet veto which turned down the conciliatory proposal. They also know that firmness and patience backed up by the airlift overrode that veto.

Many of them have experienced the Cominform tactics to disrupt recovery in their countries and to prevent their organization of national defense in cooperation with others.

In the light of such a record, one can imagine that the Soviet resolution added insult to injury when it sought to condemn the measures for collective security reluctantly taken in response to their own provocative actions as preparations for a new war. They block the path to peace settlements, to unanimous agreement on practically every situation to come before the Security Council, to agreement on the control of atomic energy and the reduction and control of armaments, to agreement on the establishment of peace forces as contemplated by the Charter. Then they accuse those who cooperate to get as much collective security as they can in spite of this obstruction of plotting war against them.

You many be certain of one thing: this unreasonable and violent assault upon almost all members of the United Nations has welded them into a unity. That unity is producing collective defense. That collective defense is the solid foundation of world security.

But it is not what we want. It is what under the circumstances we are forced to take as the unfortunate alternative to comprehensive collective security encompassed in the Charter. World security depends upon stopping further encroachments upon the free world. It rests upon the capacity of the many to stand together so overwhelmingly that aggression is obviously foolhardy.

In the United Nations, this unity is built up and expressed. The specific threats to the peace come under public debate and the collective power of the many can be brought to bear as a deterrent against dangerous adventures. Even in spite of the veto, the majority have succeeded—as in Indonesia—and will continue to succeed in working for peaceful settlements of disputes, isolating and conciliating conflicts and exposing peace-disturbing acts or situations to the light of world opinion.

This opinion is of the essence because it deter-

mines in any given situation whether the collective defense is really united and prepared to resist encroachments. And because of this fact, the Soviet propaganda campaigns are devised to split and confuse public opinion.

The propagandists know very well that peace-loving people hate to maintain world security at such a price and by such collective force. But the only road open to the eventual cooperation of all in the maintenance of peace is the determined demonstration that the aims of those who seek world control cannot be achieved.

We should realize that the people in the countries of the obstructive minority pay a much bigger price for the aggressive policies of their leaders than the people of the rest of the world who are thereby forced to organize an expensive collective defense. The price of noncooperation and the will to dominate on the part of their rulers is, to use the Nazi phrase, "guns instead of butter." Because of the productivity of the people of the free world, it is possible for them to have both. Still, the necessity of collective defense deprives us all of the full advantages of our productivity. It is patently against the mutual interests of all peoples to forego the advantages of a world security based upon genuine cooperation in the United Nations.

That is why I believe that if the door to aggression is effectively barred by unified defense and the door to cooperation within the United Nations kept open, the day will come when the futile policies of expansion will be replaced by policies of cooperation in good faith. The great thing about the United Nations is that the shift can take place at any moment.

We must be continuously alert to the slightest step in the right direction. For it will take many steps, many demonstrations of good faith, many acts of cooperation to bring us to a point of mutual confidence which will enable us to resolve the larger issues involved in a new basis for world security.

U.N. Social and Economic Collaboration

Meanwhile, the United Nations opens great vistas of opportunity for practical collaboration with most of the members on social and economic improvement. This is directly related to world security because the power to defend rests upon the stability of each society and the confidence of the people in their capacity to go forward. Indeed, the fundamental strength for collective security comes not primarily from the weapons for defense in hand, but from the over-all productivity of the people and their standard of life.

In the General Assembly, we acted unanimously in adopting a program for technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. In spite of the fact that this program involves the leadership of the specialized agencies in which the Soviets do not participate, their delegations supported the plan.

Not only can such specific cooperative efforts contribute to world improvement, but they also offer opportunities for broadening the collaboration in the United Nations. If we can do enough things together to meet practical needs of people, to restore trade, expand education, raise living standards, tap unused resources for human welfare, we can increase the confidence of peoples in collective security.

We are all very young and inexperienced in the art of consultation for common ends. We are used to making speeches in the public forum to interpret our individual views but not accustomed to multilateral consultation to formulate our common views. Here is a new challenge to statesmanship which we have only begun to accept. It has to do with seeking common understandings on which to rest ultimate agreements.

I dare say that by perfecting the process of consultation in the United Nations, we may realize one of our greatest hopes of eventually bridging the misnamed East-West chasm. In small groups or in pairs, delegates can explore opportunities in the mode of conversation more easily and effectively than in public addresses. They can seek clarification and definition of each others words, try out generalizations experimentally on specific situations, and be free to revise their judgments. In the process of consultation, they can exchange frank information about the feelings and attitudes of their respective peoples which throws light on why various delegations put emphasis on a different problem or solution.

We are carrying on this process of informal consultation on a broader scale than has ever been attempted. It already shows promise of creating a new basis for agreement. The permanent members of the Security Council have agreed to consult together in this way before major discussions take place in the Council chamber to see whether they can find an approach to unanimity instead of talking their way into an impasse and a veto. Likewise, the delegates of the Big Five and Canada have been exploring their differences on the problem of atomic energy in these informal consultations.

I recognize that it is a slow and unspectacular process. It calls for great patience. But if we persist in it, I think we may gradually work our way out of what appears to be impossible dilemmas. If we really anticipate the day when the facts of stability and strength in the free world will impress the Soviet leaders with the futility of pursuing their aims of expansion, then we can view with hope the possibilities for agreement through informal consultation. It is in such discussion that we may find the chances for the first steps and satisfy ourselves that they are sound steps.

The United States in the United Nations

[December 17–23]

Kashmir

The Security Council received the third interim report of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on December 17 and adopted a Norwegian suggestion to ask President McNaughton of Canada to consult informally with representatives of India and Pakistan and report to the Council any mutually acceptable proposals. The Ukraine and the Soviet Union abstained in this vote. The latter maintained that it was illogical to adopt the proposal before granting Security Council hearings to the two parties.

The Commission report recommends that the Security Council designate a single representative with broad authority who would proceed to the subcontinent to try to bring the two governments together on all unresolved issues. The Council should take into account the objectives of the Commission resolutions already agreed to by both governments for the establishment of conditions conducive to the holding of a plebiscite in the State of Jammu and Kashmir through which the will of the people concerning the future of the State may be "freely and impartially" determined.

It further recommends that the Security Council consult the two governments on the terms of reference for its representative, including consultations on the scope of his authority to settle eventually by arbitration those issues involved in the demilitarization of the State which impede the creation of the conditions necessary for holding the plebiscite.

The Commission thought that the three principal issues to be solved before the two governments can agree on a final settlement of their dispute involve the withdrawal of troops from the State; the disposition of the Azad Kashmir forces which violently oppose the accession of the State to India; and the question of the defense and administration of the sparsely populated and mountainous areas in the North of the State.

The report was signed by four of the five members of the Commission (Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, United States); Czechoslovakia submitted a minority report.

Jerusalem

The United Nations Trusteeship Council, on December 20, concluded its special session with the approval by a minority of five of a resolution expressing concern at Israel's removal of certain central government offices to Jerusalem. Such an action is considered to be incompatible with the General Assembly's plan for internationalization of Jerusalem and likely to make the implementation of that decision more difficult. The Council requested the Council President to invite Israel to submit a written statement on matters covered in the resolution and to revoke these measures and abstain from any action liable to hinder implementation of the Assembly decision.

Seven states, including the United States, abstained in the final vote, primarily because of disapproval of the last provision, which had been proposed by Iraq at the suggestion of Egypt.

On December 19, the Council had approved a Mexican suggestion authorizing its President to prepare a working paper on the draft statute for Jerusalem. This proposal, supported by all the Council members except the Soviet Union, which abstained, also invited the members of the Council and delegations participating without vote to submit their views on this problem to the Council President and authorized him to ascertain the views of any other interested governments, organizations, or institutions.

Ad Hoc Committee on Implementation of Economic and Social Matters

The *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the Economic and Social Council to study the Implementation of Recommendations on Economic and Social Matters, of which the United States is a member, held 12 meetings at Lake Success from December 7–22. Specific recommendations were made by the Committee to improve reporting on steps taken by member states to implement Economic and Social Council and General Assembly recommendations and decisions in this field, and to facilitate examination of such reports and any subsequent Council or Assembly action that might be indicated.

Economic Cooperation in the Americas[1]

Point 4

A prime method for cooperating with our good neighbors in their long-range economic development and the raising of living standards is that proclaimed by the President in the famous Point 4 of his inaugural address.

The method is two-fold: it consists of spreading the world's resources of technical know-how around among all the countries that need it. It also consists of taking measures in concert with the underdeveloped countries for encouraging private investment by removing the barriers to such investment and creating a better climate for it.

This type of cooperation is really quite simple: most underdeveloped countries could, with the resources they have, grow a lot better and a lot more crops on their soil, conserving that soil at the same time. But they have to know how to do this, and most of them do not themselves have agricultural experts to tell them how.

Where we have such agricultural experts, they can be loaned. The same thing is true of public health, education, industrialization, the building of dams, and conservation of natural resources. Besides know-how, economic development requires tools and equipment which have to be bought in the countries that produce them.

Capital investment is also needed generally in the form of private enterprise that makes the investment and contributes the know-how all in one package. We want to see private enterprise do the big job. We want to see government stay out of what private enterprise can and will do.

There are many things that private enterprise will not do—things that are governmental responsibilities. The services of our Department of Agriculture or our United States Public Health Service are examples.

One thing is very clear, however: By far the greatest share of the drive and effort must come from the underdeveloped countries themselves if our assistance is to be of any use to them. Our assistance has to be help in what they themselves are undertaking to do. We assist them in the doing; we can't do the doing for them.

Financial Assistance

United States private capital is potentially the major external source of investment capital for development in Latin America. Its importance lies not only in its contribution of funds but equally also in its contribution of technical, managerial, and organizational skills necessary to put capital to effective use. The greater part of our own industrial technology has been developed by private organizations and can best be fostered abroad through private channels.

Obstacles to the flow of private investment are varied:

1. The opportunities for profit at home.
2. The lack of information about opportunities in Latin America.
3. The absence, in many areas, of basic facilities, such as transport, power, and markets on which most private undertakings depend.

[1] Excerpts from an address by Williard F. Barber, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, which he delivered at Town Hall in Los Angeles, Calif., on Dec. 12, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

More important perhaps than these, however, are:

4. Inability to transfer earnings and capital.
5. Onerous restrictions imposed by foreign governments on the operation and control of enterprise.
6. Threats of expropriation.
7. General political instability in the foreign country.

This government plans to reduce some of these deterrents to the flow of private capital abroad through bilateral treaty negotiations, the proposed guaranty program under Point 4, and the information services of the Department of Commerce to assist United States private investors.

This government has made outstanding contributions to the economic development of various Latin American countries through the Export-Import Bank which was created in 1935. To date, we have advanced loans totaling more than 700 million dollars. Defaults on these loans are insignificant, which in itself testifies as to the soundness of the bank's operations.

In Brazil, for instance, such a loan made possible the establishment of a steel mill at Volta Redonda which today is funneling an ample supply of steel products into that country's economy and is keeping pace with a vigorous industrial growth that has long been the dream of Brazilian leaders.

Our government also is making capital available through our participation in the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund which were created at Bretton Woods in 1944. The contributions these agencies are making to economic growth and fiscal stability are notable. Through these institutions, we have made direct contributions to the solution of currency problems arising out of the general economic dislocation of the world.

There is a great economic momentum in this country, for example, which could easily expand into Latin America in proportions never before visualized. Business and private capital could easily flow more freely into the countries to the south of us if obstacles which now stand in the way were removed. Guaranties against expropriation and other risks could make that flow possible and bring about in a short time an expansion that would otherwise require many years to realize. Legislation has been discussed by the Congress, following the President's message of last January to authorize the Export-Import Bank to grant such guaranties as are necessary for the peculiar risks involved in foreign investment.

Unfortunately it is much easier to desire to help others or to criticize what is being done than it is to establish and execute a satisfactory policy. For example, the United States cannot, as it continues its democratic and noninterventionist position, force South American businessmen to change their philosophy on unit profits. It cannot obliterate disease. It cannot endow overpopulated areas with natural resources which they do not possess. It cannot quickly train a man accustomed to driving an oxcart to be a good motor mechanic; and it cannot easily stop wasteful soil erosion practices, much as we would all desire these improvements to be made.

Despite all difficulties, this government can, however, make available its professional and technical skill and knowledge to those individuals and groups in other countries which wish to utilize them. President Truman's Point 4 policy is specifically designed to accomplish this objective. In this fashion, we do not intervene in other countries' internal affairs. Yet we permit them to utilize our skills to develop as fast as they desire and as quickly as they can utilize the available knowledge.

The Role of Labor

In order to increase its understanding of labor developments abroad, labor attachés appointed to our Embassies in numerous countries have established a system of labor-reporting. The Department's officers have also established regular and frequent contacts with the officials of the American labor movement, the Labor Department, and other government agencies.

Important evidences of growth in the political power of labor include the election of labor governments in the United Kingdom and Scandinavia and an almost universal preoccupation by governments with labor problems in the entire world, including Latin America. Popular dissatisfaction with prevailing living-levels and political standards have contributed to the overturning of more than one government in Latin America within the past few years.

With respect to levels of living, we well know that a great lack of natural resources, professional training, skilled labor, and capital as well as limited markets and a general lack of appreciation for low-cost, low-profit, mass production and sales in

most of Latin America will prevent the attainment of the levels of living enjoyed by our United States workers for many decades.

We should, therefore, be careful not to overemphasize the importance of living levels either to ourselves or to others. It would be a tragedy if the attainment of political democracy or adequate social standards should be thought to be contingent upon the attainment of any particular level of living. Nevertheless, the obviously inadequate living levels of many Latin American workers must be recognized as a serious handicap to the development of stable, democratic societies. All appropriate attempts to help them raise their own living levels should be promoted.

In the political field, labor has greatly increased in importance during the past decade. In no Latin American country has it assumed control of the government. As a result of increasing pro-labor feelings, which were stimulated in part by wartime slogans, political groups offering more to labor have been able to gain greater influence in a number of countries.

Consequently, not only do those governments which might be classed as liberal or pro-labor give assistance to laboring groups and help them, but the most conservative Latin American governments have also seen the trend. They granted free elections in some cases, established new labor codes or laws, and raised money or real wages in other instances.

There are pendulum swings with periods in which, in Latin America, pro-labor or democratic governments or both appear to be gaining rapidly as during the years 1945–47 and others in which they receive setbacks as they have since. Fortunately, it now appears that the long period in which the toiling masses of Latin America were of no political importance has ended. In what form the political interest or power of the Latin American workers will express itself in the future is uncertain. Will it be through democratic outlets, as it is now doing in Uruguay? We hope so.

Treaty With Uruguay

New treaties on investment or of commerce and economic development such as that signed last month with Uruguay will increase the flow of private capital.

It provides, for example, that citizens of one country may set up and operate business enterprises in the other on the same footing as citizens of that country. They will also be able to obtain entry into that country for managers and technicians from their own country who are needed in order to operate their enterprises effectively. They will be permitted to withdraw from the country the earnings on their invested capital in equitable and adequate amounts. Should their property be taken by the government of the other country for any reason, they will receive adequate compensation.

The Program in Action

Technical assistance activities are cooperative in every sense of the word. For instance, we go into a project only when a government specifically requests us to and when we are convinced that it will serve national and international welfare. Our guiding principle is to help the other countries to help themselves.

The recipient countries help themselves in these instances by making dollar reimbursements or advance of funds for services rendered; by providing land, buildings, and other facilities and equipment within their territory; or by making available the best qualified of their people or people of other countries to work with American technicians.

A summary of the results of a cooperative program of the United States Geological Survey in Mexico from 1940 to 1949 will illustrate this point:

1. Cooperative studies and increased production of ore deposits containing minerals urgently needed in the United States, such as tungsten, mercury, antimony, and manganese.
2. Cooperative studies of ore deposits containing minerals needed by Mexico and which are not produced in sufficient quantity for Mexico's internal consumption, such as coal, phosphates, and tin.
3. Cooperative studies of ore deposits which were being exhausted, such as copper, manganese, silver, lead, and zinc.
4. Cooperative studies of a scientific nature on, for example, volcanism, sedimentation, topographic mapping, and the occurrences of rare minerals.
5. Publication in English and Spanish of the results of the cooperative studies.
6. Scholarships or in-training grants to Mexican students for postgraduate work in universities in the United States, as well as for training with field parties of the Geological Survey in the United States.

The United States Government has been conducting educational, health, and agricultural activities on a bilateral basis through the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. A telegram from our

Embassy at Caracas, received last month, illustrates an accomplishment.

Institute entered into agreement in 1945 with Venezuelan Government in planning and building minimum pure water supply systems for rural communities. Venezuela provides 240 employees and United States 6 technical assistants. Venezuelan federal and state governments defray approximately 98 percent operation and construction funds 50 new water systems built for communities of less than 2,000 and 75,626 people for first time enjoying pure water with resultant better health. Total cost approximately $1,541,000. Twenty-four additional systems projected with 8 under construction. Typical result—town Humocara, Alto, 825 inhabitants, had recurring and serious epidemics typhoid. Since its water supply, established in 1948, disease practically eliminated. Success program mainly farsighted and practical approach Venezuelan authorities.

Increased Trade

Vital as they are, these technical cooperation accomplishments alone will not achieve the objectives that we have set for the Western Hemisphere. Since 1934 we have negotiated trade agreements with seventeen of the other American Republics. Through this mechanism we are working toward the elimination of unnecessary and burdensome tariff barriers and other restrictions which impede trade. Ten of these agreements were made within the first 5 years.

A United States Department of Commerce publication (*International Reference Service*, Vol. VI, No. 32, June 1949) shows the increase in our trade with Latin America:

	1948	*1936–40 Average*
Imports from L. A.	$2,500,000,000	$584,000,000
Exports to L. A.	3,360,000,000	608,000,000

The interest in trade is not as spectacular as the fivefold figures would indicate—price and currency changes have been substantial during those years. It is important to note that, in 1948, 35 percent of total United States imports came from Latin America, while 27 percent of total United States exports went there; similarly, 36 percent of Latin America's exports came to the United States and 59 percent of her imports came from here.

One of our postwar moves was to take part in the Geneva conference of 1947 which led to the conclusion of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Three other American countries have become parties to the agreement. Five additional American countries took part in the recent conference at Annecy, France.

LEADING U.S. IMPORTS

Coffee	Tin
Sugar	Wool
Petroleum	Sisal
Copper	Cocoa
Bananas	

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS

Industrial Machinery	Textiles
Automobiles	Chemicals
Foodstuffs	Iron and Steel
Electrical and Agricultural Equipment	

International Trade Organization

To meet the wider need, representatives of 54 nations met at Habana in 1948 and drafted a charter for an International Trade Organization as a specialized agency of the United Nations. Seventeen of these countries, including the United States, were American Republics. The other American Republics were active in working out this charter. They were conscious of their need for industrialization, and insistent that their need be met rapidly.

The major principles embodied in the charter are: (1) that each country should, in general, accord to other members equal treatment; (2) that members should negotiate for reduction of barriers and (3) that imports should not be subjected to discriminatory internal taxes or regulations; and (4) restrictions on imports should be in the form of visible tariffs, not quotas.

When the Congress reconvenes in January it will probably be asked to authorize United States membership in the Ito. We played an active and positive role in negotiating the Ito charter. We believe that the code of principles it embodies and the international forum it sets up for the discussion of trade problems will go a long way toward solving the question of world prosperity.

Protecting U.S. Rights

We are now trying to work out an agreement with the other countries in the North American region to regulate and protect radio broadcasting in each country from interference. Because of

the proximity of the North American countries to each other it is essential to have a binding agreement in order to avoid as much as possible interference that is bound to come up when programs are broadcast by several countries on the same or adjoining channels.

Back in the early days of radio there was little competition for frequencies. However, as the industry grew, competition for frequencies became keen. The programs of one country began to interfere with those of another. The North American countries recognized that although each had sovereign rights to the use of frequencies within its borders, we could get orderly utilization of the frequencies as between the countries concerned only through international agreement. Thus the United States, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti came together and voluntarily created a North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, commonly called NARBA in December 1937. This agreement went into effect in March 1941. Practically all frequencies in the United States were changed. Actually, 777 broadcasting stations had to shift to different frequencies.

The original agreement was to last 5 years at which time it would be reexamined and adjustments made to take care of any technological changes or new needs by member countries. In 1946, it was decided to extend the agreement on an interim basis with some necessary modifications. The interim agreement expired in March this year. An attempt was made to continue it even longer, but some of the other countries would not agree. Therefore, we are now trying to work out a new agreement at a conference under way in Montreal.

All these roads—technical cooperation, more trade, financial assistance, the increasing role of labor, and the Point 4 Program—lead toward the same goal of better living conditions, more economic security, and greater political stability. The United States is aware that it has a stake in seeing the other American Republics attain these objectives and it proposes to march with them toward that common goal.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Settlement of Certain War Accounts and Claims. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1925. Pub. 3547. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington, March 14, 1949; entered into force March 14, 1949.

Use by Civil Aircraft of Stephenville and Argentia Military Bases in Newfoundland. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1933. Pub. 3566. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa, June 4, 1949; entered into force June 4, 1949.

Passport Visa Fees. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1879. Pub. 3581. 5 pp. 5¢.

Arrangement between the United States and Belgium—Effected by exchange of notes dated at Brussels, March 27 and November 23, 1946, and January 17 and February 3, 1947; entered into force February 17, 1947.

Joint Industrial Mobilization Committee. Treaties and Other International Acts Series 1889. Pub. 3591. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa, April 12, 1949; entered into force April 12, 1949.

International Civil Aviation, 1948–1949. International Organization and Conference Series IV, International Civil Aviation Organization 4. Pub. 3629. 45 pp. 25¢.

Second report of Paul A. Smith, the representative of the United States to the International Civil Aviation Organization.

Eighth Report to Congress on Assistance to Greece and Turkey for the Period Ended June 30, 1949. Economic Cooperation Series 22. Pub. 3674. 41 pp. 20¢.

This report covers the period from April 1, 1949, to June 30, 1949.

Diplomatic List, November 1949. Pub. 3676. 167 pp. 30¢ a copy; $3.25 a year domestic, $4.50 a year foreign.

Monthly list of foreign diplomatic representatives in Washington, with their addresses.

Working in the U.N.—A Challenge to Better Human Relations. International Organization and Conference Series III, 42. [BULLETIN Reprint.] Pub. 3682. 3 pp. Free.

Address by President Truman made on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Secretariat Building of the permanent U. N. Headquarters in New York City on October 24, 1949.

U.S. Raises Question of Continuing Normal Relations With Bulgaria

[*Released to the press December 12*]

In connection with the current trial of Traicho Kostov, former Vice Premier of Bulgaria, the Department of State has already made it clear in its press release of December 1, 1949, that the allegations of improper activities on the part of Minister Heath were demonstrably false.[1] It is a matter of public record that the alleged conversations between Minister Heath and Kostov never took place. This deliberate attempt to involve the United States Minister has compelled the United States Government to question the Bulgarian Government's intentions with respect to the maintenance of normal relations between the two countries.

On December 3, 1949, Minister Heath, upon instructions of the Department, requested the Foreign Office to use its good offices to have his personal denial of the veracity of the allegations published in the Bulgarian newspapers. He left an *aide-mémoire* reminding the Bulgarian Government of the seriousness with which the United States Government viewed this unwarranted and unfriendly action.

Instead of complying with Mr. Heath's request, the Bulgarian Government permitted the publication of the scurrilous articles in the press attacking the Department of State and Minister Heath indicating to the Bulgarian public that the Department had deliberately lied in stating that Mr. Heath had never seen Mr. Kostov or exchanged a word with him, written or oral. One of these articles, published on December 8, 1949, in *Otechestven Front*, official organ of the Fatherland Front, the Communist-dominated Government coalition, was signed by Todor Guenov, Director of the Political Department of the Bulgarian Foreign Office. This article accuses the American Government of engaging in espionage and subversive activity through official representatives.

The United States Legation in Sofia has been subjected to a series of indignities and restrictions including false charges against American officials, intimidation and persecution of local Bulgarian employees, refusal to issue visas to personnel assigned to the Legation, and various restrictions on travel and housing for some time.

In an effort to impress again upon the Bulgarian Government the seriousness with which this Government views these actions, the Bulgarian Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Dr. Peter Voutov, was requested to call upon the Under Secretary of State today.

Mr. Webb recalled to Dr. Voutov the remarks Mr. Heath made to Assistant Foreign Minister Kamenov on December 3 and the *aide-mémoire* which he left with the latter. He emphasized that Mr. Heath's protest was entirely justified, because the statements attributed to him were patent falsehoods which the Bulgarian Government could and had a duty to correct. He pointed out that the purpose of Mr. Heath's statement was not merely to establish the truth concerning the allegations in question but also to emphasize to the Bulgarian Government the concern with which the United States has viewed its recent actions culminating in the charges against the American Minister in Sofia and the Bulgarian Government's apparent intention to disregard international law and comity in conducting its relations with the United States.

Mr. Webb pointed out that the Bulgarian Government has ignored Mr. Heath's request to publish his denial; that, on the contrary, the Bulgarian press, which is under the control of the government, has continued its unwarranted attacks on the United States. He mentioned particularly the signed article by a responsible official of the Bulgarian Foreign Office directly accusing the United States Government and its official representatives of engaging in espionage.

In conclusion, Mr. Webb referred to the unprecedented restrictions imposed upon the Legation and its personnel, making it virtually impossible for the Legation to perform its normal diplomatic and consular functions.

Dr. Voutov was informed that the United States Government cannot ignore and takes a most serious view of such deliberate actions which must inevitably affect relations between the two countries. Mr. Webb urged him to communicate immediately to his government this statement of the United States position.

[1] BULLETIN of Dec. 12, 1949, p. 911.

ECA Agreement With Federal German Government Signed

[*Released to the press December 15*]

John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner for Germany, and Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, signed today at Bonn an economic cooperation agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. This is an agreement required under the Economic Cooperation Act, satisfying the terms and conditions which attach to aid extended to participating countries by the United States.

The agreement, which has been under negotiation for several weeks, will become effective upon approval by the Allied High Commissioner for Germany. Heretofore, Marshall Plan aid to Germany has been supplied under terms of the two bilateral agreements between the United States Government and the Military Governors of the Bizone and the French zone, respectively. In the past, the Military Governments have represented Germany in the OEEC and at the Economic Cooperation Administration.

The signing of this agreement represents an important step in the Federal Republic's assumption of responsibility for the conduct of its own economic affairs, following its joining of the OEEC in Paris on October 31. Both of these steps were contemplated in the "Washington Agreements" of April 8, 1949, among the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.[1]

The new agreement also covers relief supplies—the "GARIOA" aid—heretofore supplied by the Army under a separate appropriation which is now administered by ECA.

The total United States dollar aid to Germany during the 1949–50 fiscal year is expected to be about 730 million dollars.

The new German Government also by this agreement becomes custodian of the so-called "counterpart funds" of Deutsche mark equivalent which the Federal Republic is required to set aside against all dollar aid it receives from the United States. This government must approve all German plans for the use of these funds, as for instance for investment in Germany. In addition, the agreement provides that the United States may call upon the Republic to furnish Deutsche marks from these funds, for such purposes as administrative expenses and the reorientation program for educating the German people along democratic lines.

All American aid to the Federal Republic constitutes a claim against Germany, which, together with other similar aid, constitutes a preferred claim against future German export proceeds. The claim will be the subject of later settlement, in which account will be taken of Germany's ability to pay and other relevant factors. When counterpart funds are spent in Germany by United States order and not for German benefit, this claim will be proportionately reduced.

The new text is, for the most part, patterned on the earlier agreements with the Military Governors and on those with other Marshall Plan nations. A special provision of particular interest is that under which the Federal Government accepts responsibility for providing economic aid to the Western sectors of the City of Berlin. This aid will take the form of commodities, including imports under the Marshall Plan, as well as financial assistance in Deutsche marks necessary to meet Berlin Administration deficits and for investment in that city. Aid under this provision is expected to be of great benefit in relieving the critical Berlin economic situation.

The agreement further provides that the Federal Republic will take over the obligations and commitments of the High Commissioners, who are successors to the Military Governors as parties to the old agreements with the United States. The High Commission is concluding separate agreements to transfer its outstanding deutsche mark assets and liabilities to the Germans in order to enable them to carry out this provision and to benefit from the ECA counterpart funds already accumulated.

Final text of the agreement has not yet reached Washington from Frankfort but will be released immediately upon arrival.

[1] BULLETIN of Apr. 17, 1949, p. 499.

Statement by John J. McCloy

It is entirely fitting that the first major international agreement to be signed by the German Federal Republic should make it a full partner in the European Recovery Program.

Although this is a bilateral agreement between the United States Government and the German Federal Republic, it opens the way for a German role in an 18-nation cooperative endeavor.

The benefits of the Marshall Plan have been obvious in Germany and in Europe. In very large part through the importation of foods and of industrial raw materials, the German diet and production have increased enormously. Those benefits will continue to be felt. The agreement which we have today signed places full responsibility for their participation in the European Recovery Program upon the German people and gives them a full share in the conduct of the program. It is our hope that with this responsibility the fullest advantage will be taken of the opportunity for liberalization of trade which the program affords. Liberal trade is a stimulant to liberal thought.

I am particularly happy that this bilateral agreement makes aid available to the people of Berlin, who have done so much to earn the respect of the democratic world, and to their industries.

This occasion marks not only a determined step forward in the emergence of a new Germany, but advances the cause of true European cooperation, the creation of which is one of the major goals in the European Recovery Program.

Public Notices Affecting U.S. Property Owners in Germany[1]

Declaration Concerning the Entry Into Force of the Occupation Statute

WHEREAS by letter dated 12 May 1949 the Military Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the French, United States and British Zones of Germany, respectively informed the President of the Parliamentary Council at Bonn that the Occupation Statute had been promulgated by them as of that date, and that, "upon the convening of the legislative bodies provided for in the Basic Law and upon the election of the President and the election and appointment of the Chancellor and the Federal Ministers, respectively, in the manner provided for in the Basic Law, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will then be established and the Occupation Statute shall thereupon enter into force"; and

WHEREAS the conditions aforesaid have been satisfied; and it is expedient formally to declare the entry into force of the Occupation Statute;

NOW, THEREFORE, the Council of the Allied High Commission hereby declares that the Occupation Statute entered into force as from 21 September 1949.

[Here follows the text of the Occupation Statute, promulgated on May 12, 1949, by the Military Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the Western Zones, and which was printed in the BULLETIN of April 17, 1949, page 500.]

Publication of this notice [Public Notice 13] is not intended to and does not in any way add to or detract from the presently existing legal force and effect of the matter quoted above.

For the Secretary of State:

HENRY A. BYROADE,
Director, Bureau of German Affairs.

December 6, 1949.

OCCUPATION; DEFINITIONS

LAW NO. 2. DEFINITIONS

The Council of The Allied High Commission enacts as follows:

Article 1

In the absence of any indication to the contrary, in legislation of the Allied High Commission:

1. The expression "Occupation Authorities" shall include the Council of the Allied High Commission, the High Commissioners, and Allied Organizations and persons exercising power on their behalf.

2. The expression "Occupation Forces" shall include the Armed Forces of the Occupying Powers and auxiliary contingents of other Powers serving with them.

3. The expression "Allied Forces" shall include—

(a) The Occupation Authorities.

(b) The Occupation Forces and their members.

(c) Non-German nationals, civilian or military, who are serving with the Occupation Authorities.

(d) Members of the families and non-German persons in the service of the persons referred to in subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c) of this paragraph.

(e) Non-German persons whose presence in the occupied territory is certified by a High Commissioner or

[1] 14 *Fed Reg.* 5456. The above proclamations and regulations issued by the Allied High Commission for Germany and by the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany are deemed to be of interest to certain U. S. citizens as having legal effect upon them or their property.

Commander of any of the Occupation Forces to be necessary for the purposes of the occupation.

4. The expressions "the territory of the Federal Republic" and "the Federal Territory" shall include the territories of the Laender of Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine/Westphalia, Rhineland Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Wuerttemberg-Baden and Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern, as constituted on the effective date of this Law.

Article 2

This law shall become effective on the 21st September 1949.

Done at Bonn, Petersberg, on 21 September 1949.

A. François-Poncet,
French High Commissioner for Germany.
John J. McCloy,
U.S. High Commissioner for Germany.
B. H. Robertson,
U.K. High Commissioner for Germany.

Publication of this notice [Public Notice 14] is not intended to and does not in any way add to or detract from the presently existing legal force and effect of the matter quoted above.

For the Secretary of State.

Henry A. Byroade,
Director, Bureau of German Affairs.

December 6, 1949.

Law No. 3. Transitional Provisions

The Council of The Allied High Commission enacts as follows:

Article 1

Where any legislation repealed by the Occupation Authorities contained any provision repealing other legislation, such other legislation shall not be deemed to be revived in the absence of an express provision to that effect.

Article 2

Where any legislation has been revised or replaced by the Occupation Authorities, references in other legislation to articles, sections or paragraphs of the former text shall be deemed to be references to the corresponding provisions of the new text, notwithstanding any difference in the numbering or lettering.

Article 3

Any implementing regulations issued in pursuance of any legislation which has been revised or replaced by the Occupation Authorities shall remain in force, unless repealed under or inconsistent with, the new legislation.

Article 4

No person may be prosecuted for an offense under legislation repealed by the Occupation Authorities unless such offense also constitutes a violation of legislation in force or proceedings are instituted within three months of the repeal.

Article 5

References in any legislation enacted before the entry into force of the Occupation Statute to the Control Council, the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force, the Commanding General, the Armed Forces, Military Government, the Military Governor and to other authorities shall, where the context so requires or admits, be deemed to refer to the appropriate authorities exercising the particular functions mentioned in such legislation.

Article 6

This law shall become effective on the 21st September 1949.

Done at Bonn, Petersberg, on 21 September 1949.

A François-Poncet,
French High Commissioner for Germany.
John J. McCloy,
U. S. High Commissioner for Germany.
B. H. Robertson,
U. K. High Commissioner for Germany.

Publication of this notice [Public Notice 15] is not intended to and does not in any way add to or detract from the presently existing legal force, and effect of the matter quoted above.

For the Secretary of State.

Henry A. Byroade,
Director, Bureau of German Affairs.

December 6, 1949.

Law No. 5. Press, Radio, Information and Entertainment

The Council of The Allied High Commission enacts as follows:

Article 1

1. The German press, radio, and other information media shall be free as is provided by the Basic Law. The Allied High Commission reserves the right to cancel or annul any measure, governmental, political, administrative or financial, which threatens such freedom.

Article 2

1. An enterprise or a person engaged therein or utilizing the facilities thereof shall not act in a manner affecting or likely to affect prejudicially the prestige or security of the Allied Forces.

2. Where in the opinion of the Allied High Commission an enterprise or a person has violated the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article, the Allied High Commission may prohibit the enterprise from continuing its activities or the person from engaging in any enterprise or utilizing the facilities thereof, for a definite or an indefinite period of time. The Allied High Commission may impose a like prohibition on an enterprise or person where in its opinion there is sufficient evidence that such person or enterprise is about to violate the provisions of this law.

3. Where any enterprise is so prohibited for more than three months, or any person for more than one month, the enterprise or person affected shall have the right to appeal to an agency to be established for the purpose.

Such agency shall, after hearing the appellant or his representative and any witnesses whom the appellant or the agency desires to call, either confirm, extend, reduce or modify the terms of the order appealed from.

Article 3

1. No new radio broadcasting, television or wired radio transmission installation shall be set up and there shall be no transfer of control of any installation of this nature without the authorization of the Allied High Commission. German radio operations shall be conducted in accordance with frequency and power allocations made by the Allied High Commission.

2. International relays, foreign language broadcasting and negotiations with foreign countries on matters of broadcasting shall be subject to prior authorization by the Allied High Commission.

Article 4

Any radio broadcasting stations and any publications shall, when required by the Allied High Commission, broadcast or publish any information deemed necessary by the Commission to further the purposes of the Occupation Statute.

Article 5

A copy of every publication or production of any enterprise shall, on publication or production in the federal territory, be filed as the Allied High Commission may direct.

Article 6

The Allied High Commission may prohibit the distribution, display or possession in the federal territory of any publication or production of any enterprise which in its opinion is likely to prejudice the prestige or security of the Allied Forces. It may also prohibit the bringing into the federal territory of such publications or productions.

Article 7

The Allied High Commission may confiscate any publication or production distributed or produced contrary to the provisions of this law.

Article 8

Administrative action taken in accordance with the provisions of this law shall not be a bar to criminal proceedings.

Article 9

Any person who violates any provision of this law or of any regulation or order made thereunder shall, upon conviction, be liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding five years or to a fine not exceeding DM 10,000 or both. If the offense has been committed by an enterprise the fine may be increased to a maximum of DM 100,000. The Court may also order the forfeiture of any property of which the possession or use was an essential element of the offense for which the person is convicted.

Article 10

The Allied High Commission may issue regulations implementing this law.

Article 11

For the purpose of this law, the expression "Enterprise" shall mean any undertaking, private or public, individual or collective, engaged in:

(a) The printing, production, publication, distribution, sale or commercial lending of any printed or any mechanically reproduced matter;

(b) The making or dissemination of sound recordings or motion picture films;

(c) The operation of news, feature or photographic services;

(d) Transmission by Hellschreiber, radio transmission and broadcasting, television transmission and broadcasting, wired radio transmission and broadcasting and audio-frequency distribution;

(e) The operation of any place of entertainment, of film laboratories, film exchanges, film studios, as well as the production or presentation of films and all forms of entertainment.

Article 12

The following legislation is hereby repealed:

United States Military Government Law No. 76 (Amended) Posts, Telephone, Telegraphs and Radio, and the censorship regulations issued thereunder,

United States Military Government Law No. 191 (Amended 1) Control of Publications, Radio Broadcasting News Services, Films, Theatres and Music and Prohibition of Activities of the Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda, and Information Control Regulations No. 2 and 3 issued thereunder,

British Military Government Law No. 76 (Amended 1) Posts, Telephones, Telegraphs and Radio, except paragraphs 8 and 10 thereof,

SHAEF Censorship for the civilian population of Germany under the jurisdiction of Military Government,

British Military Government Law No. 191 (Amended 1) Control of Publications, Radio Broadcasting News Services, Films, Theatres, and Music and Prohibition of Activities of Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda,

British Military Government Ordinance No. 22 Postal Censorship (Prevention of Evasion),

British Military Government Information Control Regulations No. 1 and 2,

British Military Government Ordinance No. 113, Import of Literature, and Regulation No. 1 issued pursuant thereto,

British Military Government Instructions for Printers,

SHAEF Law No. 191 dealing with the suspension of press, radio, the closing of theatres and places of entertainment, the prohibition of the activities of the Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda,

French Military Government Ordinance No. 34 regarding the registration of all cine-cameras, cine sound apparatus or cine projectors,

French Military Government Ordinance No. 35 regarding the possession and the surrendering to the French Authorities of positive films or unused or printed negative films and of all copies of films of all types.

Article 13

This law shall become effective on the 21st September 1949.

Done at Bonn, Petersberg, on 21 September 1949.

A. François-Poncet,
French High Commissioner for Germany.
John J. McCloy,
U. S. High Commissioner for Germany.
B. H. Robertson,
U. K. High Commissioner for Germany.

Publication of this notice [Public Notice 16] is not intended to and does not in any way add to or detract from the presently existing legal force and effect of the matter quoted above.

For the Secretary of State.

A. François-Poncet,
Director, Bureau of German Affairs.

December 6, 1949.

Law No. 8. Industrial, Literary and Artistic Property Rights of Foreign Nations and Nationals

The Council of The Allied High Commission enacts as follows:

Article 1

The industrial, literary and artistic property rights in Germany of foreign nations and foreign nationals which have been impaired by the existence of a state of war or as a result of German war legislation shall be restored in the territory of the Federal Republic in accordance with this law.

Article 2

Upon request, filed without fee with the Patent Officer prior to 3 October 1950, any industrial, literary or artistic property rights in Germany owned by a foreign nation or foreign national at the commencement of or during the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned which were transferred, seized, requisitioned, revoked or otherwise impaired by war measures, whether legislative, judicial or administrative, shall be restored by the Patent Office, without fee or penalty, to such foreign nation or foreign national or his legal successor: *Provided, however,* That this Article shall not affect any petition which may have been filed under United States Military Government Law No. 59 or British Military Government Law No. 59 or any judgment, decision or order which has been or may be rendered or made under such laws. A decision of the Patent Office denying any such request shall be subject to appeal to the Occupation Authorities in such manner as may be prescribed in regulations issued by them.

Article 3

Prior to 3 October 1950, a foreign nation or foreign national owning industrial, literary or artistic property rights in Germany at the commencement of or during the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned may accomplish, without incurring restoration fees or other penalty, all acts which are necessary for the obtaining or preserving in the territory of the Federal Republic of rights in industrial, literary and artistic property which were not performed owing to the existence of the state of war or the Military Occupation of Germany. Such acts shall have the same effect as if they had been done at the proper time. Where any such act would have involved the payment of money, such payment shall be considered to have been made.

Article 4

Upon request, filed without fee with the Patent Office prior to 3 October 1950, any application to the former German Patent Office (Reichspatentamt) for the granting of industrial property rights filed by or on behalf of any foreign nation or foreign national shall be reinstated, without restoration fees or other penalty, in the territory of the Federal Republic by the Patent Office in any case in which the application was pending, had been filed or had been rejected during the period between the date of the commencement of the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned and 30 September 1949, both dates inclusive. Any such request shall be made by or on behalf of the original applicant or his legal successor. In the case of any application for a patent which has been published and which is reinstated by virtue of this Article, the protection afforded by publication in accordance with Article 30 of the Reich Patent Law of 5 May 1936, as amended, shall be deemed to have been effective within the territory of the Federal Republic as from 1 October 1949.

Article 5

Upon request, filed without fee with the Patent Office prior to 3 October 1950, the Patent Office shall extend, without additional fees or other penalty, in the territory of the Federal Republic the duration of any industrial, literary or artistic property right in Germany owned by a foreign nation or foreign national at the date of commencement of or during the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned, or granted upon an application reinstated pursuant to Article 4 of this law. Such period of extension shall correspond to the period between such date of commencement of the state of war, or such later date on which such right came into existence, and 30 September 1949, both dates inclusive, but shall not exceed the unexpired period of the duration of any right which existed at such date of commencement of the state of war. Any such request shall be made by or on behalf of the original owner of the right or his legal successor.

Article 6

1. Any foreign nation or foreign national who, prior to 1 October 1949 shall have duly made first application in any country other than Germany for a patent or for

the registration of a utility model (Gebrauchsmuster) not earlier than twelve months before the commencement of the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned or for the registration of an industrial design or model or trade mark not earlier than six months before the date of commencement of such state of war, may apply, prior to 3 October 1950, to the Patent Office for corresponding rights in the territory of the Federal Republic and shall be entitled to rights of priority based on such first application.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article shall apply only to a foreign nation and the nationals of a foreign nation which officially notifies the Patent Office prior to 1 April 1950 that:

(a) It permits the filing of applications for industrial property rights by German nationals.

(b) It accords rights of priority at least as great as those specified by the Convention in respect of applications filed with a Filing Office and application filed with the Patent Office, and

(c) If German nationals were not permitted to file applications in such foreign nation prior to 1 April 1949, it permits the filing of applications by German nationals and accords the same priority as would have been obtained if a filing had taken place within one year of the filing with a Filing Office or the Patent Office.

Article 7

1. Natural or juristic persons resident of or carrying on business in the territory of the Federal Republic who, between 1 September 1939 and 30 September 1949, both dates inclusive, bona fide acquired industrial, literary or artistic property rights, other than a trade mark, which conflict with rights restored under this Law or with rights obtained with the priority provided thereunder, or were bona fide manufacturing, publishing, reproducing, using or selling the subject matter of such industrial, literary or artistic property rights, other than a trade mark, and have not disposed or been deprived of such rights prior to 1 October 1949, shall be permitted, without liability for infringement, to continue to exercise such rights and to continue or resume such manufacture, publication, reproduction, use or sale, in accordance with a non-exclusive license granted by the holder of the rights restored by this Law or obtained with the priority given thereunder, on terms to be mutually agreed. If agreement on the terms of such non-exclusive license is not reached, a prospective party to the license agreement, at any time prior to 1 April 1951, may request the Grand Senate (Grosser Senat) of the Patent Office to fix such terms. Upon such request the Grand Senate, not later than 1 October 1951, shall fix the terms of such license after giving an opportunity for the prospective parties to the license agreement to be heard.

2. The Grand Senate of the Patent Office shall establish rules of procedure with respect to the hearings provided for in paragraph 1 above.

3. A decision of the Grand Senate shall be subject to appeal to the Occupation Authorities in such manner as may be prescribed in regulations issued by them.

Article 8

Any foreign nation or foreign national or the legal successor of a foreign national, may, not later than 1 October 1951, institute proceedings against those natural or juristic persons who are alleged to have infringed the industrial, literary or artistic property rights of such foreign nation or foreign national either

(a) Between the date of commencement of the state of war between Germany and the foreign nation concerned and 30 September 1949, both dates inclusive, provided that proceedings shall not be instituted in respect of any bona fide exercise or use of such rights, or

(b) Prior to such date of commencement, provided that the proceedings in such case could have been instituted then under the German law and a statute of limitations could not have been pleaded as a bar or defense thereto.

Article 9

A period corresponding to that between the date of commencement of the state of war between Germany and a foreign nation and 1 April 1951, both dates inclusive, shall be excluded in determining the time within which the working of a patent or utility model or the use of a design or trade mark owned by such foreign nation or its nationals is required by law.

Article 10

Foreign nations and foreign nationals shall also be entitled to such benefits with respect to industrial, literary, and artistic property rights as are granted under German law to German nationals.

Article 11

Except as otherwise provided, the competent German courts shall have jurisdiction in all matters concerning the application of this Law.

Article 12

Subject to the provisions of Articles 2 and 7, regulations to implement the provisions of this law shall be issued by the appropriate Authority of the Federal Republic of Germany. Such regulation shall be legislation under paragraph 5 of the Occupation Statute.

Article 13

1. This law shall prevail over any German legislation which is inconsistent therewith.

2. The following German legislation is deprived of effect in the territory of the Federal Republic:

(a) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights of British Nationals, of 26 February 1940 (RGBl. I, p. 424);

(b) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights and Copyrights of Canadian Nationals, of 11 July 1940 (RGBl, I, p. 997);

(c) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights and Copyrights of Nationals of the Union of South Africa, of 17 July 1940 (RGBl, I, p. 1006);

(d) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights and Copyrights of Nationals of the Australian Commonwealth, of 10 August 1940 (RGBl, I, p. 1103);

(e) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights and Copy-

rights of Nationals of New Zealand, of 24 April 1941 (RGB1, I, p. 234);

(f) Ordinance on Industrial Property Rights and Copyrights of Nationals of the United States of America, of 22 December 1942 (RGB1, I, p. 737).

Article 14

For the purposes of this law:

(a) The term "foreign nation" means any country which at any time between 1 September 1939 and 8 May 1945 was in a state of war with Germany;

(b) The term "foreign national" means a citizen or national of a foreign nation, including a juristic person existing under the laws of a foreign nation;

(c) The term "Patent Office" means the German Patent Office established by Economic Council Ordinance No. 78 of 12 August 1949 (Gesetzblatt der Verwaltung des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebietes 1949 page 251);

(d) The term "Filing Offices" means the Bizonal Patent Filing Offices in Berlin and Darmstadt established under Economic Council Ordinance No. 31 of 5 July 1948 concerning the Establishment of Filing Offices to Receive Applications for Patents, Registered Designs and Trade Marks (Gesetz-und Verordnungsblatt des Wirtschaftsrates des Vereinigten Wirtschaftsgebietes, page 65);

(e) The term "Convention" means the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of Paris of 20 March 1883, as revised;

(f) The term "state of war" includes the occupation of territory of a foreign nation by Germany at any time between 1 September 1939 and 8 May 1945;

(g) An act shall be deemed to be bona fide if done in accordance with the law in force at the time the act was done.

Article 15

This law shall be deemed to have become effective on 1 October 1949.

Done at Bonn, Petersberg, on 20 October 1949.

[Here follow signatures of the U.S., U.K., and French High Commissioner for Germany.]

Publication of this notice [Public Notice 17] is not intended to and does not in any way add to or detract from the presently existing legal force and effect of the matter quoted above.

For the Secretary of State.

HENRY A. BYROADE,
Director, Bureau of German Affairs.

December 6, 1949.

Herman V. Abs, German Banker, Makes Private Visit to U.S.

Text of Letter From Jack K. McFall, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations to Senator Guy M. Gillette

[*Released to the press December 15*]

December 15, 1949.

MY DEAR SENATOR GILLETTE: Reference is made to your letter of December 5, 1949, and to a telephone conversation of December 14, 1949, between Mr. McClure of your office and Mr. Lewis of the Department's Bureau of German Affairs, concerning the presence in the United States of Herman J. Abs, a German banker, and requesting in that connection answers to five numbered questions regarding his visit.

Mr. Abs arrived in the United States aboard the S. S. *Ile de France* on November 17, 1949, and was admitted as a business visitor until December 25, 1949, by which time he will have presumably started back to Germany.

The first of the five numbered questions is—

"What is the purpose of Herr Abs' visit? Is it private or official business, and what is the nature of that business?"

The Department understands that Mr. Abs has been involved in discussions with the Committee for Standstill Creditors of Germany, an organization representing a group of American banks. The American banks were holders of substantial amounts of short-term credits, principally acceptances comprising obligations of German banks and commercial firms in 1931. At that time the standstill action was taken with United States Government encouragement as one of a variety of measures aimed at maintaining international financial stability, but the obligations were owed and held privately. Mr. Abs' visit is, in short, essentially private in nature. As to the nature of the business, the talks between the German and American bankers have been private and the Department has been neither consulted nor informed about them.

Your second numbered question is—

"Under whose sponsorship or what auspices is Herr Abs making his visit to this country?"

Mr. Abs is director and member of the Board of the German Reconstruction Loan Corporation and is well known to have comprehensive experience in international banking and in the financial aspects

of German foreign trade. He is free to travel in his own right in the interests of the German economy and as far as the Department is able to determine had no official sponsorship for his travel. His visit, however, was linked to that of Dr. Wilhelm Vocke, President of the Board of Directors of the Bank Deutscher Laender and was so reported by the Department's representatives at Frankfort. Dr. Vocke had been informally invited to visit this country by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York which is the Correspondent and Depository of the Bank Deutscher Laender. The Federal Reserve Bank did not issue any invitation to Mr. Abs.

Your third numbered question is—

"By what authority has he been allowed to leave Germany, while our Government is technically still in a state of war with that country?"

Exit from Germany for German nationals is governed by the Combined Travel Board, joint body of the British, French, and American occupying authorities. Under Combined Travel Board rules the travel of German nationals abroad is permitted for a variety of purposes, including travel in the furtherance of German trade and commerce.

Your numbered question 4—

"On what kind of passport is Herr Abs traveling, and where and how did he obtain an American visa for it?"

Mr. Abs' travel documents are of the standard temporary variety issued to German nationals by the Combined Travel Board, issued on August 8, 1949, at the Combined Travel Board office at Baden Baden in the French Zone of Occupation in Germany. He obtained his American visa at the American Consular Office in Frankfort, Germany, on November 8, 1949. The visa was presumably issued in routine fashion, the purpose of the visit being legitimate and recognized, and the Consul having no technical reason for withholding the visa under current regulations. The Department was informed by its representatives in Germany after the visa had been issued.

Your numbered question 5 is—

"Where in the United States has Herr Abs been staying and with whom, in official as well as private circles, has he been in contact?"

Mr. Abs has been spending most of his time in New York City and is believed to have been staying at the Hotel Gotham. In addition to whatever conversations he may have had with private American banking circles in connection with standstill creditor discussions, he asked to see and was seen briefly by officers of the Federal Reserve Board, the Treasury Department, the Economic Cooperation Administration, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, and by an officer of the Department's Bureau of German Affairs. His presence in Washington afforded an opportunity to these agencies of eliciting from him information regarding German economic matters. During his informal interview at the Department of State he was questioned regarding technical matters relating to the internal economy of Germany, and the Department understands that the representatives of other Government agencies who talked with him confined their discussions to technical matters also. So far as is known, Mr. Abs was in Washington for only one day.

As you suggest, Mr. Abs' activities in the field of German finances before and during the war were well-known to the Allied Military Government Authorities in Germany and to government authorities in the United States. He has been a controversial figure since the war, and there was considerable objection to permitting him to assume his present position as a director and member of the Board of the German Reconstruction Loan Corporation which is quasi governmental in character. However, extensive investigations of Mr. Abs and of his past activities have failed to disclose factual evidence of a derogatory character other than that his activities were of assistance to the German war effort in a broad sense. He was not a member of the Nazi Party, and he was judged to be in denazification category 5 (the least obnoxious category) by the Denazification Board at Hamburg early in 1948. All in all, the Allied Authorities have had no specific grounds upon which to demand of the German Government that Mr. Abs be prevented from holding an important position in the Germany economy. Although the Department would have preferred not to have Mr. Abs hold a position of such influence in the Germany economy, it is the policy of the United States toward Germany that the Germans make decisions of this sort on their own responsibility. Admittedly there are risks involved in this course, but it is calculated that the development of a responsible and democratic German society can hardly be achieved in any other way than by the exercise of German initiative and freedom of choice. If the responsible German leaders feel that Mr. Abs' talents should be used and that they can at the same time in some way guarantee his loyalty to them, we must, in accordance with our policy, abide by their choice even though we consider their judgment in the matter dubious.

As for publicity in connection with Mr. Abs' visit, the Department could see no reason for giving publicity to his presence in the United States and thus enhancing the importance of his visit when the visit was private in character. Neither does the Department desire to increase his prestige in Germany by drawing attention to his activities here. On the other hand, no effort has been made to keep Mr. Abs' presence secret. He arrived

openly and has been openly going about his business in the United States as far as the Department knows.

U.S. Recognizes Arias Government in Panama

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press December 14*]

The United States today is renewing diplomatic relations with Panama. This is being done by means of a note which Ambassador Monnett B. Davis has been instructed to deliver to the Government of Panama in reply to a note addressed to this government by Foreign Minister Carlos N. Brin on December 10, 1949.

The decision of this government to take this action was reached after an exchange of views with the other American Republics. It followed upon receipt of assurances that the government of Arnulfo Arias accepts and will fulfill the international obligations of Panama and upon determination that it is actually in control of the machinery of government and the national territory of Panama and is generally accepted by the populace. There has been no evidence that any intervention or other interference by any foreign government was brought to bear in effecting recent changes in the Government of Panama.

In accordance with my policy statement on Latin America of September 19, 1949, this act of recognition does not constitute approval of the manner in which the present government came into power. We have in fact publicly deplored the means by which the political changes in Panama since November 19 were effected. It is the hope of this government, however, that, with diplomatic relations thus reestablished, the cordial friendship and mutual respect which traditionally have existed between Panama and the United States will continue.

U.S. Deplores Arms Threat of Dominican Republic

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press December 14*]

Although we do not yet have the full text of President Trujillo's message, our reports are that he stated that another plan to invade the Dominican Republic is being organized abroad in violation of international commitments and requested the Dominican Congress to empower him to declare war and employ armed force against any country which knowingly tolerates or protects military forces in its territory for invasion of the Dominican Republic, or which otherwise facilitates the departure from its territory of such forces.

This government deplores the action of the Government of the Dominican Republic in having brought up the possibility of the use of armed force for the purpose of "war." It is our profound conviction that the use of this term is entirely inappropriate in relation to any question bearing upon the relations between the members of our American community of nations. It is our view that proper procedures exist within the inter-American system for dealing with situations which threaten the peace and for repelling aggression against any of the American Republics from any source. We hope that the statement of the Dominican Government does not mean that it intends to ignore further reference of its charges to inter-American consideration. Such failure to utilize inter-American procedures could have only a provocative and nonbeneficial effect on the international relations of the Caribbean area.

In this connection, I should like to repeat the words of my statement on inter-American policy on September 19, 1949, in which I said, "Aggression or plotting against any nation of this hemisphere is of concern to us. Wherever it occurs, or may be threatened, we shall use our strongest efforts, in keeping with our international commitments, to oppose it and to defend the peace of the hemisphere." [1]

U.S. and Canada Discuss Immigration and Customs Matters

[*Released to the press December 16*]

Officials of the United States and Canadian Governments met in Washington on December 15 to review immigration and customs procedures affecting travel between Canada and the United States. In these talks it was recognized that only a very small proportion of individual border crossings, which number many millions annually from each side, give rise to any difficulties. The causes of possible and existing difficulties were examined in a frank, friendly, and cooperative spirit within the framework of the laws and regulations of both countries. The meeting explored the possibilities of the improvement of administrative practices which might serve to facilitate border crossings and thus maintain to the fullest extent the

[1] BULLETIN of Sept. 26, 1949, p. 462.

traditional freedom of the International Boundary.

Good progress was made in these discussions, and it is hoped that as a result difficulties in individual cases will in the future be reduced to a minimum.

On the United States side, officials from the Department of State, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Bureau of Customs participated; and on the Canadian side, the Canadian Embassy in Washington, the Department of External Affairs, and the Immigration Service in Ottawa were represented.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Ambassador Harriman To Represent U.S. on NA Defense Committee

[*Released to the press December 14*]

Ambassador Averell Harriman, the United States Special Representative in Europe and ECA representative on the European Coordinating Committee for the Mutual Defense Assistance Program, has today been appointed the United States representative on the North Atlantic Defense Financial and Economic Committee. Mr. Harriman will fill this post in addition to his other present duties.

It will be recalled that at its second session in Washington on November 18, 1949,[1] the North Atlantic Council established a Defense Financial and Economic Committee to be responsible for advising the Council on the financial and economic aspects of measures for the defense of the North Atlantic area. This committee is to be composed of a representative from each North Atlantic Treaty country at a ministerial or similar high level.

[1] BULLETIN of Nov. 28, 1949, p. 819.

THE DEPARTMENT

Passport Agency To Open in Chicago

[*Released to the press December 13*]

The Department of State announced today that a Passport Agency will be opened at Chicago on December 19, 1949, where applications for passports will be accepted and such documents issued and renewed in cases of emergencies.

A Passport Agency was maintained at Chicago by the Department of State from July 1921 until June 30, 1942, when conditions brought about by the war made it necessary to centralize the granting of passport facilities at Washington. At that time it was stated that the Chicago Passport Agency would remain closed until travel conditions became more normal and the public interests in the Middle West warranted its reopening.

Miss Blenda L. Odman, Deputy Clerk of the United States District Court at Chicago, has been designated as Passport Agent and will maintain offices in Room 1012 of the United States Custom House, Canal and Harrison Streets.

Paul H. Nitze Named Director of Policy Planning Staff

On December 16, the Department of State announced that effective January 1, 1950, Paul Nitze has been designated Director of the Department of State Policy Planning Staff. At the present time, George Kennan is serving as both counselor and director of the Policy Planning Staff.

In order to carry out a number of important studies in the field of foreign affairs, Mr. Kennan has requested an extended leave of absence beginning in the summer or fall of 1950. This request has been agreed to. During this period, Mr. Kennan will remain an officer of the Foreign Service on leave of absence and it is expected that he will return to active duty in the Foreign Service when this period is up.

Until his departure on extended leave, Mr. Kennan will continue as counselor of the Department.

Appointment of Officers

Ivan B. White as economic and labor adviser, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, effective December 12, 1949.

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CORRECTIONS IN VOLUME XXI

The Editor of the BULLETIN wishes to call attention to the following errors:

July 4: page 844, right-hand column, the heading should read "Report of the Acting Secretary of State."

Due to an error in pagination from 837–876 in this issue, the pages in the December 5 issue are marked 837a–876a.

July 11: page 25, left-hand column, the item, "Charter of the Allied High Commission for Germany," was released to the press simultaneously in London, Paris, and Washington June 20.

July 25: page 107, left-hand column, the item, "Labor Policy in Japan," was released to the press July 13.

August 15: page 236, the statement by Secretary Acheson, entitled "Basic Principles of U. S. Policy Toward the Far East," was released to the press on August 5.

page 238, the text of the U. S. Note to the U. S. S. R. on Soviet charges on Italy's adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty, was transmitted to the Soviet Union and released to the press on August 2.

August 29: page 298, David K. E. Bruce, is American Ambassador to France, not James Bruce.

September 26: page 456, right-hand column, the item "Resolutions on Relations with Intergovernmental Organizations," is United Nations document E/1532 of August 10, 1949.

page 467, right-hand column, the subhead "France—Europe" should read "U.K.—Europe."

October 17: page 588, right-hand column, the reference "temporarily absent" applies to Ali Haider Abbasi of Pakistan.

October 31: page 670, left-hand column, the heading should read "Persons of Greek Origin Deported to Soviet Central Asia."

November 14: page 725, in the article on freedom of the press, under the heading "Genesis of the United States Proposal," left-hand column, the second paragraph should read as follows: A persistent campaign on the part of American press agencies and organizations to promote world-wide freedom of news reporting culminated in the unanimous adoption by the House and Senate, on September 21, 1944, of the following resolution:

November 21: page 767-68, the following transposition of material should be noted: On page 767, right-hand column, paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 under the heading "Subcommission Report" should be inserted after the second paragraph under the heading "Status of Women", on page 768.

page 773, left-hand column, fifth line, the final sentence in that paragraph should read as follows: The Council approved a number of specific recommendations made by the Committee, such as location of some of the agencies at the seat of the United Nations and consultation with ECOSOC by the specialized agencies before they establish regional offices. The Council decided that no revision need be made at this time in the agreements between the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

November 28: page 822, left-hand column, the first heading should read "Foreign Ministers Meet at Paris."

December 5: page 852a, the resolution entitled "Threats to the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of Greece," A/1117, has been corrected by A/1117/Corr.1 as follows: right-hand column, 10th line, "purpose" should read "purposes"; page 853a, left-hand column, 47th line should read "graphs 8, 9, and 11 of the present resolution, and upon."

pages in this issue are marked 837a–876a due to an error in pagination in the July 4 issue.

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